THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

## RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS,

OF THE

## CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH,

AND ALSO TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH.

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### THE SEVENTH BOOK.

HAVING now left America, and being returned to England, let us go and ſee the ſtate of perſecution at London, where deſperate fury now raged; though it was not in that chief city alone the Quakers, ſo called, were moſt grievouſly perſecuted: for a little before this time there was publiſhed in print a ſhort relation of the perſecution throughout all England, ſigned by twelve perſons, ſhewing that more than four thouſand and two hundred of thoſe called Quakers, both men and women, were in priſon in England; and denoting the number of them that were impriſoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to ſwear, &c. Many of theſe had been grievouſly beaten, or their clothes torn or taken away from them; and ſome were put into ſuch ſtinking dungeons, that ſome great men ſaid, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some priſons were crouded full both of men and women, ſo that there was not ſufficient room for all to ſit down at once; and in Cheſhire ſixty-eight perſons were in this manner locked up in a ſmall room; an evident ſign that they were a harmleſs people, that would not make any reſiſtance, or uſe force.

By ſuch ill-treatment many grew ſick, and not a few died in ſuch gaols; for no age or ſex was regarded, but even ancient people of ſixty, ſeventy, and more years of age, were not ſpared: and the moſt of theſe being tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, and huſbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were alſo ſeized, for not going to church (ſo called) or for not paying tythes. Many times they were fain to lie in priſon on cold naſty ground, without being ſuffered to have any ſtraw; and often they have been kept ſeveral days without victuals: no wonder therefore that many died by ſuch hard impriſonments as theſe.

At London, and in the ſuburbs, where about this time no leſs than five hundred of thoſe called Quakers, impriſoned, and ſome in ſuch narrow holes, that every perſon ſcarcely had convenience to lie down; and the felons were ſuffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not impriſoned, nevertheleſs ſuffered hardſhips in their religious meetings, eſpecially that in London, known by the name of Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed generally with muſkets, pikes, and halbards, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magiſtracy; and ruſhing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievouſly wounded, ſome fell down in a ſwoon, and ſome were beaten ſo violently, that they lived not long after it. Among theſe was one John Trowel, who was ſo bruiſed and cruſhed, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corpſe into the aforeſaid meeting place, that it might lie there expoſed for ſome hours, to be ſeen of every one. This being done, raiſed commiſeration and pity among many of the inhabitants; for the corpſe, beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was ſwoln in a direful manner. This gave occaſion to ſend for the coroner, and he being come, empannelled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true enquiry upon their oaths, and to preſent what they found to be the cauſe of his death. They viewing the corpſe, had a ſurgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it; and then going together in pri-

vate, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only desiring the friends to bury the corpse, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times together upon that occasion, and had many consultations, yet they never would give in a verdict; but it appeared sufficiently, that the man was killed by violent beating. The reasons some gave for the suspense of a verdict were, that though it was testified that the same person, now dead, was seen beaten, and knocked down; yet it being done in such a confused crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, so that any could say, that man did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the deceased person was killed, and yet no particular person charged with it, then the city was liable to a great fine, at the pleasure of the king, for conniving at such a murder in the city in the day time, not committed in a corner, but in a publick place, and not apprehending the murderer, but suffering him to escape. In the mean-while the friends of the deceased were not wanting to give publick notice of the fact, and sent also a letter to the lord mayor, which afterwards they gave out in print, together with a relation of this bloody business. In this letter it was said, 'It may be supposed thou hast heard of this thing, for it was done not in the night, but at the mid-time of the day; not suddenly, at unawares, or by mishap, but intendedly, and a long space of time a doing; and not in a corner, but in the streets of the city of London; all which circumstances do highly aggravate this murder, to the very shame and infamy of this famous city, and its government.'

A certain person who spread some of these printed relations, was imprisoned for his pains; nevertheless another brought one of them to the king, and told him how the thing had been done; at which the king said, 'I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain: ye must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them.' This saying of the king was not long after also published in print: but violence prevailed still; for the person that was apprehended for spreading the said books, was sent to prison

by the ſpecial order of alderman Brown, of whom ſince mention may be made ſeveral times in this work, it gives me occaſion to ſay ſomething of what kind of man he was.

In the time of Cromwell he had been very fierce againſt the royaliſts, eſpecially at Abingdon, not far from Oxford: for this error he endeavoured now to make compenſation, by violent perſecuting of the harmleſs Quakers; otherwiſe he was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a ſmiling countenance. But more of his actions may be repreſented hereafter.

The Quakers, ſo called, ſeeing that they could not obtain juſtice, let the matter of the murdered perſon alone; for ſuffering was now their portion, and therefore they left their cauſe to God. Oftentimes they were kept out of their meeting-houſes by the ſoldiers; but then they did not uſe to go away, but ſtood before the place, and ſo their number ſoon increaſed; and then one or other of their miniſters generally ſtept upon a bench, or ſome high place, and ſo preached boldly. Thus he got ſometimes more hearers than otherwiſe he might have had. But ſuch an one ſometimes was ſoon pulled down, which then gave occaſion for another to ſtand up and preach, and thus often four or five one after another, were taken away as innocent ſheep, and carried to priſon with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This puts me in mind of what I heard my mother Judith Zinſpenning ſay, who in the year next following, being gone for England, with William Caton and his wife, who lived at Amſterdam, to viſit her friends there, and coming to London, went with others to the Bull and Mouth meeting; but entrance being denied, they ſtayed in the ſtreet, where ſhe ſaw one preacher after another pulled down, at the inſtant cry of ſome officer or other, 'Conſtable, take him away.' Several being thus led away, the conſtable came alſo to her, and perceiving by her dreſs that ſhe was a Dutch woman, pulled her by the ſleeve, and ſaid with admiration, 'What, a Dutch Quaker!' but meddled no farther with her. This keeping of meetings in the ſtreets became now a cuſtomary thing in England; for the Quakers, ſo called, were perſuaded that the exerciſe of their

publick worſhip was a duty no man could diſcharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this ſervice from their hands. And by thus meeting in the ſtreets, it happened ſometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting places could not have been done conveniently. But thus they got abundance of auditors, and among theſe ſometimes eminent men, who paſſing by in their coaches, made their coachmen ſtop. At this rate they found there was a great harveſt, and thus their church increaſed under ſufferings; and in thoſe ſharp times they were pretty well purified of droſs, ſince the trial was too hot for ſuch as were not ſincere; for by frequenting their meetings in ſuch a time, one was in danger of being either impriſoned, or beaten lame, or unto death: but this could not quench the zeal of the upright.

Now the taking away of one preacher, and the ſtanding up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and it laſted yet long after, as I myſelf have been an eye-witneſs of there. And when there were no more men preachers preſent, it may be a woman would riſe, and miniſter to the meeting; nay, there were ſuch, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to ſtedfaſtneſs. In the mean-while many alſo were impriſoned, without being haled out of their meetings; for ſome have been apprehended for ſpeaking only ſomething on the behalf of their friends; as Rebecca Travers, who, going to the lieutenant of the Tower, deſired him to have compaſſion on ſome who were impriſoned for frequenting of meetings. But he grew angry at this; and when ſhe went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language; on which ſhe exhorting him, to be good in his place, whilſt it was the Lord's will he had it, he was ſo offended, that going back to the lieutenant, he complained that ſhe had ſpoken treaſon, and thereupon ſhe was apprehended, and ſent to priſon. Nay, the rude ſoldiers were encouraged to cruelty by officers who were not a whit better, for they themſelves would ſometimes lay violent hands on peaceable people;

as amongſt the reſt the afore-mentioned alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major-general under Cromwell, and now behaved himſelf with ſuch outrageous fierceneſs, that even the comedians did not ſtick to expoſe him, by an alluſion to his name Brown, and ſaying, 'The devil was brown.'

A book was alſo printed, wherein many baſe abuſes, and alſo his furious behaviour were expoſed to publick view; and this book was dedicated to him with this ſmall epiſtle:

'Richard Brown,

'If thou art not ſealed up already for deſtruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us: we deſire thy repentance rather than thy deſtruction; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cauſe againſt us, or our cauſe be juſt before him, who only is the righteous judge.'

The ſaid book, though publiſhed without the author's name, yet one of them was not only ſent to Brown, but as a ſign that the Quakers, ſo called, owned it, others were, by about thirty of them, delivered to the lord mayor, and the ſheriffs of London, that ſo they might know what was acted under their authority; for ſome, though not authorized, yet being favourites at court, made bold to act againſt the Quakers whatever their malice prompted them to. Among theſe was one Philip Miller, who, though not an officer, yet in the month called May of this year, came into a meeting of the ſaid people in John's ſtreet, in the pariſh of Sepulchres, at London, without any order or warrant, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the rabble who attended him, to ſecure whom he pleaſed; and then he fetched a conſtable, whom he forced by his threats to go along with him, and five perſons he apprehended, among whom was John Crook, of whom farther mention is like to be made again. Some days after, this Miller came to the ſaid meeting place again, and ſtruck ſeveral perſons with his

cane, becauſe they would not depart at his command; and then he charged the conſtables, whom he brought along with him, to ſecure and take into cuſtody whom he pleaſed.

About the latter end of the aforeſaid month, on a Firſt-day of the week, one captain Reeves, and ſome ſoldiers with muſkets and drawn ſwords, came violently ruſhing into the Bull and Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and preſently laid hold of another, who deſired Reeves to ſhew his order for this his doing: to which he anſwered, he would not in that place; but it appeared afterwards that he could not, as having no warrant. Yet he cauſed his ſoldiers to take away about forty perſons, (ſome of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the ſtreets,) and have them into Paul's yard, where they were kept till the publick worſhip was ended there; and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the priſoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands firſt on a very aged perſon, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he loſt it. Then he ſerved another in like manner, and a ſoldier ſtruck this perſon a great blow with a piſtol on his bare head: two others Brown uſed in the like manner, and then he ſent them all to Newgate, guarded by ſoldiers.

The ſame day ſome ſoldiers came to a meeting in Tower ſtreet, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one perſons, called Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them ſome time, and then brought them before the ſaid Richard Brown, who in a moſt furious manner ſtruck ſome, and kicked others; which made one of the priſoners, ſeeing how Brown ſmote one with his fiſt on the face, and kicked him on the ſhin, ſay, 'What Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? Thou didſt not do ſo when I was a ſoldier under thy command at Abingdon, and thou commandedſt me with others, to ſearch people's houſes for pies and roaſt meat, becauſe they kept Chriſtmas as a holy time; and we brought the perſons priſoners to the guard, for obſerving the ſame.' For ſuch a preciſe man the ſaid Brown was at

that time, that he pretended to root out that ſuperſtitious cuſtom; though there is reaſon to queſtion, whether his heart were ſincere in this reſpect: however, ſuch blind zeal was unfit to convince people of ſuperſtition; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much diſobliged thoſe of the church of England, endeavoured now to make amends for it, by his fierce brutality againſt the harmleſs Quakers, and ſo to come into favour with the eccleſiaſticks and courtiers. One of Brown's family having heard what was ſaid to him, replied, 'There is an Abingdon bird.' To which Brown returned, 'He is a rogue for all that,' and ſtruck him with his fiſt under the chin; which made another priſoner ſay, 'What, a magiſtrate and ſtrike!' Upon which Brown with both his hands, pulled him down to the ground by the brim of his hat, and then commanded the ſoldiers to take them all away, and carry them to Newgate.

Upon a Firſt-day of the week, in the month called June, a company of ſoldiers came into the Bull and Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn ſwords, muſkets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they ſhould find none there but harmleſs people. The firſt thing they did was to pull down him that preached, whom they haled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained ſome great victory: then they brought him to the main guard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull and Mouth, where they apprehended ſome more, whom they alſo carried to Paul's. After ſome hours, theſe priſoners were carried to the houſe of the fore-mentioned Brown, and he, aſking the names of the priſoners, and hearing that of John Perrot, ſaid, 'What, you have been at Rome to ſubvert,' but recalling himſelf ſaid, 'to convert the Pope.' On which Perrot told him, 'He had ſuffered at Rome for the teſtimony of Jeſus.' Whereupon Brown returned, 'If you had converted the Pope to your religion, I ſhould have liked him far worſe than I do now.' To which Perrot replied, 'But God would have liked him better.' After ſome more ſhort diſcourſe, Brown committed them all to Newgate.

After this manner, the meetings of thoſe called Quakers

were diſturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if neceſſary, many more inſtances. Once, one Cox, a wine-cooper, came with ſome ſoldiers into a meeting, where, after great violence uſed, they took up two men of thoſe called Quakers, whom they beat moſt grievouſly, becauſe they refuſed to go along with them, though they ſhewed no warrant for it. At length the ſoldiers carried them both upon muſkets into Paul's yard, and when they laid them down, they dragged one of them by the heels on his back, in a very barbarous manner; which being done, the ſaid wine-cooper was heard to ſay, he would go and get a cup of ſack, for theſe devils had even wearied him out: and yet he went to another meeting-place of theſe people, where he alſo behaved himſelf very wickedly; and being aſked for his order, his anſwer was holding out his ſword, this is my order. Thus it ſeems he would ingratiate himſelf with Brown, who now being in favour at court, was knighted, and ſometime after alſo choſen lord mayor of London; and by his furious behaviour, the ſoldiers were alſo encouraged to commit all manner of miſchief; inſomuch, that being aſked, what order they had for their doings, one lifting up his muſket, ſaid, 'This is my order:' ſo that things now were carried by a club-law. Nor did the ſoldiers reſpect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile-end, two boys, one about thirteen, and the other about ſixteen; and they were brought before the lieutenant of the Tower, who to one preſent, ſaying, he ſuppoſed they were not of the age of ſixteen years, and then not puniſhable by the act, returned, they were old enough to be whipt; and they ſhould be whipt out of their religion. And ſo he ſent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the ſtocks, and ſo pinched for the ſpace of two hours, that their wriſts were much ſwoln; and this was done becauſe they refuſed to work, as being perſuaded that they had not deſerved to be treated ſo; they alſo eating nothing at the charge of the ſaid workhouſe. Theſe lads, though pretty long in that priſon, yet continued ſtedfaſt, rejoicing they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of the Lord: and they writ a letter to their friend's children, exhorting

them to be faithful in bearing their teſtimony for the Lord, againſt all wickedneſs and unrighteouſneſs.

Some days before this time, Thomas and John Herbert, living in London, and other muſketeers, came with their naked ſwords into ſome private dwellings, and broke two or three doors; (for when ſome perſons were ſeen to enter a houſe, though it was only to viſit their friends, it was called a meeting.) Now it happened in one houſe, theſe rude fellows found five perſons together, one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland, and another was Samuel Fiſher: and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their ſwords, and ſaid, 'Do not aſk us for a warrant; this is our warrant.' And thereupon they took away theſe perſons by force, and carried them to Paul's yard, where they were a laughingſtock to the ſoldiers; and from thence they were brought to the Exchange, where they met with no better reception from the rude ſoldiers; and from thence they were conducted to alderman Brown's houſe in Ivy-lane. He ſeeing theſe priſoners, ſent them to Bridewell with a mittimus, to be kept at hard labour. But afterwards bethinking himſelf, and finding that his mittimus was not founded on juſtice, (for theſe perſons were not taken from a meeting) next morning he ſent another mittimus, wherein they were charged with unlawful aſſembling themſelves to worſhip. Now, ſuppoſe one of the muſketeers had heard any of theſe perſons ſpeak by way of exhortation to faithfulneſs in this hot time of perſecution, this would have been taken for a ſufficient charge, though not cognizable by law: but they ran upon ſhifts, how poor or ſilly ſoever.

Thus theſe perſons were committed to Bridewell, and required to beat hemp; and they were treated ſo ſeverely, that W. Ames grew ſick, even nigh to death, wherefore he was diſcharged; for in a ſenſe it might be ſaid, that his dwelling-place was at Amſterdam in Holland, ſince he was there the moſt part of the time for ſome years ſucceſſively, and that he might not be chargeable, he worked at wool-combing; and it being alleged that he was of Amſterdam, it ſeems they would not have him die in

priſon, as ſome of his friends had done. The others having been ſix weeks in Bridewell, were preſented at the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey: but inſtead of being tried for what was charged againſt them, they were required to take the oath of allegiance, as the only buſineſs (according to what the deputy recorder ſaid) they were brought thither for. The priſoners then demanded, that the law might be read, by virtue of which the ſaid oath was required of them. This was promiſed by the court to be done; but inſtead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not permit the law for impoſing it to be read. But before the priſoners had either declared their willingneſs to take it, or their refuſal of it, they were commanded to be taken away; which the officers did with ſuch violence, that they threw ſome of them down upon the ſtones. This made Samuel Fiſher ſay, 'Take notice people, that we have not yet refuſed to take the oath; but the court refuſeth to perform their promiſe which they made but juſt now before you all, that this ſtatute for it ſhould be read: if ſuch doings as this ever proſper, it muſt be when there is no God.' But this was not regarded; and the priſoners, without any juſtice, were ſent to Newgate. Among theſe, was alſo one John Howel, who had been ſent by alderman Brown to work at Bridewell, becauſe he being brought before him, did not tell on a ſudden what was his name: and being demanded in the court why he did not tell his name, he anſwered, becauſe he had been beaten and abuſed in the preſence of Richard Brown, when he was brought before him. Brown, who was alſo on the bench, aſked him roughly, 'Wherein were you abuſed? And Howel replied, 'Blood was drawn on me in thy preſence; which ought not to be done in the preſence of a juſtice of peace.' But Brown growing very impetuous, returned, 'Hold your prating, or there ſhall be as much done again here in the preſence of the court.'

About midſummer, Daniel Baker returned into England, (who, as hath been related, had been at Malta) and about a fortnight after his arrival, he, with four others,

was taken by a band of ſoldiers from the Bull and Mouth meeting, and carried to Paul's yard, where having been kept for ſome hours, they were brought to Newgate; but in the evening they were had before alderman Brown, to whom Baker with meekneſs ſaid, 'Let the fear of God and his peace be ſet up in thy heart.' But Brown fell a laughing, and ſaid, 'I would rather hear a dog bark;' and uſing more ſuch ſcoffing expreſſions, he charged Baker, &c. with the breach of the king's law in meeting together. To which Baker ſaid, 'The ſervants of God in the apoſtles' days, were commanded to ſpeak no more in the name of Jeſus; and they anſwered, and ſo do I too, whether it be better to obey God than men, judge ye.' He alſo inſtanced the caſe of the three children at Babylon, and Daniel, who obeyed not the king's decrees. But Brown grew ſo angry, that he commanded his men to ſmite Daniel on the face. This they did, and pulling him four or five times to the ground, they ſmote him with their fiſts, and wrung his neck ſo, as if they would have murdered him. This theſe fellows did to pleaſe Brown, ſhewing themſelves to be ready for any ſervice, how abominable ſoever. And Baker reflecting on his travels, ſignified, that even Turks and heathens would abhor ſuch brutiſh actions. His fellow-priſoners were alſo abuſed by Brown, and then ſent to Newgate again. And after ſome days, they were called to the ſeſſions, where their indictment was read, which like others in ſuch caſes, did generally run in theſe terms: that the priſoners, under pretence of performing religious worſhip, otherwiſe than by the laws of the kingdom of England eſtabliſhed, unlawfully and tumultuouſly did gather and aſſemble themſelves together, to the great terror of his majeſty's people, and to the diſturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our ſaid lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like caſe offending, &c. The indictment being read, no witneſs appeared againſt the priſoners, ſave Brown, who ſat on the bench: and therefore the oath, as the ordinary ſnare, was tendered to them; for it was ſufficiently known,

that their profeſſion did not ſuffer them to take any oath. They denying to ſwear, were ſent back to priſon, to ſtay there until they ſhould have taken the oath.

If I would here ſet down all ſuch like caſes as have happened, I might find more work than I ſhould be able to perform: for this vexing with the oath was become ſo common, that ſome have been taken up in the ſtreets, and brought to a juſtice of the peace, that he might tender the oath to them, and in caſe of denial, ſend them to priſon, though this was directly contrary to the ſtatute of Magna Charta, which expreſsly ſaith, 'No freeman ſhall be taken nor impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freehold or liberties, but by the law of the land.' But this was not regarded by Richard Brown, who did whatever he would; for force and violence were now predominant: and ſometimes when the priſoners were brought to the bar, for frequenting meetings, freedom was denied to them to juſtify themſelves; but to be hectored and baffled was their lot.

Once it happened, that a priſoner, who had been a ſoldier formerly under Brown, ſeeing that no juſtice or equity was obſerved, called to him, ſaying, 'That he was not fit to ſit on the bench; for he made the ſon to hang the father at Abingdon; ſo that he could prove him to be a murderer.' This bold ſaying cauſed ſome diſturbance in the court, and Brown, how heavy ſoever the charge was, did not deny the thing in court, nor clear himſelf from it: yet the other Quaker-priſoners did not approve this upbraiding, but ſignified, that though the fact were true, yet they were not for reproaching any magiſtrate upon the bench, whoſe place and office they did reſpect and honour. But I do not find that Brown (on that account) ever proſecuted him that ſpoke ſo boldly, although otherwiſe he did whatever he would, without fearing that his fellow-magiſtrates (who reſpected him that was a favourite at court) would diſclaim it, as may appear by this following inſtance.

A certain perſon who had been in a very violent and abuſive manner taken to priſon by the ſoldiers out of a meeting, becauſe he was not willing to go, ſaid in the

court, that his refuſing to go, was becauſe they would not ſhew him any warrant for their apprehending him; ſince for ought he knew, they might be robbers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go. But Brown, who was for violence, ſaid to this, If they had dragged him through all the kennels in the ſtreet, they had ſerved him right, if he would not go. This he ſpoke in ſuch a furious manner, that one of the priſoners told him, 'Thou haſt had many warnings and viſitations in the love of God, but haſt ſlighted them; therefore beware of being ſealed up in the wrath of God.' Hereupon one of the gaolers came with his cane, and ſtruck ſeveral of the priſoners ſo hard, that divers of them were much bruiſed; and it was reported by ſome, that Brown cried knock him down, though others (for mitigating it a little) would have it, pull him down. But the former ſeems moſt probable; for the blows were ſo violent, that ſome of the ſpectators cried out murder! murder! and aſked, 'Will ye ſuffer men to be murdered in the court?' Whereupon one of the ſheriffs in perſon came down from his ſeat to ſtop the beating. But Brown was ſo deſperately filled with anger, that he ſaid to the priſoners, 'If any of you be killed, your blood ſhall be upon your own head:' and the hangman ſtanding by with his gag in his hand, threatened the priſoners to gag any of them that ſhould ſpeak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical queſtion, guilty, or not guilty, anſwered, I deny I am guilty, and I can ſay I am not guilty; and alſo in Latin, *non reus ſum*. Yet he was ſentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he ſpoke, fully ſignified not guilty, albeit he had not expreſſed them in the ſame terms. But now they were for croſſing the Quakers in every reſpect.

I will yet mention ſome more inſtances of Brown's brutality, before I leave him. Another being demanded to anſwer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty, and not preſently anſwering, but thinking a little what to ſpeak ſafely, Brown ſcoffingly ſaid, 'We ſhall have a revelation by and by.' To which the priſoner ſaid, 'How long will ye oppoſe the innocent? How long will ye perſecute the

righteous ſeed of God?' But whilſt he was ſpeaking, Brown indecently began to cry in the language of thoſe wenches that go crying up and down the ſtreets, 'Aha, aha, Will you have any wallfleet oyſters?' And, 'have you any kitchen-ſtuff, maids?' And when a priſoner at the bar ſaid he could not for conſcience-ſake forbear meeting among the people of God, Brown ſcurrilouſly returned, 'Conſcience,—a dog's tail.' And when alderman Adams ſpeaking to one of the priſoners ſaid, 'I am ſorry to ſee you here.' 'Sorry!' ſaid Brown, 'What ſhould you be ſorry for?' 'Yes,' ſaid Adams, 'He is a ſober man.' But Brown, who could not endure to hear this, replied, that there was never a ſober man amongſt them, meaning the Quakers. The ſpectators, who took much notice of him, diſcommended this his carriage exceedingly. But he ſeemed to be quite hardened; for at a certain time two perſons being upon their trial for robbing of a houſe, he told them, they were the verieſt rogues in England, except it were the Quakers.

Sometimes it happened that the priſoners were brought to the bar without being indicted; and when they ſaid, 'What have we done?' and deſired juſtice; Brown having no indictment againſt them, often cried, 'Will you take the oath?' And they then ſaying, that for conſcience ſake they could not ſwear, were condemned as tranſgreſſors, though ſuch proceedings as theſe, were directly againſt the law. But this ſeemed at that time little to be regarded.

However, ſometime before it happened at Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that judge Windham, at that time ſhewing himſelf juſt in the like caſe, ſharply reproved the juſtices upon the bench, for having not only committed ſome perſons to priſon, but alſo had them up to the bar, when no accuſer appeared againſt them. But Richard Brown did whatever he would, and ſhewed himſelf moſt furiouſly wicked, when any priſoner was brought before him with his hat on.

One John Brain, being taken in the ſtreet, and not in any meeting, was brought by ſome ſoldiers before Brown; who, ſeeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled

down to the ground ſix or ſeven times, and when he was down, they beat his head againſt the ground, and ſtamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman, bade them pull off his noſe; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the noſe. And when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have ſpoken in his own behalf againſt this cruelty; Brown bade them ſtop his mouth. Whereupon they not only ſtruck him on the mouth, but ſtopped his mouth and noſe alſo ſo cloſe, that he could not draw breath, and was like to be choaked: at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length ſent him to gaol.

Thomas Spire being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and becauſe it was not done with ſuch violence as he intended, he cauſed it to be put upon his head again, ſaying, 'It ſhould not be pulled off ſo eaſily.' Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, ſo that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableſon was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and ſo beaten on his face, or the ſides of his head, that he ſtaggered, and bled, and for ſome days was under much pain.

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown, he took his hat with both his hands, endeavouring to pull him down to the ground; and becauſe he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he puſhed him, to throw him backwards; and then he gave him a kick on the leg, and thruſt him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himſelf gave him a blow on the face; and Iſaac Merrit, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better; ſo that he ſeemed more fit to have been a hangman, than an alderman, or juſtice. But I grow weary of mentioning more inſtances of his cruelty. Theſe his abominable atchievements were publiſhed in print, more at large than I have mentioned

them: and the book, as hath been ſaid already, was dedicated to him. And yet I do not find any have been proſecuted on that account; though his wickedneſs was extravagant, and ſuch as if he wanted to have ſtakes erected at Smithfield to vend his wood; being by trade a woodmonger.

In this hot time of perſecution, Francis Howgill writ, and gave forth the following paper for encouragement of his friends.

'The cogitations of my heart have been many, deep, and ponderous ſome months, weeks, and days, concerning this people which the Lord hath raiſed to bear teſtimony unto his name, in this the day of his power; and interceſſion hath been made often for them to the Lord, and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning them for the time to come; which often I received ſatisfaction in as to myſelf, but yet ſomething I was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might comfort and ſtrengthen his flock by an aſſured teſtimony. And while I was waiting out of all viſible things, and quite out of the world in my ſpirit, and my heart upon nothing but the living God, the Lord opened the ſprings of the great deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light and love; and my eyes were as a fountain, becauſe of tears of joy, becauſe of his heritage, of whom he ſhewed me, and ſaid unto me in a full, freſh, living power, and a holy, full teſtimony, ſo that my heart was raviſhed there with joy unſpeakable, and I was out of the body with God in his heavenly paradiſe, where I ſaw and felt things unutterable, and beyond all demonſtration or ſpeech. At laſt the life cloſed with my underſtanding, and my ſpirit liſtened unto him; and the everlaſting God ſaid, "Shall I hide any thing from them that ſeek my face in righteouſneſs? Nay, I will manifeſt it to them that fear me; I will ſpeak, do thou liſten, and publiſh it among all my people, that they may be comforted, and thou ſatisfied." And thus ſaid the living God of heaven and earth, upon the 28th of the Third month, 1662.

'The ſun ſhall leave its ſhining brightneſs, and ceaſe

to give light to the world; and the moon ſhall be altogether darkneſs, and give no light unto the night; the ſtars ſhall ceaſe to know their office, or place; my covenant with day, night, times and ſeaſons, ſhall ſooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me, ſhall end or be broken. Yea, though the powers of darkneſs and hell combine againſt them, and the jaws of death open its mouth, yet I will deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and ſcatter them as I did in Iſrael in the days of old. I will take their enemies, I will hurl them hither and thither, as ſtones hurled in a ſling; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, ſhall never be rooted out, but ſhall live through ages, as a cloud of witneſſes in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I have brought them forth; I have ſwaddled them and they are mine. I will nouriſh them, and carry them as on eagles' wings; and though clouds gather againſt them, I will make my way through them; though darkneſs gather together on a heap, and tempeſts gender, I will ſcatter them as with an eaſt wind; and nations ſhall know they are my inheritance, and they ſhall know I am the living God, who will plead their cauſe with all that riſe up in oppoſition againſt them.'

'Theſe words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true; bleſſed are they that hear and believe unto the end: and becauſe of them no ſtrength was left in me for a while; but at laſt my heart was filled with joy, even as when the ark of God was brought from the houſe of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Iſrael ſhouted for joy.

'Francis Howgill.'

That this writing of F. Howgill, who was a pious man, of great parts, together with many other powerful exhortations of ſuch who valiantly went before, and never left the oppreſſed flock, tended exceedingly to their encouragement in this hot time of perſecution, is certain. For how furious ſoever their enemies were, yet they con-

tinued faithful in ſupplications and fervent prayers to God, that he might be pleaſed to aſſiſt them in their upright zeal, who aimed at nothing for ſelf, but from a true fear and reverence before him, durſt not omit their religious aſſemblies. And they found that the Lord heard their prayers, inſomuch that I remember to have heard one ſay, that at a meeting where they ſeemed to be in danger of death from their fierce perſecutors, he was as it were raviſhed, ſo that he hardly knew whether he was in or out of the body. They then perſevering thus in faithfulneſs, to what they believed the Lord required of them, in proceſs of time, when their enemies had taken ſuch meaſures, that they were perſuaded they had found out means, by which they ſhould ſuppreſs and extinguiſh the Quakers, they ſaw the Lord God Almighty roſe up in their defence, and quaſhed and confounded the wicked devices of their cruel perſecutors, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory.

In the mean-while let us take a view of the perſecution in Southwark. Here the Quakers meetings were no leſs diſturbed than in London. Several perſons, having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed; and, after having been in White-lion priſon about nine weeks, were brought to the bar, where Richard Onſlow ſat judge of the ſeſſions. The indictment drawn up againſt them was as followeth.

'The jurors for our lord the king do preſent upon their oath, that Arthur Fiſher, late of the pariſh of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surry, yeoman; Nathaniel Robinſon, of the ſame, yeoman; John Chandler of the ſame, yeoman; and others, being wicked, dangerous, and ſeditious ſectaries, and diſloyal perſons, and above the age of ſixteen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the reign of our lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, have obſtinately refuſed, and every one of them hath obſtinately refuſed, to repair unto ſome church, chapel, or uſual place of common prayer, according to

the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom of England, in the like caſe ſet forth and provided (after forty days next after the end of the ſeſſion of parliament, begun and holden at Weſtminſter, on the 29th day of February, in the year of our lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, the thirty-fifth, and there continued until the diſſolution of the ſame, being the tenth day of April, in the 35th year aboveſaid.) To wit, on the 3d day of Auguſt, in the year of the reign of the ſaid Charles, king of England, the fourteenth aboveſaid, in the pariſh of St. Olave aforeſaid, in the borough of Southwark aforeſaid, in the county aforeſaid, of themſelves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were preſent at an unlawful aſſembly, conventicle, and meeting, at the ſaid pariſh of St. Olave, in the county aforeſaid, under colour and pretence of the exerciſe of religion, againſt the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our ſaid lord the king that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in the like caſe, offending againſt the peace of our ſaid lord the king that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the ſtatute in this ſame caſe ſet forth and provided.'

I have inſerted this indictment, that the reader may ſee not only the manner of proceeding, but alſo with what black and heinous colours the religious meetings of thoſe called Quakers, were repreſented. This indictment being read, the priſoners deſired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament againſt conventicles. But it was anſwered, they might try them by what they would that was in force. Then the priſoners deſired that that ſtatute (viz. the 35th of Elizabeth) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was ſaid to the clerk, it was enough. The priſoners ſaid then, that that act was made in the time of ignorance, when the people were but newly ſtept out of popery; and they ſhewed alſo how unjuſtly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead guilty, or not guilty, to the indictment, ſome who were not very forward to anſwer, were haled out of the court, as taken *pro confeſſis*; and ſo ſent back to priſon.

The reſt, being twenty-two in number, pleaded not guilty. Then the jurymen were called, and when they had excepted againſt one, the judge would not allow it, becauſe he did not like the reaſon they gave, viz. that they ſaw envy, prejudice, and a vain deportment in him. Another was excepted againſt, becauſe he was heard to ſay, that he hoped ere long, that the Quakers ſhould be arraigned at the bar, and be baniſhed to ſome land, where there were nothing but bears. At this the court burſt out into a laughter; yet the exception was admitted, and the man put by. The priſoners not thinking it convenient to make more exceptions, the jury were ſworn, then two witneſſes were called, who teſtified at moſt, that in ſuch a place they took ſuch perſons met together, whoſe names were ſpecified in writing. Then the priſoners bid the jury, take heed how they did ſport or dally with holy things, and that thoſe things, which concerned the conſcience, were holy things. And as a man was not to ſport with the health or illneſs of his neighbour, ſo he was not to ſport with the liberty or the baniſhment of his neighbour. And whereas they were accuſed of being wicked, dangerous, and ſeditious ſectaries, that was not true; for they were not wicked, but ſuch as endeavoured to live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in the world; concerning the truth of which, they appealed to themſelves. Neither were they ſeditious, but peaceable. And whereas they were charged for not coming to hear the common prayer, this was incongruous; for the ſervice book was not quite printed ſeveral weeks after the ſaid 29th of June; ſo that they could not be charged of neglecting to hear that which was not to be heard read any where. This puzzled the court not a little; and other pinching reaſons were alſo given by the priſoners, ſome of which were men of learning; inſomuch that the judge was not able to anſwer the objections, but by ſhifts and evaſions. At length the jury went out to conſult, and one of them was heard to ſay, as they were going up ſtairs, 'Here is a deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men.'

After ſome time, the jury coming again, and being aſked whether the priſoners at the bar were guilty or

not guilty, they ſaid, they were guilty in part, and not guilty in part. But this verdict did not pleaſe the judge. The jury then going out again, and prevailing upon one another, quickly returned, and declared the priſoners guilty, according to the form of the indictment. Hereupon the judge Onſlow pronounced ſentence, viz. That they ſhould return to priſon again, and lie there three months without bail; and if they did not make ſubmiſſion according as the law directed, either at, or before the end of the aforeſaid three months, that then they ſhould abjure the realm: but in caſe they refuſed to make abjuration, or after abjuration made, ſhould forbear to depart the realm within the time limited, or ſhould return again without licence, they ſhould be proceeded againſt as felons.

Juſt before ſentence given, the judge ſaid to one of the priſoners, there was a way to eſcape the penalty, viz. Submiſſion. And being aſked, what that was? the judge anſwered, 'To come to common prayer, and refrain theſe meetings.' The priſoner giving reaſons for refuſal of both, the judge ſaid, 'Then you muſt abjure the land.' 'Abjure,' returned the priſoner, is 'forſwear.' To which one of the juſtices ſaid laughingly, 'And ye cannot ſwear at all.' Juſt as if it were but jeſt, thus to treat religious men. But they had ſignified already to the jury, that they muſt rather die than do ſo. How long they were kept priſoners, and how releaſed, I could not learn; but this I know, that many in the like caſes have been long kept in gaol, till ſometimes they were ſet at liberty by the king's proclamation.

In this year it was the ſhare of John Crook (who himſelf once had been a juſtice) to be taken out of a meeting at London in John's ſtreet, as hath been ſaid already, by one Miller, though not in office. And he with others was brought to his trial in the ſaid city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder of the ſame, the chief juſtice Forſter, and other judges and juſtices, among whom was alſo Richard Brown.

Now ſince J. Crook publiſhed this trial in print, and by that we may judge, as *ex ungue leonem*, of other trials of the Quakers, I will give it here at large,

J. Crook being brought to the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, with two of his friends, viz. Iſaac Gray, doctor of phyſic, and John Bolton, goldſmith: one of the priſoners was called to the bar, and then aſked by the

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Priſoner. I deſire to be heard, where is my accuſer?

Ch. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you muſt not have liberty to ſpeak what you liſt.

Priſ. I ſpeak in the preſence and fear of the everlaſting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure, and not to ſpeak my own words; and therefore I deſire to be heard: I have been ſo long in priſon——then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. Leave your canting; and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly, by the gaoler. This was the ſubſtance of what the priſoner aforeſaid ſpoke the firſt time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar; which the cryer did accordingly, he being amongſt the felons as aforeſaid.

J. C. being brought to the bar:

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

J. C. I deſire to be heard.

C. Judge. Anſwer to the queſtion, and you ſhall be heard.

J. C. I have been about ſix weeks in priſon, and am I now called to accuſe myſelf? For the anſwering to this queſtion in the negative, is to accuſe myſelf, which you ought not to put me upon; for, *Nemo debet ſeipſum prodere.** I am an Engliſhman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſſeized of my freehold, nor called in queſtion, nor put to anſwer, but according to the law of the land; which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day; (or words to this purpoſe.) I ſtand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do deſire that my accuſer may be brought forth to accuſe me for my delinquency, and then I ſhall anſwer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.

* No one ought to betray himſelf.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you ſhall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it to any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occaſion, in this place; for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuſe myſelf; for I am an Engliſhman, as I have ſaid to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Engliſhman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is preſerved; and this is ſeen in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. 1. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I deſire the benefit and obſervance of them: and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my council, and not my accuſers, but to inform me of the benefit of thoſe laws; and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not ſuffer through my own ignorance of thoſe advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Engliſhman.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and impriſoning, that thou may the better judge what juſtice I had from the court aforeſaid; which is as followeth.

I being in John's ſtreet London, about the 13th day of the Third month (called May) with ſome other of the people of God, to wait upon him, as we were ſat together, there came in a rude man called Miller, with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with ſome others, beating ſome, commanding the conſtables who came in after him, but having no warrant, were not willing to meddle; but as his threatenings prevailed, they, being afraid of him, joined with him to carry ſeveral of us before juſtice Powel (ſo called) who the next day ſent us to the ſeſſions at Hick's Hall; where after ſome diſcourſe ſeveral times with them; we manifeſted to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithſtanding, they committed me and others, and cauſed an indictment to be

drawn againſt us, founded upon the late act againſt Quakers and others; and then remanded us to New Priſon, where we continued for ſome days; and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the ſeſſions in the Old Bailey aforeſaid: whereby thou mayſt underſtand what juſtice I met withal, by what went before, and now farther follows.

Ch. Judge. We ſit here to do juſtice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, ſirrah, you are too bold.

J. C. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge; for I am no felon; neither ought you to menace the priſoner at the bar; for I ſtand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preſervation of my wife and children, and outward eſtate (they being now at the ſtake); therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can ſay in my own defence, according to law, and that in its ſeaſon, as it is given me to ſpeak: therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to aſſert my liberty, as an Engliſhman, and as a Chriſtian; and if I ſpeak loud, it is my zeal for the Truth, and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold—

Judge. It is an evil zeal; interrupting John Crook.

J. C. No, I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlaſting Jehovah, to aſſert the Truth, and ſtand as a witneſs for it: let my accuſer be brought forth, and I am ready to anſwer any court of juſtice.—

Then the judge interrupted me, ſaying, ſirrah, with ſome other words I do not remember? But I anſwered, You are not to threaten me, neither are thoſe menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the ſafety of the priſoner ſtands upon the indifferency of the court: and you ought not to behave yourſelves as parties, ſeeking all advantages againſt the priſoner, but not heeding any thing that may make for his clearing or advantage. The judge again interrupted me, ſaying,

Judge. Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it you (bidding, read it.)

J. C. Let me ſee mine accuſer, that I may know for what cauſe I have been ſix weeks impriſoned, and do not

put me to accuſe myſelf by aſking me queſtions; but either let my accuſer come forth, or otherwiſe let me be diſcharged by proclamation, as you ought to do—Here I was interrupted again.

Judge Twiſden. We take no notice of your being here otherwiſe than of a ſtraggler, or as any other perſon, or of the people that are here this day; for we may tender the oath to any man. And another judge ſpake to the like purpoſe.

J. C. I am here at your bar as a priſoner reſtrained of my liberty, and do queſtion whether you ought in juſtice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, becauſe I am ſuppoſed to be an offender; or elſe why have I been ſix weeks in priſon already? Let me be cleared of my impriſonment, and then I ſhall anſwer to what is charged againſt me, and to the queſtion now propounded; for I am a lover of juſtice with all my ſoul, and am well known by my neighbours, where I have lived, to keep a conſcience void of offence, both towards God, and towards man.

Judge. Sirrah, leave your canting.

J. C. Is this canting, to ſpeak the words of the ſcripture?

Judge. It is canting in your mouth, though they are Paul's words.

J. C. I ſpeak the words of the ſcripture, and it is not canting, though I ſpeak them; but they are words of truth and ſoberneſs in my mouth, they being witneſſed by me, and fulfilled in me.

Judge. We do aſk you again, whether you will take the oath of allegiance? It is but a ſhort queſtion, you may anſwer if you will.

J. C. By what law have you power to tender it? Then, after ſome conſultation together by whiſpering, they called for the ſtatute book, and turning over the leaves, they anſwered,

Judge. By the third of king James.

J. C. I deſire that ſtatute may be read; for I have conſulted it, and do not underſtand that you have power by that ſtatute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occaſion, as a delinquent al-

ready; and therefore I desire the judgment of the court in this case, and that the statute may be read.

Judge. Then they took the statute book, and consulted together upon it, and one said, we are the judges of this land, and do better understand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court?

Judge. Yes.

J. C. I desire the statute to be read that impowers you to tender the oath to me upon this occasion in this place; for, *Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manet*,* therefore let me hear it read.

Judge. Hear me.

J. C. I am as willing to hear as to speak.

Judge. Then hear me: you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in case you refuse; for your first denial shall be recorded, and then it shall be tendered to you again at the end of the sessions; and upon the second refusal you run into a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your estate, (if you have any) and imprisonment.

J. C. It is justice I stand for; let me have justice, in bringing my accuser face to face, as by law you ought to do, I standing at your bar as a delinquent; and when that is done, I will answer to what can be charged against me, as also to the question; until then, I shall give no other answer than I have already done, at least at present.

Then there was a cry in the court, take him away, which occasioned a great interruption: and J. Crook spake to this purpose, saying, Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice; and take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause: and for my part, I desire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads; but let God's wisdom guide you. These words he spake at the bar, and as he was carrying away.

On the sixth day of the week, in the forenoon following, the court being sat, John Crook was called to the bar,

* Words only spoken are lost; writing remains.

C. Judge. Friend Crook, we have given you time to conſider of what was ſaid yeſterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better conſidered of it by this time; therefore, without any more words, will you take the oath? And called to the clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do deſire to know the cauſe of my ſo long impriſonment; for, as I ſaid, I ſtand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law; therefore, let me ſee my accuſer, or elſe free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuſe me; for the law is grounded upon right reaſon, and whatſoever is contrary to right reaſon, is contrary to law; and therefore if no accuſer appear, you ought to acquit me firſt, and then I ſhall anſwer, as I have ſaid, if any new matter appear; otherwiſe it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought not to take notice of my ſo being before you; for what is not legally ſo, is not ſo; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I were not before you: and therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed, in right reaſon, that you have now power, at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.

Judge. Read the oath to him; and ſo the clerk began to read.

J. C. I deſire juſtice, according to the laws of England; for you ought firſt to convict me, concerning the cauſe of my ſo long impriſonment: for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws, for you ought to be miniſters of the law.

Judge. You are a ſaucy and an impudent fellow: will you tell us what is law, or our duties? Then ſaid he to the clerk, read on; and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. ſaid, read the preface to the act; I ſay again, read the title and preamble to the act; for titles to laws are *claves legum*, as keys to open the law; for by their titles, laws are underſtood and known, as men by their faces. Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I ſaid as followeth: if you will not hear me, nor do me juſtice, I muſt appeal to the Lord God of heaven and

earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we muſt all appear, to give an account for the deeds done in the body; for he will judge between you and me this day, whether you have done me juſtice or not.

Theſe words following (or the like) I ſpake as going from the bar, being pulled away, viz. Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may do juſtice, leſt you periſh in his wrath. For ſometimes the court cried, pull him away, and then ſaid, bring him again: and thus they did ſeveral times, like men in confuſion and diſorder.

The ſame day, in the afternoon, ſilence being made, John Crook, was called to the bar, before the judges and juſtices aforeſaid: the indictment being read, the judge ſaid,

Mr. Crook, You have heard your indictment, what ſay you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. I deſire to ſpeak a few words in humility and ſoberneſs, in regard my eſtate and liberty lies at ſtake, and am like to be a precedent for many more; therefore I hope the court will not deny me right and benefit of the law, as being an Engliſhman. I have ſome reaſon, before I ſpeak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I deſire to know mine accuſers; I have been kept theſe ſix weeks in priſon, and know not, nor have not ſeen the faces of them.

Judge. We ſhall afford you the right of the law, as an Engliſhman. God forbid you ſhould be denied it; but you muſt anſwer firſt, guilty, or not guilty, that ſo in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading; but if you go on as you do, (and will not anſwer guilty, or not guilty) you will run yourſelf into a premunire, and then you loſe the benefit of the law, and expoſe yourſelf, body and eſtate, to great hazards; and whatever violence is offered to your perſon or eſtate, you are out of the king's protection, and loſe the benefit of the law; and all this by your not anſwering (guilty, or not guilty.) If you plead not guilty, you may be heard.

J. C. It is recorded in the ſtatutes of the 28 Edw. 3. & 3. and 42 Edw. 3 & 3. in the words, No man is to be taken, or impriſoned, or be put to anſwer, without

preſentment before juſtices, or matter of record, or by due proceſs, or writ original, according to the old law of the land; and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it ſhall be void in law, and holden for error. And alſo in the 25th of Edw. 1. 2. and the 3 Car. 1. and the 29 cap. Mag. Chart. No freeman ſhall be taken and impriſoned but by the law of the land: theſe words (the law of the land) are explained by the ſtatute of 37 Edw. 3. 8. to be, without due proceſs of law; and if any judgments are given contrary to Mag. Chart. they are void 25 Edw. 1. 2.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not underſtand the law, though you adore the ſtatute law ſo much, yet you do not underſtand it.

J. C. I would have you tell me the right way.

Judge. Mr. Crook, hear me: you muſt ſay, guilty, or not guilty; if you plead not guilty, you ſhall be heard, and know how far the law favours you. And the next thing is, there is no circumſtance whatſoever that is the cauſe of your impriſonment, that you queſtion, but you have, as a ſubject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and wave other things, and anſwer guilty, or not guilty; and what the law affords you, you ſhall have, if you do what the law requires you; or elſe you will loſe the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection.

J. C. Obſerve how the judge would draw me into a ſnare, viz. By firſt pleading (guilty, or not guilty) and when I have done ſo, he and his brethren intend ſuddenly to put me (as an outlawed perſon) out of the king's protection; and how then can I have remedy for my falſe impriſonment? Therefore firſt clear me (or condemn me) from my falſe impriſonment, while I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not to outlaw me for an offence created by yourſelves; and then, to ſtop my mouth, you tell me, that if I have been wronged, or falſe impriſoned, I may have my remedy afterwards: this is to trepan me, and contrary to both law and juſtice, &c.

Judge. You muſt plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I do deſire in humility and meekneſs to ſay, I ſhall not; I dare not betray the honeſty of my cauſe, and

the honeſt ones of this nation, whoſe liberty I ſtand for, as well as my own; as I have cauſe to think I ſhall, if I plead to the preſent indictment, before I ſee the faces of my accuſers; for truly, I am not ſatisfied in my judgment and conſcience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be firſt acquitted of the cauſe of my being brought priſoner to your bar; and therefore it ſticks with me to urge this farther, viz. That I may ſee my accuſers——Interruption.

Judge. The erranteſt thief may ſay, he is not ſatisfied in his conſcience.

J. C. My caſe is not theirs, yet they have their accuſers; and may not I call for mine? And therefore call for them, for you ought to do ſo; as Chriſt ſaid to the woman, Woman, where are thine accuſers? So you ought to ſay to me, Man, where are thine accuſers?—Interrupted.

Judge. Your indictment is your accuſer, and the grand jury have found you guilty, becauſe you did not ſwear: what ſay you, Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? If you will not anſwer, or what you have ſaid, be taken for your anſwer, as I told you before, you loſe the benefit of the law; and what I tell you, is for your good.

J. C. What is for good, I hope I ſhall take it ſo.

Judge. If you will not anſwer, you run yourſelf into a premunire; and you will loſe the benefit of the law, and the king's protection, unleſs you plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I ſtand as brought forcibly and violently hither; neither had I been here but by a violent action; and that you ſhould take no notice of it, ſeems ſtrange to me; and not only ſo, but that you ſhould haſten me ſo faſt into a courſe, that I ſhould not be able any ways to help myſelf, by reaſon of your haſty and faſt proceedings againſt me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law: was ever the like known, or heard of, in a court of juſtice?

Judge. Friend, this is not here in queſtion, whether you are unjuſtly brought here, or not: do you queſtion that by law, but not diſable yourſelf to take advantage

by the law: if brought by a wrong hand, you have a plea againſt them; but you muſt firſt anſwer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. How can I help myſelf, when you have outlawed me? Therefore let proclamation be made in the court, that I was brought by force hither, and let me ſtand cleared by proclamation, as you ought to do; for you are *diſcernere per legem, quid ſit juſtum*, * and not to do what ſeems good in your own eyes—here I was interrupted again, but might have ſpoken juſtice Crook's words in Hambden's caſe, who ſaid, That we who are judges ſpeak upon our oaths, and therefore muſt deliver our judgments according to our conſciences; and the fault will lie upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law: and farther ſaid, We that are judges muſt not give our judgments according to policy, or rules of ſtate, nor conveniencies, but only according to law. Theſe were his words, which I might have ſpoken; but was interrupted.

Judge. What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, (as you ſay) it being now tendered to you; from the time you refuſed it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refuſing, are indicted: we look not upon what you are here for, but here finding you, we tender you the oath; and you refuſing it, your impriſonment is now juſt, and according to law. (Something omitted which I ſpoke afterwards.)

J. C. How came I here, if you know not? I have told you it is force and violence, which our law altogether condemns; and therefore I not being legally before, am not before you; for what is not legally ſo, is not ſo; and I not being legally brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.

Judge. No, no, you are miſtaken; ſo you may ſay of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here: I tell you, a man being brought by force hither, we may tender him the oath; and if he take it not, he may be committed to priſon; authority hath given us the power, and the ſtatute-law hath given us authority

* To determine by law what is juſt.

to tender the oath to any perſon, and ſo have we tendered it to you; and for your not taking it, you are indicted by the grand jury: anſwer the accuſation, or confute the indictment; you muſt do the one or the other; anſwer, guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. Here I was interrupted, but might have ſaid, that the people that were ſpectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them; becauſe it is their liberty and privilege, as they are Engliſhmen, and the law of England allows the ſame; ſo that they are not to be termed gazers upon this account, but are legally in that place, to hear trials, and ſee juſtice done, and might have ſpoken (if occaſion had been) any thing in the priſoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court muſt have heard them or him: and this as a ſtander-by, or *amicus curiæ;** ſo ſaith Cook.

J. C. The law is built upon right reaſon, or right reaſon is the law; and whatever is contrary to right reaſon, is contrary to law; the reaſon of the law, being the law itſelf. I am no lawyer, and my knowledge of it is but little, yet I have had a love to it for that reaſon I have found in it, and have ſpent ſome leiſure hours in the reading thereof; and the law is that which I honour, and is good in its place; many laws being juſt and good, not all, but, I ſay, a great part of them, or much of them; and it is not my intention in the leaſt to diſparage, or derogate from them.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you have been told, you muſt plead guilty, or not guilty, or elſe you run yourſelf into a premunire; be not your own enemy, nor be ſo obſtinate.

J. C. I would not ſtand obſtinately before you, neither am I ſo; if you underſtand it otherwiſe, it is a miſtake indeed.

Judge. Will you ſpeak to the indictment, and then you may plead? If you will not anſwer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment ſhall go againſt you. Clerk, enter it.

Recorder. Mr. Crook, if you will anſwer, you may

* *A friend of the court.*

plead for yourſelf; or will you take the oath? The court takes no notice how you came hither: what ſay you? Will you anſwer? For a man may be brought out of Smithfield by head and ſhoulders, and the oath tendered to him, and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here.

J. C. That kind of proceeding is not only unjuſt, but unreaſonable alſo—(here was ſome interruption) and againſt the laws aforeſaid, which ſay, No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, but by warrant, or due proceſs of law: ſo that this ſpeech of the recorder's, ſavours more of paſſion than juſtice; and cruelty, than due obſervance of law; for every forcible reſtraint of a man's liberty, is an impriſonment in law. Beſides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and impriſon them, and then aſk them queſtions, the anſwering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itſelf, but againſt law, and makes one evil act the ground of another; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another; and this is my caſe this day—Interruption.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you muſt not be your own judge, we are your judges; but for our parts we will not wrong you: will you anſwer guilty, or not guilty? If not, you will run yourſelf into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow; for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

J. C. Then it ſeems you make the law a trapan to enſnare me, or as a noſe-of-wax, or what you pleaſe: well! I ſhall leave my cauſe with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteouſneſs. But ſuppoſe I do take the oath (now) at this time, you may call me again (to-morrow) and make a new tender; or others may call me before them.

Judge. Yes, if there be new matter; or if there fall out any emergent occaſion, whereby you may miniſter on your part new occaſion: Mr. Crook, will you ſwear?

J. C. If I do take it to-day, it may be tendered me again to-morrow, and ſo next day, *ad infinitum*, whereby a great part of my time may be ſpent and taken up, in taking the oath and ſwearing.

Ch. Judge. When you have (once) ſworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you miniſter occaſion on your part.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath (once) taken by me is ſufficient, and ought not to be tendered a ſecond time, without new matter miniſtered on my part?

Judge. Yes; you making it appear you have (once) taken it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the whole court? For I would not do any thing raſhly.

Judges. Yes, it is the judgment of the court; to which they all ſtanding up, ſaid, Yes.

J. C. Then it ſeems there muſt be ſome new occaſion miniſtered by me after I have (once) taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the ſecond time.

Judges. Yes.

J. C. Then by the judgment of this court, if I may make it appear that I have taken the oath (once) and I have miniſtered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be juſtly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered me the ſecond time: but I am the man that have taken it (once) being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free; witneſs the records in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part; if there do, let me know it; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender me it the ſecond time; for *de non apparentibus, & non exiſtentibus eadem ratio eſt.**—Interrupted by the ſhout of the court, when theſe laſt words might have been ſpoken.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are miſtaken, you muſt not think to ſurprize the court with criticiſms, nor draw falſe concluſions from our judgments.

J. C. If this be not a natural concluſion from the judgment of the court, let right reaſon judge; and if you recede from your own judgments in the ſame breath (as it were) given even now, what juſtice can I expect from you? For, if you will not be juſt to yourſelves, and your own judgments, how can I expect you ſhould be juſt to me?

* *That which doth not appear, is to be judged of as that which doth not exiſt.*

Judge. Mr. Crook, if you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again; as for inſtance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again; there be many that have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years ſince, yet this new emergency requires it again; and although you have taken it, yet you muſt not make it appear before you anſwer guilty, or not guilty; therefore do not wrong yourſelf, and prejudice yourſelf and family: do you think that every fellow that comes hither, ſhall argue as you do? We have no more to do, but to know of you, whither you will anſwer (guilty, or not guilty,) or take the oath, and then you ſhall be freed from the indictment: if you will not plead, clerk, record it: What ſay you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. Will you not ſtand to your own judgments? Did you not ſay, even now, that if I had (once) taken the oath, it ought not to be tendered to me the ſecond time, except I adminiſtered new matter on my part that I have not kept it, &c. But no ſuch matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the ſecond time, by your own confeſſion, much leſs to indict me for refuſal.

Judge. If you will not plead, we will record it, and judgment ſhall be given againſt you; therefore ſay, guilty, or not guilty, or elſe we will record it. (The clerk beginning to record it.)

J. C. Before I anſwer, I demand a copy of my indictment; for I have heard it affirmed by counſel learned in the law, that if I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my exceptions afterwards againſt the indictment will be made void: therefore I deſire a copy of the indictment.

Judge. He that ſaid ſo, deſerves not the name of a counſel; for the law is, you muſt firſt anſwer, and then you ſhall have a copy. Will you plead guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. If my pleading guilty, or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quaſhing the indictment for inſufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make againſt it, I ſhall ſpeak to it.

Judge. No, it will not. Will you anſwer, guilty, or not guilty. If you plead not, the indictment will be found againſt you: will you anſwer? We will ſtay no longer.

J. C. I am upon the point: will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law? For I am tender in that reſpect, becauſe it is not my own caſe (only) but may be the caſe of thouſands more; therefore I would do nothing that might prejudice others, or myſelf, as a Chriſtian, or as an Engliſhman.

Judge. Underſtand yourſelf, (but we will not make a bargain with you, ſaid another judge) you ſhall have the right done you as an Engliſhman, the way is to anſwer, guilty, or not guilty: if you plead, and find the indictment not good, you may have your remedy: anſwer, guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. As to the indictment it is very large, and ſeems to be confuſed, and made up of ſome things true, and ſome things falſe; my anſwer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, becauſe I make conſcience of what I ſay, and therefore, of what is true, I confeſs myſelf guilty, but what is falſe, I am not guilty of.

Judge. That is not ſufficient; either anſwer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given againſt you.

J. C. I will ſpeak the truth, as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavoured to do: I am not guilty of that which is falſe, contained in the indictment, which is the ſubſtance thereof.

Judge. No more ado; the form is nothing, guilty or not?

J. C. I muſt not wrong my conſcience, I am not guilty of what is falſe, as I ſaid before; what is true, I am guilty of; what is not true, I am not guilty of that; which is the ſubſtance thereof, as I ſaid before.

Recorder. It is enough, and ſhall ſerve turn. Enter that, clerk.

The ſeventh day of the week, called Saturday.

Silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the ſeſſions read ſomething concerning the jury, which was impannelled on purpoſe (as was ſaid),

the jury being diſcharged who were eye-witneſſes of what paſſed between us and the court: and this jury, were divers of them ſoldiers, ſome of whom did by violence and force pull and hale Friends out of their meetings, and ſome of us out of our houſes; and theſe were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment (as I remember.)

J. C. I deſire to be heard a few words, which are theſe, that we may have liberty till the next quarter ſeſſions to traverſe the indictment, it being long, and in Latin, and like to be a precedent: and I hope I need not preſs it, becauſe I underſtood that you promiſed (and eſpecially the recorder, who anſwered, when it was deſired, you ſhall) that we ſhould have counſel alſo, the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of, as yet the time being ſo ſhort, and we kept priſoners, that we could not go forth to adviſe with counſel, neither could we tell how to get them to us; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning; and becauſe ſo ſuddenly hurried down to the ſeſſions, we cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be provided (as to matter of law) to make our defence.

Judge. We have given you time enough, and you ſhall have no more; for we will try you at this time, therefore ſwear the jury.

J. C. I deſire we may have juſtice, and that we may not be ſurprized in our trial, but that we may have time till the next quarter ſeſſions, our indictment being in Latin, and ſo large as it is; and this is but that which is reaſonable, and is the practice of other courts: for, if it be but an action above forty ſhillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter ſeſſions, if one be indicted for a treſpaſs, if it be but to the value of five ſhillings, he ſhall have liberty to enter his traverſe, and, upon ſecurity given to proſecute, he ſhall have liberty till the next ſeſſions, which is the ordinary practice; which liberty we deſire, and we hope it is ſo reaſonable, it will not be denied, eſpecially upon this occaſion, we being like to be made a precedent: and courts of juſtice have uſed to be eſpecially careful in

making of precedents; for we are not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time; and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a ſurpriſal.

Judge. There is no great matter of law in the caſe; it is only matter of fact, whether you have refuſed to take the oath or not; that is the point in iſſue: and what law can ariſe here?

Recorder. Mr. Crook, the keeper of the priſon was ſpoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counſel might come to you if you would; and alſo that the clerk ſhould give you a copy of the indictment: this is fair; therefore we will go on to ſwear the jury, for the matter is, whether you refuſe the oath, or not? And that is the ſingle point, and there needs neither law nor counſel in the caſe; and therefore we conſidered of it laſt night, when we ſent you word, and did determine to try you; and therefore it is in vain to ſay any thing, for the court is reſolved to try you now; therefore ſwear the jury, cryer.

J. C. I hope you will not ſurprize us: then the other priſoners (who alſo were indicted) cried out (having ſpoken ſomething before,) let us have juſtice, and let not the jury be ſworn till we be firſt heard. So there was a great noiſe, the court being in a confuſion, ſome crying, Take them away; others, Stay, let them alone; others ſaying, Go on to ſwear the jury; and the cryer, in this uproar and confuſion, did do ſomething as if he had done it: then we all cried out for juſtice and liberty till the next ſeſſions; the court being in a confuſion, ſome crying one thing and ſome another, which now cannot be called to mind, by reaſon of the great diſtraction that was in the court; neither what we ſaid to them, nor they to us, the noiſe was ſo great, and the commands of the court ſo various to the officers, ſome commanding them, to take us away; others, to let us alone; others, to bring us nearer; others cried, put them into the bail-dock; others, to put them within the fartheſt bar where the felons uſe to ſtand; which we were forced into accordingly. And in this hurlyburly and confuſion that was amongſt them, ſome men were ſworn, to teſtify that we refuſed to take

the oath, which we never poſitively did; other officers of the court, whom they would have ſworn, refuſed to ſwear, though preſſed to it by the chief juſtice, they deſired to be excuſed. Then ſpake one of the priſoners again pretty much, but could hardly be underſtood, by reaſon of the noiſe in the court; but the people, to whom he ſpake with a loud voice, by way of exhortation, might hear the ſubſtance of what he ſaid, which cannot now particularly be called to mind; but it was to expreſs the preſence and love of God to himſelf, and to exhort others to mind his fear, that they alſo might be acquainted with God, &c.

Judge. Stop his mouth, executioner. Which was accordingly done.

Priſoners. Then we cried out, will you not give us leave to ſpeak for ourſelves? We except againſt ſome of the jury, as being our enemies, and ſome of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to priſon without warrant, or other due proceſs of law; and ſhall theſe be our judges? We except againſt them.

Judge. It is too late now, you ſhould have done it before they had been ſworn jurymen. Jury, go together, that which you have to find, is whether they have refuſed to take the oath, or no, which hath been ſworn before you that they did refuſe: you need not go from the bar. And like words ſaid the recorder and others, there being a confuſion and noiſe in the court, many ſpeaking together.

Priſoners. Then we cried for juſtice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence, before the jury gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder ſaid, we ſhould not be heard (making good by their practice, what the chief judge had ſaid the day before, viz. That if we had liberty to ſpeak, we would make ourſelves famous and them odious) crying again ſtop their mouths, executioner; which was done accordingly, with a dirty cloth, and alſo endeavoured to have gagged me, ſtriving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpoſe; and ſo we were ſerved ſeveral times. Then

I called out with a loud voice. Will you condemn us without hearing? This is to deal worſe with us, than Pilate did with Chriſt, who, though he condemned him without a cauſe, yet not without hearing him ſpeak for himſelf; but you deny us both.

Judge. Let Mr. Gray come to the bar. Room being made, he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he ſpake to the court to this purpoſe: I deſire to know whether, according to law, and the practice of this court, myſelf and my fellow priſoners, may have liberty to put in bail, to proſecute our traverſe at the next ſeſſions?

Court. No, we will try you preſently.

Judge. Stop their mouths, executioner: and this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being ſtill in a continued confuſion; ſome crying to the jury, Give in your verdict, for we will not hear them; with other words which could not be heard for the noiſe, the court being in confuſion.

J. C. You might as well have cauſed us to have been murdered before we came hither, as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence; you had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abuſed, and to have our mouths ſtopped: was ever the like known? Let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me? You have often promiſed that you would.

Judge. Hear me, and we will hear you: then he began to ſpeak, and ſome others of the bench interrupted him: ſometimes they ſpeaking two or three at a time, and a noiſe amongſt the officers of the court: but the judge ſaid, We may give you liberty till the next ſeſſions, but we may chooſe; and therefore we will try you now.

J. C. I bade the people take notice of their promiſe, that I ſhould have liberty to ſpeak, ſaying, See now you be as good as your words.

Judge. The law of England is not only juſt, but merciful; and therefore you ſhall not be ſurpriſed, but ſhall have what juſtice the law allows---Interruption.

J. C. I remember what the judge ſaid even now, that the law of England was a merciful law; that the court

had ſaid before, they might if they would, give us liberty till the next ſeſſions, but they would not; and the maxim of the law alſo is, *Summum jus eſt ſumma injuria;** therefore I hope your practice will make it good, that it is a merciful law; and not to execute *ſummum jus*, &c. upon me, and thereby condemn yourſelves out of your own mouths.

Judge. Jury, give in your verdict.

J. C. Let me have liberty firſt to ſpeak, it is but few words, and I hope I ſhall do it with what brevity and pertinency my underſtanding will give me leave, and the occaſion requires; it is to the point in theſe two heads, viz. Matter of law, and matter of conſcience: to matter of law I have this to ſay, Firſt, as to the ſtatute itſelf, it was made againſt the Papiſts, occaſioned by the gunpowder plot, and is entituled, for the better diſcovery and ſuppreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants: but they have liberty, and we are deſtroyed, what in you lies---(Interrupted by the judges and diſturbance of the court.) As to conſcience, I have ſomething to ſay, and that is, it is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it; and therefore we dare not break Chriſt's commands, who hath ſaid, Swear not at all; and the apoſtle James ſaid, Above all things my brethren ſwear not.---(Interrupted.) The court calling again to the executioner to ſtop my mouth; which he did accordingly, with his dirty cloth, as aforeſaid, and his gag in his hand.

Judge. Hear the jury; who ſaid ſomething to him, which was ſuppoſed to give in the verdict, according to his order; for they were fit for his purpoſe, as it ſeems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had ſpoke any thing to them, only upon his words.

Judge. Cryer, make ſilence in the court: then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purpoſe, viz. The jury for the king do find, that John Crook, John Bolton, and Iſaac Gray, are guilty of refuſing to take the oath of allegiance; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real eſtates during life, and your perſonal eſtates during life, and your perſonal eſtates for ever; and you to be out of the

* *The extreme of the law is extreme injuſtice.*

king's protection, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure: and this is your ſentence.

J. C. But we are ſtill under God's protection.

Then the priſoners were remanded to Newgate, where J. Crook found opportunity to make a narrative of the whole trial, which was printed as aforeſaid, together with the Latin indictment, in which he ſhewed ſeveral errors, either by wrong expreſſions, or by omiſſions. Thus the injuſtice of theſe arbitrary proceedings were expoſed to publick view, when this trial appeared in print; that the king himſelf might ſee thereby, how ill his ſubjects were treated. But at that time there were ſo many among the great ones and biſhops, who were inclined to promote the extirpation of the Quakers, that there ſeemed no human help. J. Crook ſhewed alſo circumſtantially, how in many caſes of the trial, they had acted againſt law; for he himſelf having formerly been a juſtice, knew well enough how, and after what manner, juſtice ought to be adminiſtered and maintained. How long he continued priſoner, I cannot tell. But by this trial alone the reader may ſee, how the Quakers, ſo called, were treated in regard of the oath; and ſuch kind of proceeding was the lot of many of them, becauſe the intent of thoſe in authority ſeemed to be to ſuppreſs them quite.

Now follows (to continue J. Crook's words) a copy of the indictment, with ſome notes and obſervations on the ſame; whereby it may appear, how falſe it is, and how eaſily it might have been quaſhed for inſufficiency, had we been allowed time, (which by law they ought to have granted) and been ſuffered to have made our own defence; but that they would not do, but ſtopped our mouths, as before is ſaid, by the hands of the executioner, to prevent what otherwiſe (as the judge ſaid) might have come to paſs, viz. by having liberty to make our defence, by that means we ſhould make ourſelves famous, and them odious.

London ſeſſion. *Jur. pro dno. rege ſuper ſacra. ſuu. preſentant qd. ad general. quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis dni. regis*

*tent. pro civitat.* London. *apud Guihald. ejuſdem civitat. die Mercurij ſcilt. viceſimo quinto die Junij anno regni dni. n'ri. Caroli ſc'di Dei gra. Angliæ, Scot' Franc, & Hiberniæ Regis Fidei defenſor. &c. quarto decimo, coram* Joh. Frederick *milite, majore civitat.* London. Thoma Adams *milite & baronet,* Rico' Browne *milite & baronet,* & Thoma Aleyn *milite & baronet, aldr'is d' ce civitat. ac al. ſocii, ſuis juſtic. d'ci. d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conſervand. Necnon ad diver's felon. tranſgr. & al. malef'ca infra eandem civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand. aſſign. ſeſſio. iſta pacis adjornat. fuit. per præfat. Juſtic. dc'i d'ni regis ib'm uſq; diem Jovis ſcilt. viceſim. ſext. diem ejuſdem menſis Junij anno ſupradicto ad horam ſeptimam ante merid. ejuſdem diei apud juſticehall in le* Old Bailey *in paroch. ſci. Sepulchri in warda de* Farringdon *extra* London-*præd. tenend. coram præfat juſtic. & al. ſociis ſuis ad faciend. ulterius prout. cur. con. &c. Ac ad eundem diem Jovis, viceſimum ſextum diem Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto general. quarterial. ſeſſio iſta pacis tent. fuit pro civitat.* London. *præd. per adjornament. præd. aput juſticehall præd. in paroch & ward. præd. coram præfat.* Johe Frederick *milite, majore civitat.* London. Thoma Adams *milite & baronet,* Ricardo Browne *milite & baronet,* & Thoma Aleyn *milite & baronet. aldr'is d'ce civitat ac* Will'o Wilde *milite & baronet, uno ſcrivien. dc'i deni regis ad legem ac recordator. civitat. præd. ac al. ſociis ſuis juſtic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd conſervand. Necnon ad divers. felon. tranſgr. & al malef'ca. infra. eandem civitat. prepetrat. audiend. & terminand. aſſign. Ac ad tunc & ibm. præd. general. quarterial. ſeſſio pacis præd. ulterius adjornat. fuit per præfat. juſtic. uſque diem veneris, ſcilt. viceſim ſeptem. diem. dci. menſis Junii, anno quarto decimo ſupradicto, ad horam ſeptimam ante merid. ejuſdem diei apud juſticehall præd. in parochia & warda præd. tenend. coram præft. juſtic. & al ſociis ſuis ad faciend. ulterius. prout cur. con. Ac ſuperiende ad iſtam eandem general. quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis tent. pro civitat.* London. *per adjornament. præd. apud juſticehall præd. in paroch. & warda præd. dco. die veneris viceſimo ſeptimo die Junii, anno quarto decimo ſuperadicto, coram præfat.* Johe Frederick *milite, majore civitat.* London'

Thoma Adams *milite & baronet*, Rico' Brown *milite & baronet*, Rico' Chiverton *armigero*, & Thoma Aleyn *milite & baronet*, *aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac.* Will'o Wilde *milite & baronet. uno ſcriven. d'ci. d'ni regis ad legem ac recordator. ejuſdem civitat. ac al ſociis ſuis juſtic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conſervand. Necnon ad diverſ. felon. tranſgr. & al. malef'ca infra eand. civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand, aſſign. in aperta general. quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis præd. præfat. juſticiar. ult no'iat. exiſtentes major pars juſtic. pacis ipſius d'ni regis infra d'cam civitat.* London' *ad tunc ſcilt. d'co. viceſimo. ſeptimo die Junii anno quarto decimo ſuprad'cò. apud d'cam parach. ſci* Sepulchri *in warda de* Farringdon *extra.* London. *præd. preſen. exiſtend. obtuler. (Anglice did tender)* Johi Crook *nuper de* London. *generoſo*, Johi Bolton *nuper de* London. *aurifabro*, & Iſaac Gray *nuper de* London. *generoſo & eor. cuilibt ſeparatim per ſe (ad tunc exiſten. et cuilibt. cor. exiſten. ultra ætat. octodecim annor.) Juament. content. in quodam Actu in Parliament. D'ni* Jacobi *nuper regis* Angliæ *tent. per. prorogationem apud* Weſtm. *in com.* Middleſ. *quinto die* Novembris *Anno Regni ſui* Angliæ Franc. *et* Hiberniæ *tertio, et* Scotiæ *triceſimo nono nuper edit. et pro vis in his Anglicanis verbis ſequen.* viz. I do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify and declare, in my conſcience, before God and the world, that our ſovereign lord King Charles the Second is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majeſty's dominions and countries: and that the pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church, or ſee of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or to diſpoſe of any of his majeſty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majeſty's royal perſon, ſtate or government, or to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, within his majeſty's dominions. Alſo, I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtanding any declaration, or ſentence of ex-

communication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee, againſt the ſaid king, his heirs or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their perſons, their crown and dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence or declaration, or otherwiſe; and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I do farther ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in my conſcience am reſolved, that neither the pope, nor any perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully miniſtered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God. *Ac ad prefat. juſtic. pacis ult. no'iat ad tunc ſcilt. d'co. viceſimo ſeptimo die Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto apud paroch. et ward. præd. in d'ca. quarterial ſeſſion. pacis præd. eoſdem* Joh'em Crooke, Johes Bolton, *et* Iſaacum Gray, *et eor. quemlibt. ſeparatam per ſe requiſiver. ad jurament. illud ſuper ſacroſco. Dei Evangel. capieud. quodq*; *iidem*, Johes Crooke, Johes Bolton, *et* Iſaacus Gray, *jurament. præd. ſic per pr.*

*noi' at juſtic. pacis ejuſdem* Johi Crooke, Johi Bolton, *et* Iſaaco Gray, *ut præfectur oblat. et requiſit. adtunc et ibm. obſtinate et pertinaciter cape. recuſaver. et quilibt. eor. recuſavit* *. *In malum exemplum omniu. alior. dcti. d'ni regis nunc fidel. ſubdit. Et in contempt. d'ci. d'ni. regis nunc legumq; ſuar. contra formam ſtatut. præd. Ac contra pacem d'ci. d'ni regis nunc coron. et dignitat. ſuas*, &c.

WILD.

Any Engliſhman that underſtands Latin, may, notwithſtanding the abbreviations, indifferently underſtand this indictment; but a foreigner not underſtanding Engliſh, though a ſcholar, will be at a loſs in many places; yet to complete my work, I thought it convenient not to omit ſuch an authentick piece.

Memorand. That in the writ of Oyer and Terminer, Pacſche 9. Hen. 8. upon the inſurrection in London, it was reſolved clearly by all the juſtices of England, that the juſtices of Oyer and Terminer cannot enquire one day, and the ſame day determine; no more can the juſtices of the peace, &c. But the juſtices of gaol delivery, and juſtices in Eyre, may well do it; El. 8. Keyleway's Rep. f. 159. b. pl. 2. But they do not call themſelves ſo in the indictment.

If one in his abſence be found guilty of an offence, whereby he incurs a premunire, he hath two months time allowed him, after he is outlawed, to be heard 27 Ed. 3, 1 cap. Coke upon Littleton, ſect. 201. fo. 134. b. ſaith, That the ancient law was upon trials for felony, &c. the defendant had fifteen days time, or more, (if he prayed it) to conſider of his anſwer.

With this agrees Britton, fo. 10 b.

*Forteſcue in libro de laudib. legum Angliæ.*

Mirror of Juſtice, cap. 4. ſect. 7.

The ſtatute of 28 Edw. 1. 9. provides that inqueſts ſhall be of the next neighbours, moſt ſufficient, and leaſt ſuſpicious, upon penalty of double damages.

* *Contra debitam quoadlibet eor. Legeanciam*, ought here to be inſerted; for if he be not a natural ſubject, the oath is not to be tendered to him. Immediately after the tender to J. C. J. B. and J. G. though they be termed, *ſub dicto dci. end. Rc.*

25 Edw. 3. cap. 3. No indictor be upon the inqueſts for felony nor treſpaſs, if challenged.

34 Edw. 3. 4. Juries to be of the next people, not to be ſuſpected or procured. With this agrees Regiſt. fo. 178.

11 Hen. 4. 9. That if any indictment be made, but by inqueſt returned by the ſheriff, (without denomination to him of their names) by any but his ſworn officer, it ſhall be void.

By theſe and the like treatments, we ſee how the perſecutors endeavoured to root out the Quakers, if poſſible; for the effecting of which, alderman Richard Brown did whatever he could, continually letting looſe the reins to his exorbitant malice, without regarding whether that which he was bent againſt, was really puniſhable, or not, whereof the following inſtance may ſerve for an evidence.

A certain mender of old ſhoes, who belonged to the ſociety of the Quakers, was deſired by a labouring man, on a Seventh day of the week, late at night, to mend a pair of ſhoes for him, that he might have them again in the morning, becauſe he had no other to wear. The cobler, to accommodate the man, ſat up at work till after midnight; but the ſhoes not being finiſhed then, he went to bed, and riſing early in the morning, went to his work again as privately as he could in his chamber; but an envious neighbour informed againſt him for working on a Sunday; whereupon he was had before the ſaid R. Brown, who committed him to Bridewell, to be there kept to hard labour. And he refuſing to beat hemp, as being fully perſuaded that he had not deſerved ſuch a puniſhment, was cruelly whipt, but he bore it with great conſtancy, and not yielding, he was turned up among thoſe of his ſociety, who were impriſonrd there on a religious account.

As this caſe, which befel an honeſt man, was to be pitied, ſo there happened about that time, ſomething among the Quakers at London, which was facetious and ridiculous: for ſeveral of them being taken out of their religious meetings, were confined in Newgate, where in the night they lodged in a large room, having in the

middle of it a great pillar, to which they faſtened their hammocks at the one end, and to the oppoſite wall on the other, quite round the room, in three ſtories high, one over another; ſo that they who lay in the upper and middle rows, were fain to go to bed firſt, being obliged to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower: and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall ſide, were laid beds upon the floor. Such a multitude of bedding for ſo many perſons in one room, could not but ſomewhat infect the air, and cauſe an unhealthy ſteam; ſo that ſome of the priſoners grew ſick, and one of them died. This cauſed ſome buſtle, and it was not without good reaſon, that an ancient grave citizen, having ſeen the priſoners thus crouded up, ſaid, This is enough to breed an infection among them. And this having been told to ſir William Turner, one of the ſheriffs of London, he came into Newgate, and bidding the turnkey bring down the ſaid priſoners to him in the preſs-yard, where he was, he ordered they ſhould return to Bridewell, where they had been before.

Now among theſe was a ſhabby fellow, who, to get victuals without working, had thruſt himſelf among the Quakers, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpoſe to be ſent to priſon, and to be maintained by them. This lazy varlet was no ſmall burthen to our priſoners; for whenever any victuals were brought in to them, either for their money, or ſent to them by their friends, he did not ſtick to thruſt in with his knife in hand, and make himſelf his own carver; and ſuch was his impudence, that if he ſaw the proviſion was ſhort, he would be ſure to take enough, though others wanted. But how burthenſome ſoever this lazy drone was to the priſoners, they could get no relief; for to whom ſhould they complain? Since the keepers, as well as others, were for vexing and oppreſſing them. But now at length an opportunity was come to be rid of his troubleſome company. Among the priſoners was Thomas Ellwood, a man of literature, and of an acute wit, with whom, long after, I entered into a familiar and pleaſing correſpondence by letters. The ſaid Ellwood, when he had heard that they were to be ſent to

Bridewell, drew near to the ſheriff, and pointing to the aforeſaid fellow, ſaid, 'That man is not only none of our company, but an idle diſſolute fellow, who hath thruſt himſelf among our friends, that he might live upon them; therefore I deſire we may not be troubled with him at Bridewell.' The ſheriff ſmiling, and ſeeing this fellow ſtanding with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the ſheriff might take him for a Quaker, called him forth, and ſaid to him, 'How came you to be in priſon?' 'I was taken at a meeting,' ſaid he. 'But what buſineſs had you there,' ſaid the ſheriff. 'I went to hear,' returned the fellow. 'Ay, you went upon a worſe deſign, it ſeems,' replied the ſheriff; 'but I will diſappoint you,' continued he; 'for I will change your company, and ſend you to them that are like yourſelf.' Then calling for the turnkey, he ſaid, 'Take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and be ſure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.' The fellow not a little aſtoniſhed at the hearing of this doom, on a ſudden parted with his Quakerſhip; for off went his hat, and falling to bowing and ſcraping, he ſaid to the ſheriff, 'Good your worſhip have pity upon me, and ſet me at liberty.' 'No, no,' ſaid the ſheriff, 'I will not ſo far diſappoint you: ſince you had a mind to be in priſon, in priſon you ſhall be for me.' Then bidding the turnkey once more to take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons. After this manner this pretended Quaker was rewarded according to his deeds; and ſo the true Quakers got rid of him.

Breaking off now this jocoſe and diverting, though true, narrative, I return to a ſerious relation of the ſufferings of the faithful, which cauſed the death of ſome of them; among theſe was Richard Hubberthorn, who ſome time before, as hath been related, had a conference with the king; who then promiſed him, that he and his friends ſhould not ſuffer for their opinions or religion. But now he was in the month called June, violently haled from the meeting, bearing the name of the Bull and Mouth, and brought before alderman Richard Brown, who with his own hands pulled down his hat upon his head with ſuch

violence, that he brought his head near to the ground, and then committed him to Newgate, where being thronged among others, he ſoon grew ſick; and his ſickneſs ſo increaſed, that he had hardly been two months in priſon, before he was taken away by death. Two days before his departure, being viſited by ſome of his friends, who aſked him if any thing was upon his ſpirit, he ſaid, that there was no need to diſpute matters, for he knew the ground of his ſalvation, and was ſatisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord. He alſo ſaid, 'That faith which hath wrought my ſalvation, I well know, and have grounded ſatisfaction in it.' In the morning before he deceaſed, one Sarah Blackberry was with him, to whom he ſaid, 'Do not ſeek to hold me, for it is too ſtrait for me, and out of this ſtraitneſs I muſt go; for I am wound into largeneſs, and am to be lifted up on high, far above all.' In this frame of mind he departed this life, in the evening, and ſo entered with happineſs into eternity.

Now I come alſo to the glorious exit of E. Burrough, that valiant hero, of whom mention hath often been made in this hiſtory. For ſeveral years he had been very much in London, and there preached the goſpel with piercing and powerful declarations. And that city was ſo near to him, that oftentimes, when perſecution grew hot, he ſaid to Francis Howgill, his boſom friend, 'I can freely go to the city of London, and lay down my life for a teſtimony to that Truth, which I have declared through the power and Spirit of God.' Being in this year at Briſtol, and thereabouts, and moved to return to London, he ſaid to many of his friends, when he took his leave of them, that he did not know he ſhould ſee their faces any more; and therefore he exhorted them to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs, in that wherein they had found reſt for their ſouls. And to ſome he ſaid, 'I am now going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the goſpel, and ſuffer amongſt Friends in that place.'

Not long after coming to London, and preaching in the meeting-houſe called the Bull and Mouth, he was violently pulled down by ſome ſoldiers, and had before alderman Richard Brown, and committed to Newgate. Several

weeks afterwards, being brought to the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, he was fined by the court twenty marks, and to lie in priſon till payment. But judging this unreaſonable in a high degree, he could not bend thereto for conſcience ſake. He was kept there in priſon about eight months, with ſix or ſeven ſcore priſoners beſides, upon the ſame account. But they being ſo crouded, that for want of room their natures were ſuffocated, many grew ſick and died, of which number he was one. And though a ſpecial order from the king, was ſent to the ſheriffs of London, for his and ſome other priſoners releaſe, yet ſuch was the enmity of ſome of the city magiſtrates, eſpecially Brown, that they did what was in their power to prevent the execution of the ſaid order. And thus E. Burrough continued priſoner, though his ſickneſs increaſed. During the time of his weakneſs, he was very fervent in prayer, as well for his friends as for himſelf; and many conſolatory and glorious expreſſions proceeded from his mouth. Once he was heard to ſay, 'I have had the teſtimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the goſpel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the goſpel's ſake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and ſee if it be not right before thee.' Another time he ſaid, 'There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the preſence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel juſtifies me.' Another day he was thus heard in prayer to God, 'Thou haſt loved me when I was in the womb; and I have loved thee from my cradle: and from my youth unto this day; and have ſerved thee faithfully in my generation.' And to his friends that were about him he ſaid, 'Live in love and peace, and love one another.' And at another time he ſaid, "The Lord taketh the righteous from the evil to come." And praying for his enemies and perſecutors he ſaid, 'Lord, forgive Richard Brown, if he may be forgiven.' And being ſenſible that death was approaching, he ſaid, 'Though this body of clay muſt turn to duſt, yet I have a teſtimony that I have ſerved God in my generation; and that ſpirit which hath lived and acted

and ruled in me, ſhall yet break forth in thouſands.' The morning before he departed this life (which was about the latter end of this year), he ſaid, 'Now my ſoul and ſpirit is centered into its own being with God; and this form of perſon muſt return from whence it was taken.' And after a little ſeaſon he gave up the ghoſt. This was the exit of E. Burrough, who, in his flouriſhing years, viz. about the age of eight and twenty; in an unmarried ſtate, changed this mortal life for an incorruptible, and whoſe youthful ſummer flower was cut down in the winter ſeaſon, after he had very zealouſly preached the goſpel about ten years.

About the 19th year of his age, he firſt came to London with a publick teſtimony, and continued almoſt eight years together to preach the word of God in that city, with great ſucceſs, ſo that many came to be convinced, and great addition was made to the church there. In his youth he ſurpaſſed others of his age in knowledge, and though G. Croeſe, who writ the pretended hiſtory of the Quakers, calls him a ruſtick fellow, yet he was no more ſuch than the ſaid author himſelf, who is a country preacher: for he was well educated and inſtructed in that learning which the place of his nativity, viz. the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, afforded. Inſomuch, that though he was not ſkilful in languages, yet he had the tongue of the learned; and in his publick miniſtry was very fluent, and elegant in ſpeech, even according to the judgment of learned men.

His enemies now began to rejoice, for they ſeemed to imagine that the progreſs of that doctrine, which he ſo powerfully and ſucceſsfully had preached, by his deceaſe would have been ſtopped or retarded: but they made a wrong reckoning. Francis Howgill then gave forth a kind of *epicedium*, which though in proſe, yet was not void of poetical expreſſions, and was as followeth.

'Shall days, or months, or years, wear out thy name, as though thou hadſt no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou haſt wrought through the power of him that ſeparated thee

from the womb, live in generations to come? O yes! The children that are yet unborn, ſhall have thee in their mouths, and thy works ſhall teſtify of thee in generations, who yet have not a being, and ſhall count thee bleſſed. Did thy life go out as the ſnuff of a candle? O nay! Thou haſt penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the juſt ſhall live for ever; and be had in renown among the children of men: for thou haſt turned many to righteouſneſs, and ſhalt ſhine as a ſtar of God in the firmament of God's power, for ever and ever; and they that are in that, ſhall ſee thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be ſeen in mutability; yet thy life and thy ſpirit ſhall run parallel with immortality. Oh Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having a perfect teſtimony of thy well being in my heart, by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy abſence is great, and years to come ſhall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for a worſe man than thee, even for Abner; when in wrath he periſhed by the hand of Joab, without any juſt cauſe, though he was a valiant man? David lamented over Abner, and ſaid, died Abner as a fool dieth? (Oh nay! He was betrayed of his life.) Even ſo haſt thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppreſſor, whoſe habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my ſoul, come not thou within their ſecret, for thy blood ſhall be required at the hands of them who thirſted after thy life; and it ſhall cry as Abel's, who was in the faith; even ſo wert thou, it ſhall weigh as a ponderous milſtone upon their necks, and ſhall cruſh them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth, and ſhall not die. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true ſorrow; and becauſe of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my ſubſtance is even as diſſolved. Shall I not ſay as David did of Saul and Jonathan, when they were ſlain in mount Gilboa, the beauty of Iſrael is ſlain upon the high places: even ſo waſt thou ſtifled in naſty holes, and priſons, and many more, who were precious in the eyes of the Lord: and ſurely precious waſt thou to me, oh dear Edward, I am diſ-

treſſed for thee my brother, very pleaſant haſt thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, paſſing the love of women: Oh thou whoſe bow never turned back, nor ſword empty from the blood of the ſlain, from the ſlaughter of the mighty; who made nations and multitudes ſhake with the word of life in thy mouth, and waſt very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord; for thou didſt cut like a razor, and yet to the ſeed of God brought forth, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb. Thou ſhalt be recorded amongſt the valiants of Iſrael, who attained to the firſt degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and waſt worthy of double honour, becauſe of thy works. Thou waſt expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the ſlain of the Lord have been many; many have been pricked to the heart through the power of the word of life; and coals of fire from thy life came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket, and among many briars and thorns it came to be kindled, and did devour much ſtubble that cumbered the ground, and ſtained the earth. Oh how certain a ſound did thy trumpet give! And how great an alarm didſt thou give in thy day, that made the hoſt of the uncircumciſed greatly diſtreſſed! What man ſo valiant, though as Goliah of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many deſpiſed thy youth? And how have I ſeen thee with thy ſling and thy ſtone (deſpiſed weapons to war with) wound the mighty! And that which hath ſeemed contemptible to the dragon's party, even as the jaw bone of an aſs, with it thou haſt ſlain the Philiſtines heaps upon heaps, as Sampſon. Thou haſt put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and haſt often faſtened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies, as Jael did to Siſera; and many a rough ſtone haſt thou poliſhed and ſquared, and made it fit for the buildings of God; and much knotty wood haſt thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's houſe. Oh thou prophet of the Lord, thou ſhalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witneſs for thee from the

beginning; and at laſt hath overcome, and found worthy to ſtand with the Lamb upon Mount Sion, the hill of God; as I have often ſeen thee, and thy heart well tuned as a harp, to praiſe the Lord, and to ſound forth his great ſalvation; which many a time hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and ſtrengthened their faith and hope. Well, thou art at reſt, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, becauſe there was no cauſe of ſorrow in thee: for I know thou witneſſedſt the old things done away, and there was no curſe, but bleſſings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty ſhower, and trouble was far from thy dwelling; though in the outward man trouble on every ſide, and haſt had a greater ſhare in that, for the goſpel-ſake (though a youth in thy time) than many beſides: but now thou art freed from that, and haſt obtained a name through faith, with the ſaints in light. Well, hadſt thou more to give up than thy life for the name of Jeſus in this world? Nay: and to ſeal the teſtimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou haſt often ſaid in thy day, which ſhall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death; and from thy outward enemies, who hated thee becauſe of the love that dwelt in thee; and remaineſt at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleaſure for evermore in the everlaſting light; which thou haſt often teſtified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghoſt; and art at reſt in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holineſs; yet thy life and thy ſpirit I feel as preſent, and have unity with it, and in it, beyond all created and viſible things, which are ſubject to mutation and change; and thy life ſhall enter into others, to teſtify unto the ſame Truth, which is from everlaſting to everlaſting; for God hath raiſed, and will raiſe up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead ſtones; his power is Almighty, great in his people in the midſt of their enemies.'

With theſe ſublime expreſſions F. Howgill lamented his endeared friend E. Burrough.

In the latter end of this year, William Ames alſo deceaſed at Amſterdam, being come from England in a weak condition, for he had ſuffered ſo much hardſhip in Bridewell, London, that his health was much impaired when he came into Holland. In his ſickneſs, which was a lingering diſeaſe, he was told, that among the Baptiſts and Collegians, it was ſaid of him, that he had changed his judgment, and was grieved for having judged them wrongfully. But to this he ſaid, 'It was not ſo; but that he ſtill judged their way of worſhip, eſpecially their diſputations and will worſhip, to be out of the way of the Lord.' And in this belief he died in peace.

In his youth he was of a chearful temper, and a lover of ſuch company; but being in that condition often diſquieted in his mind, he became a cloſer follower of the prieſts and teachers, and exerciſed himſelf diligently in reading the holy Scriptures, which, though good in itſelf, yet did not bring him to true peace with God; but being of a quick underſtanding, he could talk much out of them, inſomuch, that entering into ſociety with the Baptiſts, he became a teacher among them. Now, though he was more preciſe, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of ſins, yet he found that root from whence they ſprang remained alive in him; for when he met with ſomething that was contrary to his own will, or mind, anger ſoon prevailed: nevertheleſs, in that ſtate he would ſpeak of juſtification, ſanctification, and cleanſing by the blood of Chriſt, though he himſelf was not come to that pure waſhing. In this ſtate he perceived that he was no true member of Chriſt, becauſe regeneration was ſtill wanting. Thus he ſaw that a high profeſſion would not avail, and that ſomething more was required to obtain a happy ſtate; but as yet, he knew not what it was that thus diſquieted him; though ſometimes, on the committing of any ſin, he felt ſomething that ſtruck him with terror. At length it pleaſed the Lord, that hearing one of the Quakers, ſo called, preach, that that which convinceth

man of ſin, was the light of Chriſt, which enlightens every man coming into the world, this doctrine entered ſo deep with him, that he embraced it as wholeſome; and thus walking with great circumſpection and fear before the Lord, he found that by giving diligent heed to that which inwardly reproved and condemned him of evil, he came to be delivered therefrom, and to witneſs ſanctification. And thus advancing in godlineſs, he himſelf became a zealous preacher of that doctrine, which had ſtruck him ſo to the heart. He was indeed a zealous man, and though ſome were ready to think him too zealous, yet he was diſcreet; and I know that he was condeſcending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were cuſtoms, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was alſo generous, and leaſt he might ſeem to be burdenſome to any, he rather choſe to work with his hands.

Now I return again to the occurrences of G. Fox, whom we left at London, where having ſpent ſome time, he went about the beginning of the year 1663, to Norwich, and from thence to Cambridgeſhire, where he heard of E. Burrough's deceaſe, and, being ſenſible how great a grief this loſs would be to his friends, writ the following lines to them.

'Friends,

'Be ſtill and quiet in your own conditions, and ſettled in the ſeed of God, that doth not change; that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you in the ſeed, in which, and by which, he begot you to God, with whom he is; and that in the ſeed ye may all ſee and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and to enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is inviſible.

'G. F.'

G. Fox afterwards travelling through ſeveral places, came again to London, where having viſited his friends in their meetings, which were numerous, he travelled with Thomas Briggs into Kent, and coming to Tenterden they

had a meeting there, where many came and were convinced of the Truth that was declared. But when he intended to depart with his companion, he ſaw a captain, and a company of ſoldiers, with muſkets and lighted matches; and ſome of theſe coming to them ſaid, they muſt come to their captain. And when they were brought before him, he aſked, where was G. Fox? which was he? To which G. Fox anſwered, 'I am the man.' The captain being ſomewhat ſurprized, ſaid, 'I will ſecure you among the ſoldiers:' yet he carried himſelf civilly, and ſaid ſome time after, 'You muſt go along with me to the town.' Where being come, he brought G. Fox and T. Briggs, with ſome more of their friends, to an inn, which was the gaoler's houſe. And after a while the mayor of the town, with the ſaid captain and the lieutenant, who were juſtices, came and examined G. Fox, aſking, why he came thither to make a diſturbance? G. Fox told them, he did not come to make a diſturbance, neither had he made any there. They then ſaid, there was a law, which was againſt the Quakers' meetings, made only againſt them. G. Fox told them he knew no ſuch law. Then they produced the act that was made againſt Quakers and others. G. Fox ſeeing it, told them, that law was againſt ſuch as were a terror to the king's ſubjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government; and therefore it was not againſt his friends, for they held truth, and their principles were not dangerous to the government, and their meetings were peaceable, as was well known. Now it was not without good reaſon that George ſaid, he knew no ſuch law; ſince they had ſaid, there was a law made only againſt the Quakers' meetings: whereas the act had the appearance of being made againſt plotters, and enemies to the king, which certainly the Quakers were not. Yet it was ſaid to G. Fox, he was an enemy to the king; but this he denied, and told them, how he had once been caſt into Derby dungeon, about the time of Worceſter fight, becauſe he would not take up arms againſt the king; and how afterwards he had been ſent up to London by colonel Hacker, as a plotter to bring in king Charles,

and that he was kept priſoner at London till he was ſet at liberty by Oliver Cromwell. They aſked him then, whether he had been impriſoned in the time of the inſurrection? And he ſaid, 'Yes,' but that he was releaſed by the king's own command. At length they demanded bond for his appearance at the ſeſſions, and would have had him to promiſe to come thither no more. But he refuſed the one as well as the other. Yet they behaved themſelves moderately, and told him, and Thomas Briggs, and the others, 'Ye ſhall ſee we are civil to you; for it is the mayor's pleaſure you ſhould all be ſet at liberty.' To which G. Fox returned, their civility was noble: and ſo they parted; and he paſſed on to many places, where he had ſingular occurrences; and though wiles were laid for him, yet ſometimes he eſcaped the hands of his perſecuting enemies.

Coming into Cornwall he found there one Joſeph Hellen, and George Bewly, who though they profeſſed Truth, yet had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, who had enſnared them chiefly by aſking, 'Who made the devil, did not God?' This ſilly queſtion, which Hellen and Bewly were at a loſs to anſwer, they propounded to G. Fox, and he anſwered it with, 'No, for,' ſaid he, 'all that God made was good, and was bleſt, but ſo was not the devil: he was called a ſerpent, before he was called a devil and an adverſary; and afterward he was called a dragon, becauſe he was a deſtroyer. The devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he became a devil. Now there is no promiſe of God to the devil, that ever he ſhall return into truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promiſe of God is, that the ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and break his power and ſtrength to pieces.' With this anſwer, G. Fox gave ſatisfaction to his friends; but Hellen was ſo poiſoned, and run out, that they denied him; but Bewly was recovered from his fault by ſincere repentance.

G. Fox having performed his ſervice there, went to Helſtone near Falmouth, where he had a large meeting, at which many were convinced; for he opened to the au-

ditory, the ſtate of the church in the primitive times, and the ſtate of the church in the wilderneſs, as alſo the ſtate of the falſe church that was got up ſince: next he ſhewed that the everlaſting goſpel was now preached again, over the head of the whore, beaſt, antichriſt, and the falſe prophets, which were got up ſince the apoſtles days; and that now the everlaſting goſpel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light. And this ſermon was of ſuch effect, that the people generally confeſſed, it was the everlaſting Truth that had been declared there that day.

G. Fox paſſing on, came at length to the Land's End, where there was an aſſembly of his friends, and alſo a fiſherman, called Nicholas Joſe, who preached among them, having three years before been convinced there by the miniſtry of G. Fox.

Whilſt in theſe parts, there happened a very diſmal and dreadful caſe.

'One colonel Robinſon was, ſince the king came in, made juſtice of the peace; and became a cruel perſecutor of thoſe called Quakers, of whom he ſent many to priſon; and hearing that ſome liberty was allowed them, by the favour of the gaoler, to come home ſometimes, to viſit their wives and children, he made complaint thereof to the judge at the aſſizes, againſt the gaoler; who thereupon was fined an hundred marks by judge Keeling. Not long after the aſſizes, Robinſon ſent to a neighbouring juſtice, deſiring he would go with him a fanatick hunting, (meaning the diſturbing of Quakers' meetings.) On the day that he intended thus to go a hunting, he ſent his man about with his horſes, and walked himſelf to a tenement that he had, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his ſervants were then milking. Being come there, he aſked for his bull, and the maids ſaid, they had ſhut him into the field, becauſe he was unruly amongſt the kine. He then going into the field, and having formerly accuſtomed himſelf to play with the bull, he began to fence at him with his ſtaff, as he uſed to do; but the bull ſnuffing, went a little back, and then ran fiercely at him, and ſtruck his horn into his thigh, and lifting him

upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly; and when he came to the ground, he broke his leg, and the bull then gored him again with his horns, and roared, and licked up his blood. One of the maid ſervants hearing her maſter cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off; but he, without hurting her, gently put her by with his horns, and ſtill fell to goring him, and licking up his blood. Then ſhe ran and got ſome workmen that were not far off, to come and reſcue her maſter; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought maſtiff dogs to ſet on him; and then the bull fled. His ſiſter having notice of this diſaſter, came and ſaid, 'Alack, brother, what a heavy judgment is this!' And he anſwered, 'Ah, ſiſter, it is a heavy judgment indeed: pray let the bull be killed, and the fleſh given to the poor.' So he was taken up, and carried home, but ſo grievouſly wounded, that he died ſoon after; and the bull was become ſo fierce, that they were forced to kill him by ſhooting. This was the iſſue of Robinſon's miſchievous intent to go a fanatick hunting.' I remember that in my youth I heard with aſtoniſhment the relation of this accident from William Caton, who by a letter from England had received intelligence of it; for the thing was ſo remarkable, that the tidings of it were ſoon ſpread afar off.

Now I return to G. Fox, who from Cornwall travelled to Briſtol, and ſo into Wales, from whence paſſing through Warwickſhire and Derbyſhire, he came to York. Here he heard of a plot, which made him write a paper to his friends, wherein he admoniſhed them to be cautious, and not at all to meddle with ſuch buſtlings. And travelling towards Lancaſhire, he came to Swarthmore, where they told him, that colonel Kirby had ſent his lieutenant thither to ſearch for him, and that he had ſearched trunks and cheſts. G. Fox having heard this, the next day went to Kirby-hall, where the ſaid colonel lived; and being come to him, he told him, 'I am come to viſit thee, underſtanding that thou wouldſt have ſeen me, and now I would fain know what thou haſt to ſay to me, and whether thou haſt any thing againſt me.' The colonel who did not ex-

pect ſuch a viſit, and being then to go up to London to the parliament, ſaid before all the company, 'as I am a gentleman I have nothing againſt you: but Mrs. Fell muſt not keep great meetings at her houſe; for they meet contrary to the act.' G. Fox told him, 'That act does not take hold on us, but on ſuch as meet to plot and contrive, and to raiſe inſurrections againſt the king; and we are none of thoſe, but are a peaceable people.' After ſome words more, the colonel took G. Fox by the hand, and ſaid, he had nothing againſt him;' and others ſaid, he was a deſerving man.

Then G. Fox parted, and returned to Swarthmore, and ſhortly after he heard there had been a private meeting of the juſtices and deputy lieutenants at Houlker-hall, where juſtice Preſton lived, and that there they had iſſued a warrant to apprehend him. Now he could have gone away, and got out of their reach; but conſidering that, there being a noiſe of a plot in the north, if he ſhould go away, they might fall upon his friends; but if he ſtaid, and was taken, his friends might eſcape the better; he therefore gave up himſelf to be taken. Next day an officer came with his ſword and piſtols to take him. G. Fox told him, 'I knew thy errand before, and have given up myſelf to be taken; for if I would have eſcaped impriſonment, I could have been gone forty miles off; but I am an innocent man, and ſo matter not what ye can do to me.' Then the officer aſked him, how he heard of it, ſeeing the order was made privately in a parlour. G. Fox ſaid, it was no matter for that; it was ſufficient that he heard of it. Then he aſked him to ſhew his order. But he laying his hand on his ſword, ſaid, 'You muſt go with me before the lieutenants, to anſwer ſuch queſtions as they ſhall propound to you.' Now though G. Fox inſiſted to ſee the order, telling him it was but civil and reaſonable to ſhew it, yet the officer would not; and then G. Fox ſaid, 'I am ready.' So he went along with him, and Margaret Fell alſo, to Houlker-hall. Being come thither, there was one juſtice Rawlinſon, Sir George Middleton, juſtice Preſton, and ſeveral more whom he knew not. Then they brought one Thomas Atkinſon,

one of his friends, as a witneſs againſt him, for ſome words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed againſt him; and theſe words were, that he had written againſt the plotters, and had knocked them down: but from theſe words little could be made. Then Preſton aſked him, whether he had an hand in the Battledore? (being a folio book already mentioned,) 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox. He then aſked him, whether he underſtood languages? He anſwered, 'Sufficient for myſelf.'

Preſton having ſpoken ſomething more on that ſubject, ſaid, 'Come, we will examine you of higher matters:' then ſaid George Middleton, 'You deny God, and the church, and the faith.' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox, 'I own God, and the true church, and the true faith:' 'But,' aſked he, (having underſtood Middleton to be a Papiſt,) 'what church doſt thou own?' The other, inſtead of anſwering this queſtion, ſaid, 'You are a rebel and a traitor.' G. Fox perceiving this Middleton to be an envious man, aſked him whom he ſpoke to? or whom he called rebel? The other having been ſilent a while, ſaid at laſt, 'I ſpoke to you.' G. Fox then ſtriking his hand on the table, told him, 'I have ſuffered more than twenty ſuch as thou, or any that are here; for I have been caſt into Derby dungeon for ſix months together, and have ſuffered much, becauſe I would not take up arms againſt this king, before Worceſter fight; and I have been ſent up priſoner out of my own country by colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles. Ye talk of the king, a company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days; and what did ye do then for the king? But I have more love to him, for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have.' Then they aſked him, whether he had heard of the plot? And he ſaid, 'Yes.' Hereupon he was aſked, how he had heard of it, and whom he knew in it? And he anſwered, he had heard of it through the high ſheriff of Yorkſhire, who had told Dr. Hodgſon, that there was a plot in the north; but that he never heard any thing of it in the ſouth; and that he knew none of them that were in it. Then they aſked him, 'Why would you write againſt it, if you did

not know ſome that were in it. 'My reaſon was,' anſwered he, 'becauſe ye are ſo forward to maſh the innocent and guilty together; therefore I writ againſt it to clear the Truth from ſuch things, and to ſtop all forward fooliſh ſpirits from running into ſuch things: and I ſent copies of it into Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Biſhoprick, and Yorkſhire, and to you here; and I ſent alſo a copy of it to the king and his council; and it is like it may be in print by this time.' Then ſaid one of them, 'O this man hath great power.' 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'I have power to write againſt plotters.' 'But,' ſaid one of them, 'you are againſt the laws of the land.' 'Nay,' ſaid he, 'for I and my friends direct all the people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the fleſh: this brings them into well doing, and from that which the magiſtrates ſword is againſt; which eaſes the magiſtrates, who are for the puniſhment of evil doers,' &c.

Middleton now weary, as it ſeemed, of his ſpeaking, cried, 'Bring the book, and put the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy to him.' But G. Fox knowing him to be a Papiſt, aſked him, whether he who was a ſwearer, had taken the oath of ſupremacy; for this oath tending to reject the pope's power in England, was a kind of teſt to try people whether they were Papiſts, or no: 'But as for us,' ſaid G. Fox, 'we cannot ſwear at all, becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtles have forbidden it.' Now ſome of theſe that ſat there, ſeeing Middleton was thus pinched, would not have had the oath put to G. Fox; but others would, becauſe this was their laſt ſnare, and they had no other way to get him into priſon: for all other things had been cleared; but this was like the Papiſts' ſacrament of the altar, by which they formerly enſnared the martyrs: and in the Low Countries they aſked the Baptiſts, whether they were re-baptized; and if this appeared, then they ſaid, 'We do not kill you, but the emperor's decree condemns you.' So they tendered G. Fox the oath, and he refuſing to take it, they conſulted together about ſending him to gaol; but all not agreeing, he was only engaged to appear at the ſeſſions; and ſo for that time they diſmiſſed him.

Then he went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, where colonel Weſt, who was at that time a juſtice of the peace, came to ſee him. And G. Fox aſking him, what he thought they would do with him at the ſeſſions, he ſaid, they would tender the oath to him again. The time of the ſeſſions now approaching, G. Fox went to Lancaſter, and appeared according to his engagement; where he found upon the bench, juſtice Flemming, who in Weſtmoreland had offered five pounds to any man that would apprehend G. Fox. There were alſo the juſtices Spencer and Rawlinſon, and colonel Weſt; and a great concourſe of people in court, and when G. Fox came up to the bar, and ſtood with his hat on, they looked earneſtly upon him. Then proclamation being made for all to keep ſilence on pain of impriſonment, he ſaid twice, 'Peace be among you.' Then Rawlinſon, who was a chairman, ſpoke, and aſked, if he knew where he was? To which he anſwered, 'Yes, I do; but it may be my hat offends you; but that's a low thing, that's not the honour I give to magiſtrates: for the true honour is from above; and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour.' To which the chairman ſaid, 'We look for the hat too. Wherein do you ſhew your reſpect to magiſtrates, if you do not put off your hat?' G. Fox replied, 'In coming when they call me.' They then bid one take off his hat. After ſome pauſe, the chairman aſked him, whether he knew of the plot. To which he returned, that he had heard of it in Yorkſhire, by a friend that had it of the high-ſheriff. The next queſtion was, whether he had declared it to the magiſtrates; and his anſwer was, 'I have ſent papers abroad againſt plots and plotters, and alſo to you, as ſoon as I came into the country, to take all jealouſies out of your minds concerning me and my friends: for it was, and is our principle to declare againſt ſuch things.' Then they aſked him, if he knew not of an act againſt meetings. To which he made anſwer, that he knew there was an act that took hold of ſuch as met to the terrifying of the king's ſubjects, and were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles. 'But I hope,' ſaid he, 'ye do

not look upon us to be ſuch men; for our meetings are not to terrify the king's ſubjects, neither are we enemies to him, or any man.'

That which followed hereupon, was the tendering of the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy to him. To which he told them, that he had never taken any oath in his life: and that he could not take any oath at all, becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtles had forbidden it. Then Rawlinſon, who was a lawyer, aſked him, whether he held it was unlawful to ſwear? G. Fox preſently perceived this queſtion to be put on purpoſe to enſnare him; for by a certain act 13 and 14. Car. 2. cap. 1. ſuch who ſaid, it was unlawful to ſwear, were liable to baniſhment, or to a great fine. Therefore to avoid this ſnare, he told them, that in the time of the law amongſt the Jews, before Chriſt came, the law commanded them to ſwear; but Chriſt who did fulfil the law in the goſpel time, commands, not to ſwear at all; and the apoſtle James forbids ſwearing, even to them that were Jews, and had the law of God. Now after much other diſcourſe, the gaoler was called, and G. Fox committed to priſon. He then having the paper about him which he had written againſt plots, deſired it might be read in the court; but this they would not ſuffer. Being thus committed for refuſing to ſwear, he ſaid to thoſe on the bench, and all the people, 'Take notice that I ſuffer for the doctrine of Chriſt, and for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards he underſtood, the juſtices ſaid, that they had private inſtructions from colonel Kirby to proſecute him, notwithſtanding his fair carriage, and ſeeming kindneſs to him before.

Leaving G. Fox in priſon, I am to ſay that the act already mentioned, whereby a penalty was laid on all ſuch who ſhould ſay, it was unlawful to take an oath, was that which extended to baniſhment, being made not long before, and expreſsly levelled againſt the Quakers, as plainly appeared by the title. This is that act, by direction whereof the Quakers, ſo called, were afterwards baniſhed, as may be related in due time and place; and though the king himſelf was pretty good-natured, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſwayed by the inſtigations of ſome envious

men, as well among the eccleſiaſticks, as among the laity, that he gave the royal aſſent thereto.

Whilſt G. Fox was priſoner at Lancaſter, many of his friends were alſo impriſoned, for frequenting religious meetings, refuſing to take oaths, and for not paying tithes to the prieſts: but ſince he was not brought to his trial till next year, we will leave him ſtill in gaol, and in the mean-while will take a turn to Colcheſter, where perſecution now was exceeding fierce.

In the month of October, William More, mayor of that town, came on a Firſt-day of the week, and broke up the meeting of the Quakers, ſo called, and committed ſome of them to priſon; the next week he did ſo again, and a week after he cauſed a party of the county troop to come to the meeting. Theſe beat ſome, and did much miſchief to the forms, ſeats, and windows of the meeting-place. And afterward the mayor employed an old man to ſtop people from going in at the gate to the meeting-room; who told thoſe that would have entered, that the mayor had ſet him there to keep them out. Now though they knew he was no officer, nor had any warrant, yet they made no reſiſtance, but continuing in the ſtreet, thus kept their meeting in a peaceable manner, being not free for conſcience-ſake to leave off their publick worſhip of God, though in that time of the year it was cold, and often wet weather; and thus it continued many weeks, though attended with ſo much difficulty.

In the fore part of December there came about forty of the king's troopers, on horſeback, in their armour, with ſwords, carbines, and piſtols, crying, 'What a devil do ye here?' And falling violently upon this harmleſs company, they beat them, ſome with ſwords, and others with carbines, without diſtinction of male or female, old or young, until many were much bruiſed, chaſing them to and fro in the ſtreets. The next Firſt-day of the week theſe furious fellows came again, having now got clubs, wherewith, as well as with ſwords and carbines, they moſt grievouſly beat thoſe that were peaceably met together in the ſtreet to worſhip God. This cruel beating was ſo exceſſive, that ſome got above an hundred blows,

and were beaten ſo black and blue, that their limbs loſt their natural ſtrength. One there was whom a trooper beat ſo long, that the blade of his ſword fell out of the hilt, which he that was thus beaten ſeeing, ſaid to the other, 'I will give it thee up again,' which he did, with theſe words, 'I deſire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge.'

But to avoid prolixity, I ſhall not mention all the particular miſ-uſages which I find to have been committed there. Theſe cruel doings continued yet ſeveral weeks, and ſome were beaten ſo violently, that their blood was ſhed in the ſtreets, and they ſunk down, and fainted away. One Edward Graunt, a man of about threeſcore and ten years of age (whoſe wife and daughters I was well acquainted with), was ſo terribly knocked down, that he out-lived it but a few days. So hot was this time now, that theſe religious worſhippers, when they went to their meeting, ſeemed to go to meet death; for they could not promiſe to themſelves to return home either whole or alive. But notwithſtanding all this, their zeal for their worſhip was ſo lively, that they durſt not ſtay at home, though human reaſoning might have adviſed them thereto. And ſome of them had been people of note in the world; as, among others, one Giles Barnadiſton, who having ſpent ſix years in the univerſity, in the ſtudy of human literature, afterwards came to be a colonel; but in proceſs of time, having heard G. Fox the younger, preach, he was ſo entirely convinced of the Truth by him declared, that laying down his military command, he entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, and continuing faithful, he in time became a miniſter of the goſpel among the ſaid people; being a man of a meek ſpirit, and one whom I knew very well. This Barnadiſton did not forbear frequenting meetings, how hot ſoever the perſecution was, being fully given up to hazard his life with his friends.

One Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, with whom I was well acquainted, was ſo grievouſly beaten, that he fell down, and loſt much of his blood in the ſtreet; and yet the barbarous troopers did not leave off beating him. His wife, a daughter of the aforeſaid Edward Graunt, fear-

ing leſt he ſhould be killed, fell down upon him, to cover and protect him from the blows with the hazard of her own body, as ſhe herſelf told me in the preſence of her ſaid huſband: a conjugal love and fidelity well worthy to be mentioned, and left upon record. And though ſhe then did not receive very fierce blows, yet there were ſome women whoſe lot it was to be ſorely beaten with clubs, whereinto iron ſpikes were driven, as among the reſt an aged widow, who received no leſs than twelve ſuch bloody blows on ſeveral parts of her body; and another woman was pierced in her loins with ſuch a ſpiked club. An ancient man of ſixty-five years was followed a great way by three on foot and one on horſeback, and ſo beaten and bruiſed, that a woman, pitying this old man, ſpoke to theſe miſchievous fellows to leave off; but this ſo incenſed him that was on horſeback, that he gave her a hard blow with his ſword on the ſhoulder, with curſing and railing. This barbarity continued, till the perſecutors ſeemed to be more wearied out than the perſecuted, who ſeemed to grow valiant in theſe ſore tribulations, how grievous ſoever. A great promoter of this furious violence was captain Turner, who drove on his troopers to act this; nay, ſuch was his malice, that once at the breaking up of a meeting, he not only gave order to beat the people, but alſo to ſpoil the doors, windows, and walls, ſo that the damage came to five and twenty pounds.

Now I could enter upon a large relation of the trial of many priſoners at Worceſter, before the judges Hide and Terril; but ſince that trial was much after the ſame manner as that of John Crook, here before-mentioned at large, I will but curſorily make ſome mention of it. When the priſoners, being brought to the bar, aſked, why they had been kept ſo long in priſon; they were anſwered with the queſtion, whether they would take the oath of allegiance. And endeavours were uſed to draw ſome to betray themſelves, by aſking them, where they had been on ſuch a day. For if they had ſaid, at meeting, then it would have appeared from their own mouth that they had acted contrary to the law; but they anſwered warily, that they were not bound to accuſe themſelves. Others by evidence were charged with having been at a meeting;

and when they ſaid, that their meetings were not always for publick worſhip; but that they had alſo meetings to take care for widows, fatherleſs, and others that were indigent; yet it was ſaid to the jury, that though there was no evidence, that there had been any preaching in the meeting, yet if they did but believe that the priſoners had kept a meeting for religious worſhip, it was ſufficient for them to approve the indictment. And yet ſuch proceedings in other caſes would have been thought unwarrantable.

One Edward Bourn being impriſoned for having been at a meeting, and afterwards brought to his trial, the oath was tendered to him. Among other words he ſpoke in defence of himſelf, he ſaid, 'Suppoſe Chriſt and his apoſtles kept a meeting here in this time, would this act againſt conventicles alſo take hold of them?' 'Yes,' ſaid the judge, 'it would.' But bethinking himſelf, he ſaid, 'I wont anſwer your queſtions; ye are no apoſtles.' The concluſion was, that Bourn and ſeveral of his friends were fined each of them five pounds.

Now ſince thoſe that were fined thus, did not uſe to pay the fines, judging that the thing which they were fined for was an indiſpenſable duty they owed to God, and therefore they could not pay any ſuch fine with a good conſcience, the conſequence thereof generally was impriſonment, and diſtraining of their goods, whereby ſome loſt twice, and it may be, thrice as much as the fine amounted to. Some of the priſoners made it appear, that they had been ſomewhere elſe, and not in the meeting, at the houſe of one Robert Smith, at ſuch time as the evidence declared by oath; yet becauſe they gave no ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion, whether they had not been there on that day, they were deemed guilty. The ſaid Robert Smith was premunired: for the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, and he, menaced by the judge with a premunire, aſked, for whom that law, for taking the ſaid oath, was made, whether not for Papiſts. And on ſuſpicion that ſome of that perſuaſion ſat on the bench, he aſked alſo, whether they, for the ſatisfaction of the people, there preſent, ought not alſo to take the

oath. But the judge waved this, telling him, he muſt take the oath, or elſe ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt him. Smith aſked then, whether the example of Chriſt ſhould decide the queſtion; but the judge ſaid, 'I am not come here to diſpute with you concerning the doctrine of Chriſt, but to inform you concerning the doctrine of the law.' Then Smith was led away, and afterwards, when an indictment for his refuſing the oath was drawn up, he was brought into the court again, and aſked, whether he would anſwer to the indictment, or no; and the reaſons he gave not being accepted, the judge ſaid, before Smith had done ſpeaking, 'This is your ſentence, and the judgment of the court. You ſhall be ſhut out of the king's protection, and forfeit your perſonal eſtate to the king for ever, and your real eſtate during life.' To this Robert ſaid with a compoſed mind, 'The Lord hath given, and if he ſuffers it to be taken away, his will be done.' Thus Robert Smith ſuffered, with many more of his friends, there and elſewhere: all which I believe my life-time would not be ſufficient to deſcribe circumſtantially.

Paſſing then by the other perſecutions of this year, I will relate one remarkable caſe that happened in this year 1663, where patience triumphed very eminently over violence. But before I enter upon this narrative, it will not be amiſs to go back a little, and mention ſome ſingular caſes of the chief actor of the fact I am going to deſcribe.

His name was Thomas Lurting, who formerly had been boatſwain's mate in a man of war, and often had been preſerved in imminent dangers: as once being at the Canary iſlands, under admiral Blake, commander in this expedition, they ruined the admiral and vice admiral of the Spaniſh galleons and this being done, he with ſeven men was ſent with a pinnace to ſet on fire three galleons in the bay; which order he executed, by ſetting one of them on fire, which burnt the other two. But returning, and paſſing by a breaſt-work, they received a volley of ſmall ſhot, by which two men, cloſe to one of which Thomas ſat, were killed, and a third was ſhot in his back, but Thomas received no harm. And going out of the bay,

they came within about four ſhips length of the caſtle, which had forty guns; and when they came directly over againſt the caſtle, the guns were fired, and a ſhot cut the bolt-rope a little above Thomas's head, without hurting him. In more dangers he was eminently preſerved, but that I may not be too prolix, I will now relate, how from a fighting ſailor he became a harmleſs Chriſtian.

About the year 1654, it happened that among the ſoldiers which were in the ſhip he was in, there was one that had been at a meeting of thoſe called Quakers in Scotland, and there were two young men in the ſhip who had ſome converſe with him; but he was ſoon taken away from the ſhip. Yet theſe two young men ſeemed to be under ſome convincement; for about ſix months, after they ſcrupled to go and hear the prieſt, and to put off their hats to the captain; by which they came to be called Quakers. Theſe two met often together in ſilence, which being ſeen by others of the ſhip, their number increaſed; but this troubled the captain exceedingly, and the prieſt grew not a little angry, and ſaid to our boatſwain, 'O Thomas, an honeſt man and a good Chriſtian; here is a dangerous people on board, viz. the Quakers, a blaſphemous people, denying the ordinances and word of God.' This made Thomas ſo furious, that in a bigotted zeal he fell to beating and abuſing theſe men, when religiouſly met together. But this was not the way to have a quiet and ſedate mind; for the remembrance of his former deliverances ſtuck ſo cloſe upon him, that he could no more beat any of the ſaid people; and then he came to a farther ſight, inſomuch that he clearly ſaw what a fellow the prieſt was: for when Thomas could no longer abuſe the ſaid people, then he was not accounted by him either an honeſt man or a good Chriſtian. Now being under condemnation becauſe of his outgoings, he made many promiſes to the Lord; but theſe being made in his own will, were of little effect. Yet by the grace of God it was ſhewed him, that ſince he did not perform theſe promiſes, he could not be benefited thereby, which cauſed him much trouble.

Among thoſe in the ſhip, called Quakers, was one Roger

Dennis, whom he entirely loved, and therefore never ſtruck him; for this man had a check on Thomas, to that degree, that looking only upon him, he durſt not touch any of thoſe whom he intended to have abuſed. In this ſtate, feeling no peace in his mind, after ſome time he much deſired to be alone, the more freely to pour out his heart before the Lord; and though he then felt himſelf inwardly condemned, yet judgments became pleaſant to him, becauſe thereby his heart was tendered and broken: in which ſtate he could not forbear ſometimes to cry out, O Lord! But this, being obſerved by the ſhip's crew, made ſome ſay, he was mad, and others, he was diſtracted; and of this ſome writ home to England. Now it fell to his ſhare to be mocked and ridiculed; but he endeavoured to be fully given up, if he might but have peace in his conſcience with God.

And being one evening alone, he was very earneſt with the Lord, to know what people he ſhould join himſelf to; and then it was plainly ſhewed him, the Quakers. But this ſo ſtartled him at that time, that he deſired of the Lord, rather to die than to live: for to join with a people whom he ſo often had been beating and abuſing, ſeemed to be harder to him than death itſelf; and by the ſubtilty of Satan he was often aſſaulted by various thoughts, to keep him off from the ſaid people. But when the Lord made him mindful of his manifold preſervations and deliverances, it mollified his heart, ſo that at length he came to this reſolution, whether Quaker, or no Quaker, I am for peace with God. Yet it coſt him many a bitter ſigh, and many a ſorrowful tear, before he could come to a full reſignation. But the inward reproofs of the Lord, attended with judgments, followed him ſo cloſe, that he could no longer forbear, but gave up. And then he took opportunity to diſcover his heart to his friend Roger Dennis, who ſpoke ſo to the purpoſe, that he had great ſatisfaction. But not long after temptations aſſaulted him again in this manner, 'What, to join thyſelf to ſuch a fooliſh people!' And the very thoughts of this were ſo grievous to him, that he grew even weary of his life; for thus to expoſe himſelf to ſcorn, ſeemed to him an in-

tolerable croſs; but this ſtruggling was not the way to get peace with God. The firſt day of the week being come, he reſolved to go to the ſmall meeting, which was now of ſix, in number; but it being reported that he was among the Quakers, many of the company left their worſhip to ſee him; and they made a great noiſe. When the worſhip was over, the captain aſked the reaſon of that noiſe; and it was told him, that Thomas was amongſt the Quakers; on which he ſent for him, there being ſeveral officers alſo preſent; but the firſt that ſpoke was the prieſt, ſaying, 'Thomas, I took you for a very honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian, but am ſorry you ſhould be ſo deluded.' And the captain endeavoured to prove from the bible, the Quakers were no Chriſtians. Thomas in the mean-while was ſtill and quiet; and the others ſeeing they could not prevail upon him that way, took another courſe, and ſaid, that the Quakers ſometimes came to him, ſaying, 'Do ſuch and ſuch a thing.' But becauſe he knew this to be altogether falſe, and ſaw how they would bear him down with lies, he was the more ſtrengthened; ſo that going to his friends, he ſaid to them, 'When I went to the captain, I was ſcarce half a Quaker; but by their lies and falſe reports they have made me almoſt a whole Quaker; or at leaſt I hope to be one.'

He continuing to meet with his friends for the performing of worſhip, ſome more came to be joined to them, ſo that in leſs than ſix months after, they were twelve men, and two boys, one of which was the prieſt's. Now, there was none aboard that would abuſe the Quakers, though much tried by the captain; for he got ſome men out of other ſhips on purpoſe to vex them: but how fiercely ſoever theſe behaved themſelves, a higher power limited them. At length, there was a ſickneſs in the ſhip, which ſwept away above forty in a ſhort time; and moſt of them called Quakers, had the diſtemper alſo, but none died of it, though ſome were brought very low. They took great care of one another when ſick, and whatever one had was free for all; which care being ſeen by others, made ſome of them cry upon their death-bed, 'O carry me to the Quakers, for they take great care one of another, and

they will take ſome care of me alſo. This viſitation in the ſhip, changed the captain ſo much, that he was very kind to Thomas, and often ſent him part of what he had. Thomas ſeeing him in ſuch a good humour, deſired of him to have the cabin he lay in before his change, which requeſt was granted; for none were willing to lie therein, becauſe they told one another it was troubled with an evil ſpirit; ſince three or four had died therein within a ſhort ſpace of time. This cabin he made uſe of alſo for a meeting-place; and the captain was now ſo well pleaſed with him, that when ſomething was to be done, he would often ſay, 'Thomas, take thy friends, and do ſuch or ſuch a thing: for as yet they were not againſt fighting, and therefore no complete Quakers. And thus when Thomas and his friends were ſent out on ſome expedition, they did their work beyond his expectation. But though they were not brought off from fighting, yet when, with others, they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder; and in all deſperate attempts they received no hurt, though ſeveral others were killed and wounded; and they behaved themſelves ſo valiantly, that their captain would ſay to other captains, that he cared not if all his men were Quakers, for they were the hardieſt men in his ſhip. But though this was a time of liberty, yet Thomas looked upon it as a forerunner of farther exerciſe; for he ſaw what was done in pretended friendſhip, was but to ſerve their own ends; and therefore he expected a time of trial would come, and ſo it did.

For being come to Leghorn, they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spaniſh man of war. Their ſtation was to lie againſt a caſtle, and batter it; which they did; and one corner of the caſtle playing ſome ſhot into their ſhip, Thomas was for beating down that part: and thoſe called Quakers, fought with as much courage as any. He himſelf being ſtripped to his waiſtcoat, and going into the forecaſtle, he levelled the guns, but ſaid, 'Fire not, till I go out to ſee where the ſhot lights, that we may level higher or lower;' he being yet as great a fighter as any; but as he was coming out of the forecaſtle door, to ſee where the ſhot fell, ſuddenly it

run through him, 'What if now thou killeſt a man?' This ſtruck him as a thunderbolt, and he that can turn all men's hearts at his pleaſure, changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas, juſt before, he bent all his ſtrength to kill men, he now found in himſelf no will thereto, though it were to gain the world; for he preſently perceived it was from the Lord; and then putting on his clothes, he walked on the deck, as if he had not ſeen a gun fired: and being under great exerciſe of mind, ſome aſked him, if he was hurt. He anſwered, 'No; but under ſome ſcruple of conſcience on the account of fighting,' though then he knew not that the Quakers refuſed to fight.

When night came, they went out of the reach of the caſtle ſhot, and he took occaſion to ſpeak with two of his friends in the ſhip, and enquired their judgment concerning fighting; but they gave little anſwer to it, but ſaid however, if the Lord ſent them well home, they would never go to it again.' To which he returned, that if he ſtood honeſt to that of God in his own conſcience, and they came to it to-morrow, with the Lord's aſſiſtance, he would bear his teſtimony againſt it; for he clearly ſaw, that foraſmuch as they had been ſuch great actors in fighting, they now muſt bear their teſtimony againſt it, and wait what would be the iſſue; ſaying with themſelves, 'The will of the Lord be done.' The next day they heard that ſeveral were killed on ſhore, which grieved Thomas not a little. Some time after, one of Thomas's friends went to the captain to be cleared; and he aſking why? His anſwer was, that he could fight no longer. To which the captain ſaid, 'He that denies to fight in time of engagement, I will put my ſword in his guts.' 'Then' ſaid the other, 'thou wilt be a manſlayer, and guilty of ſhedding blood:' for which the captain (who was a Baptiſt preacher) beat him ſorely with his fiſt and cane; and he that had been their friend, was now become their open enemy.

Some time after (about the year 1655) being at Leghorn, they were ordered to go a cruizing; and one morning ſpied a great ſhip bearing down upon them,

which they ſuppoſed to be a Spaniſh man of war. Preſently orders were given to clear the ſhip for fight. Thomas then being upon the deck, ſaw plainly that a time of trial was now come, and he prayed to the Lord very earneſtly for ſtrength: and that which ſeemed moſt expedient to him, was to meet with his friends, which, after notice given, was done accordingly. Being all met, he told them how it was with him, and that things ſeemed very dark and cloudy, yet his hopes were, that the Lord would deliver him, and all ſuch as were of his faith; to which he added, 'I lay not this as an injunction upon any one, but leave you all to the Lord:' moreover he ſaid, 'I muſt tell you, that the captain puts great confidence in you; therefore let us be careful that we give no juſt occaſion; and all that are of my mind, let us meet in the moſt publick place upon the deck, in the full view of the captain, that he may not ſay we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not fight, ſo that he might have put others in our room.'

Then Thomas went upon the deck, and ſet his back againſt the geer capſtan, and a little after turning his head, he ſaw his friends behind him; at which though he rejoiced, yet his bowels rowled within him for them, who ſtood there as ſheep ready for the ſlaughter. Within a little time came the lieutenant, and ſaid to one of them, 'Go down to thy quarters;' to which he returned, 'I can fight no more.' The lieutenant then going to the captain, made the worſt of it, ſaying, 'Yonder the Quakers are all together; and I do not know but they will mutiny; and one ſays he cannot fight.' The captain having aſked his name, came down to him, flung his hat overboard, and taking hold of his collar, beat him with a great cane, and dragged him down to his quarters. Then he went upon the half-deck again, and called for his ſword, which his man having brought him, he drew with great fury. No ſooner was this done, but the word of the Lord (as Thomas took it) run through him, ſaying, 'The ſword of the Lord is over him; and if he will have a ſacrifice, proffer it him.' And this word was ſo powerful in him, that he quivered and ſhook, though he endeavoured to

ſtop it, fearing they ſhould think he was afraid, which he was not; for turning his head over his ſhoulder, he ſaid to his friend Roger, 'I muſt go to the captain.' To which he returned, 'Be well ſatisfied in what thou doeſt.' And Thomas replied, there was a neceſſity upon him. Then ſeeing the captain coming on with his drawn ſword, he fixed his eye with great ſeriouſneſs upon him, and ſtepped towards him, keeping his eye upon him (in much dread of the Lord), being carried above his furious looks. At which the captain's countenance changed pale, and he, turning himſelf about, called to his man to take away his ſword, and ſo he went off. Not long after, the ſhip they expected to fight withal, proved to be a Genoeſe, their friend; and before night, the captain ſent the prieſt to Thomas, to excuſe his anger, it having been in his paſſion. To which Thomas's anſwer was, that he had nothing but good will to him; and he bade the prieſt tell the captain, that he muſt have a care of ſuch paſſions; for if he killed a man in his paſſion, he might ſeek for repentance, and perhaps not find it. Thus Thomas overcame this ſtorm, and at length got ſafe home.

Now leaving men of war, he afterwards went to ſea in a merchantman, or trading ſhip: but then it fell to be his lot ſeveral times to be preſſed into the king's ſervice, and being carried into a man of war, he ſuffered very much. Once he faſted five days, taking only at times a draught of water; for he could eaſily gueſs, that if he had eaten of their victuals, it would have gone the harder with him; ſince he ſcrupled to do any ſhip-work, though it did not belong to fighting; for he judged all this to be aſſiſtance to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to fight; and that therefore in ſuch a ſhip he could do nothing, whatever it was, but it was being helpful and aſſiſting.

In this condition he met with ſeveral rude occurrences for ſome years together. Being once at Harwich, hard at work in a ſhip, heaving out corn in a lighter, he was preſſed; but one of the men ſaying, that he was a Quaker, the captain, who with his boat was come aboard, ſaid in a ſcoffing manner to him, 'Thou art no Quaker, for if thou waſt a Quaker, thou ſhouldſt be waiting upon the

Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not be toiling thy body.' For Thomas being ſtripped to his ſhirt and drawers, his ſhirt was wet with ſweat; and being a little time ſilent, ſaid at length to the captain, 'I perceive thou haſt read ſome part of the ſcriptures. Didſt thou never read, that he is worſe than an infidel that will not provide for his family? I have often heard the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the firſt that ever I heard blame them for working.' At this the captain ſaid, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker.' But a little after he cried, 'Pull him again, he is no Quaker; and ſaid to Thomas, 'Thou art no Quaker; for here thou bringeſt corn, and of it is made bread, and by the ſtrength of that bread we kill the Dutch; and therefore no Quaker. Or art not thou as acceſſary to their deaths as we? Anſwer me.' Thomas not preſently anſwering, was much ſcoffed and jeered by the ſeamen; but at length he ſaid to the captain, 'I am a man that can feed my enemies, and well may I you, who pretend to be my friends.' To which the captain replied, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker:' and thus that ſtorm ceaſed.

But a few days after he was preſſed again out of the ſame veſſel, and carried on board a man of war; there he was ordered to go into the cabin, where the captain and ſeveral officers were; and being entered, the captain began to curſe the Quakers, and ſwore, that if he did not hang Thomas, he would carry him to the duke of York, and he would. But Thomas ſaid very little, and felt himſelf kept by the Lord from fear. And when the captain had tired himſelf with ſcolding and railing, he ſaid more mildly, 'What, doſt thou ſay nothing for thyſelf?' To which Thomas anſwered, 'Thou ſayeſt enough for thee and me too:' and he found it moſt ſafe to ſay little. This was indeed the beſt way; for generally no reaſons, how good ſoever, avail with paſſionate men; who often think it a diſparagement to them, when they hearken to what is ſaid by one they look upon to be their inferior. But ſuch ſometimes find they reckon amiſs; as this captain did, who, notwithſtanding his haughtineſs, was ſoon ſtruck by a ſuperior power; for the next night

ſudden cry was heard, 'Where is the Quaker? Where is the Quaker?' Thomas hearing this, ſaid, 'Here I am: what lack you at this time of the night?' To which it was told him, 'You muſt come to the captain preſently.' He then coming to the cabin door, the captain ſaid, 'Is the Quaker there? To which Thomas having anſwered, 'Yes,' the captain ſaid, 'I cannot ſleep, thou muſt go on ſhore.' Thomas replied, 'I am in thy hand, and thou mayeſt do with me as thou pleaſeſt.' So with the boat he was put on ſhore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who in his fury had ſaid, that hanging was too good for him. But now, becauſe his mind was diſquieted, he could not ſleep, though Thomas, who lay on the hard boards, ſlept very well.

Having ſaid thus much of this ſeaman, let us now take a view, and behold how, and in what an induſtrious manner, he, without paſſing the bounds of a peaceable diſpoſition, retook a ſhip that was taken by a pirate; which happened in the year 1663, after this manner:

A maſter of a ſhip, whoſe name was George Pattiſon, one of the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, about the month October, being with his ſhip in the Mediterranean, coming from Venice, near the iſland Majorca, was chaſed by a pirate of Algiers, and their veſſel ſailing well, they endeavoured to eſcape; but, by carrying overmuch ſail, ſome of their materials gave way, by which means the Turks came up with them, and commanded the maſter on board, who accordingly, with four men more, went in his boat, leaving only his mate (the before-mentioned Thomas Lurting) with three men and a boy on board his veſſel. As ſoon as thoſe came on board the pirate, the Turks put thirteen or fourteen of their men into the boat, to go towards the Engliſh ſhip. In the mean-while the mate was under great exerciſe of mind, the rather becauſe the maſter, with four of his men, were then with the Turks, and thoſe that were left, were ſomewhat unruly. In this concern, however, he believed it was told him inwardly by the Lord, 'Be not afraid, for thou ſhalt not go to Algiers:' for having had formerly great experience of the Lord's deliverances, as hath been ſaid

above, he had already learned to truſt in God, almoſt againſt hope. On the conſideration of this, all fear was removed from him; and going to the ſhip's ſide to ſee the Turks come in, he received them as if they were his friends, and they alſo behaved themſelves civilly: then he ſhewed them all the parts of the veſſel, and what ſhe was laden with. Afterwards he ſaid to the men that were with him, 'Be not afraid, for all this we ſhall not go to Algeirs: but let me deſire you, as ye have been willing to obey me, to be as willing now to obey the Turks. This they promiſed him, and by ſo doing, he ſoon perceived they gained upon the Turks; for they ſeeing the ſeamen's diligence, grew the more careleſs and favourable to them. And having taken ſome ſmall matter of the lading, ſome went again to their own ſhip, and eight Turks ſtaid with the Engliſh.

Then the mate began to think of the maſter, and the other four that were in the Turk's ſhip; as for himſelf, and the others with him, he had no fear at all; nay, he was ſo far from it, that he ſaid to one of his men, 'Were but the maſter on board, and the reſt of our men, if there were twice as many Turks, I ſhould not fear them.' By this he encouraged the ſeamen, who not being of his perſuaſion, thought much otherwiſe than he, and would have been ready enough to have killed the Turks, if they had ſeen opportunity. In the mean-while the mate's earneſt deſire to the Lord was, that he would put it into the heart of the Turks, to ſend the maſter and the four others back. And his deſire was anſwered; for ſoon after the maſter and thoſe men were ſent on board.

Then all manner of fear concerning going to Algiers was taken away from him; which made ſome ſay to him, he was a ſtrange man, ſince he was afraid before he was taken, but now he was not. For before they were taken, he having heard there were many Turks at ſea, endeavoured to perſuade the maſter to have gone to Leghorn, and there to ſtay for a convoy, and ſo long they would have no wages. But to this the maſter would not agree. Now the mate, to anſwer the ſeamen, who blamed his behaviour, ſaid to them, 'I now believe I ſhall not

go to Algiers; and if ye will be ruled by me, I will act for your delivery, as well as my own.' However, though he ſpoke thus boldly, yet he ſaw no way for it; for the Turks were all armed, and the Engliſh without arms. Now theſe being all together, except the maſter, he ſaid to them, 'What, if we ſhould overcome the Turks, and go to Majorca.' At which they very much rejoiced, and one ſaid, 'I will kill one or two;' 'And I,' ſaid another, 'will cut as many of their throats as you will have me.' But at theſe ſayings the mate was much troubled, for he intended not to hurt any, and therefore told the men, 'If I knew that any of you would touch a Turk at that rate, I would tell it the Turks myſelf. But,' ſaid he, 'if ye will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will be ſtill.' They ſeeing that he would not ſuffer them to take their own courſe, agreed to do what he would have them. 'Well,' ſaid he, 'if the Turks bid you do any thing, do it without grumbling, and with as much diligence and quickneſs as ye can, for that pleaſes them, and will cauſe them to let us to be together.' To this the men all agreed; and then he went to the maſter, and told him their intention. But his anſwer was, 'If we offer to riſe, and they overcome us, we had as good be burnt alive.' The mate knew very well the maſter was in the right, viz. that if they failed in the attempt, they were like to meet with the moſt cruel treatment from the Turks that could be thought of. Now the reaſon why the maſter, though a very bold ſpirited man, did not readily conſent to the propoſal, was, becauſe he feared they would ſhed blood; but his mate told him, they were reſolved, and he queſtioned not but to do it, without ſhedding one drop of blood; and beſides, he would rather have gone to Algiers, than to kill one Turk. Speaking thus, he ſo ſwayed the maſter, that at laſt he agreed to let him do what he would, provided they killed none.

Now ſince two Turks lay in the cabin with the maſter, it was agreed that he ſhould continue to lie there, leſt they ſhould miſtruſt any thing. In the mean-while it began to be bad weather, ſo that they loſt the company of the Turkiſh man of war, which was the thing the mate

much deſired; and the Turks ſeeing the diligence of the Engliſh ſailors, grew careleſs concerning them, which was what the mate aimed at. The ſecond night after, the captain of the Turks, and one of his company, being gone to ſleep in the cabin with the maſter, the mate perſuaded one to lie in his cabin, and about an hour after another in another cabin; and at laſt it raining very much, he perſuaded them all to lie down and ſleep: and when they were all aſleep, he coming to them, fairly got their arms into his poſſeſſion. This being done, he told his men, 'Now we have the Turks at our command, no man ſhall hurt any of them; for if ye do, I will be againſt you: but this we will do, now they are under deck, we will keep them ſo, and go for Majorca. And having ordered ſome to keep the doors, they ſteered their courſe to Majorca, and they had ſuch a ſtrong gale, that in the morning they were near it. Then he ordered his men, if any offered to come out, not to let above one or two at a time: and when one came out, expecting to have ſeen his own country, he was not a little aſtoniſhed inſtead thereof to ſee Majorca. Then the mate ſaid to his men, 'Be careful of the door, for when he goes in we ſhall ſee what they will do. But have a care not to ſpill blood.' The Turk being gone down, and telling his comrades what he had ſeen, and how they were going to Majorca, they, inſtead of riſing, all fell a crying, for their courage was quite ſunk; and they begged that they might not be ſold. This the mate promiſed, and ſaid, they ſhould not. And when he had appeaſed them, he went into the cabin to the maſter, who knew nothing of what was done, and gave him an account of the ſudden change, and how they had overcome the Turks. Which when he underſtood, he told their captain, that the veſſel was now no more in their poſſeſſion, but in his again; and that they were going for Majorca. At this unexpected news the captain wept, and deſired the maſter not to ſell him; which he promiſed he would not. Then they told him alſo, they would make a place to hide them in, that the Spaniards coming aboard ſhould not find them. And ſo they did accordingly, at which the Turks were very glad.

Being come into the port of Majorca, the maſter, with four men, went aſhore, and left the mate on board with ten Turks. The maſter having done his buſineſs, returned on board, not taking licenſe, leſt the Spaniards ſhould come and ſee the Turks: but another Engliſh maſter, being an acquaintance, lying there alſo with his ſhip, came at night on board; and after ſome diſcourſe, they told him what they had done, under promiſe of ſilence, leſt the Spaniards ſhould come and take away the Turks. But he broke his promiſe, and would have had two or three of the Turks, to have brought them to England. His deſign then being ſeen, his demand was denied; and ſeeing he could not prevail, he ſaid to Pattiſon and his mate, that they were fools, becauſe they would not ſell the Turks, which were each worth two or three hundred pieces of eight. But they told him, that if they would give many thouſands, they ſhould not have one, for they hoped to ſend them home again; and to ſell them, the mate ſaid, he would not have done for the whole iſland. The other maſter then coming aſhore, told the Spaniards what he knew of this, who then threatened to take away the Turks. But Pattiſon and his mate having heard this, called out the Turks, and ſaid to them, 'Ye muſt help us, or the Spaniards will take you from us.' To this the Turks, as one may eaſily gueſs, were very ready, and ſo they quickly got out to ſea: and the Engliſh, to ſave the Turks, put themſelves to the hazard of being overcome again; for they continued hovering ſeveral days, becauſe they would not put into any port of Spain, for fear of loſing the Turks: to whom they gave liberty for four or five days, until they made an attempt to riſe; which the mate perceiving, he prevented, without hurting any of them, though he once laid hold of one; yet generally he was ſo kind to them, that ſome of his men grumbled, and ſaid he had more care for the Turks than for them. To which his anſwer was, they were ſtrangers, and therefore he muſt treat them well. At length, after ſeveral occurrences, the mate told the maſter, that he thought it beſt to go to the coaſts of Barbary, becauſe they were then like to miſs their men of war. To this the maſter con-

ſented. However, to deceive the Turks, they ſailed to and fro for ſeveral days; for in the day-time they were for going to Algiers, but when night came they ſteered the contrary way, and went back again, by which means they kept the Turks in ignorance, ſo as to be quiet.

But on the 9th day, being all upon deck, when none of the Engliſh were there but the maſter, his mate, and the man at the helm, they began to be ſo untoward and haughty, that it roſe in the mate's mind, what if they ſhould lay hold on the maſter, and caſt him overboard: for they were ten luſty men, and he but a little man. This thought ſtruck him with terror; but recollecting himſelf, and taking heart, he ſtamped with his foot, and the men coming up, one aſked for the crow, and another for the ax, to fall on the Turks; but the mate bade them not to hurt the Turks, and ſaid, 'I will lay hold on their captain:' which he did, for having heard them threaten the maſter, he ſtept forward, and laying hold of the captain, ſaid, he muſt go down, which he did very quietly, all the reſt following him. Two days after, being come on the coaſt of Barbary, they were, according to what the Turks ſaid, about fifty miles from Algiers, and ſix from land; and in the afternoon it fell calm. But how to ſet the Turks on ſhore was yet not reſolved upon. The mate ſaw well enough, that he being the man who had begun this buſineſs, it would be his lot alſo to bring it to an end. He then acquainted the maſter that he was willing to carry the Turks on ſhore; but how to do this ſafely, he as yet knew not certainly; for to give them the boat was too dangerous, for then they might get men and arms, and ſo come and retake the ſhip with its own boat; and to carry them on ſhore with two or three of the ſhip's men, was alſo a great hazard, becauſe the Turks were ten in number: and to put one half on ſhore was no leſs dangerous; for then they might raiſe the country, and ſo ſurpriſe the Engliſh when they came with the other half. In this great ſtrait the mate ſaid to the maſter, if he would let him have the boat and three men to go with him, he would venture to put the Turks on ſhore. The maſter, relying perhaps on his mate's conduct, conſented

to the propoſal, though not without ſome tears dropt on both ſides. Yet the mate taking courage, ſaid to the maſter, 'I believe the Lord will preſerve me, for I have nothing but good-will in venturing my life, and I have not the leaſt fear upon me; but truſt that all will do well.'

The maſter having conſented, the mate called up the Turks, and going with two men and a boy in the boat, took in theſe ten Turks, all looſe and unbound. Perhaps ſomebody will think this to be a very inconſiderate act of the mate, and that it would have been more prudent to have tied the Turks hands, the rather becauſe he had made the men promiſe, that they ſhould do nothing to the Turks, until he ſaid, he could do no more; for then he gave them liberty to act for their lives ſo as they judged convenient. Now ſince he knew not how near he ſhould bring the Turks aſhore, and whether they ſhould not have been neceſſitated to ſwim a little, it ſeemed not prudent, to do any thing which might have exaſperated them; for if it had fallen out ſo that they muſt have ſwam, then of neceſſity they muſt have been untied; which would have been dangerous. Yet the mate did not omit to be as careful as poſſible he could. For calling in the captain of the Turks, he placed him firſt in the boat's ſtern; then calling for another, he placed him in his lap, and one on each ſide, and two more in their laps, until he had placed them all; which he did to prevent a ſudden riſing. He himſelf ſat with a boat-hook in his hand on the bow of the boat, having next to him one of the ſhip men, and two that rowed, having one a carpenter's adze, and the other a cooper's heading knife. Theſe were all their arms, beſides what belonged to the Turks, which they had at their command. Thus the boat went off, and ſtood for the ſhore. But as they came near it, the men growing afraid, one of them cried out of a ſudden, 'Lord have mercy on us, there are Turks in the buſhes on ſhore.' The Turks in the boat perceiving the Engliſh to be afraid, all roſe at once. But the mate, who in this great ſtrait continued to be hearty, ſhewed himſelf now to be a man of courage, and bid the men to take up ſuch arms as they had; but do nothing with them until he

gave them leave. And then ſeeing that there were no men in the buſhes, and that it was only an imagination, all fear was taken away from him, and his courage increaſing, he thought with himſelf, 'It is better to ſtrike a man, than to cleave a man's head; and turning the boat-hook in his hand, he ſtruck the captain a ſmart blow, and bid him ſit down: which he did inſtantly, and ſo did all the reſt. After the boat was come ſo near the ſhore, that they could eaſily wade, the mate bid the Turks jump out, and ſo they did; and becauſe they ſaid they were about four miles from a town, he gave them ſome loaves, and other neceſſaries.

They would fain have perſuaded the Engliſh to go with them aſhore to a town, promiſing to treat them with wine, and other good things; but though the mate truſted in Divine Providence, yet he was not ſo careleſs as freely to enter into an apparent danger, without being neceſſitated thereto: for though he had ſome thoughts that the Turks would not have done him any evil, yet it was too hazardous thus to have yielded to the mercy of thoſe that lived there; and therefore he very prudently rejected their invitation, well knowing that the Scripture ſaith, "Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God." The Turks ſeeing they could not perſuade him, took their leave with ſigns of great kindneſs, and ſo went on ſhore. The Engliſh then putting the boat cloſer in, threw them all their arms on ſhore, being unwilling to keep any thing of theirs. And when the Turks got up the hill, they waved their caps at the Engliſh, and ſo joyfully took their laſt farewel. And as ſoon as the boat came again on board, they had a fair wind, which they had not all the while the Turks were on board. Thus Thomas Lurting ſaved the ſhip and its men; which being thus wonderfully preſerved, returned to England with a proſperous wind.

Now before the veſſel arrived at London, the news of this extraordinary caſe was come thither; and when ſhe was coming up the Thames, the king, with the duke of York, and ſeveral lords, being at Greenwich, it was told him, there was a Quaker's ketch coming up the river, that had been taken by the Turks, and redeemed

themſelves without fighting. The king hearing this, came with his barge to the ſhip's ſide, and holding the entering rope in his hand, he underſtood from the mate's own mouth, how the thing had happened. But when he heard him ſay, how they had let the Turks go free, he ſaid to the maſter, 'You have done like a fool, for you might have had good gain for them:' and to the mate he ſaid, 'You ſhould have brought the Turks to me.' But the mate anſwered, 'I thought it better for them to be in their own country.' At which the king and others ſmiled, and ſo went away, thinking that the maſter had done fooliſhly; but he and his mate were of another opinion, and they made it appear that they did approve the leſſon of our Saviour, "Love your enemies, and do good to thoſe that hate you," not only with their mouths, but that they had alſo put it into practice.

Though I have deſcribed this fact from a printed relation, yet I have added ſome circumſtances from the mouth of the ſaid mate, with whom I had ſome acquaintance.

Several years afterwards, when ſome ſeamen of the people called Quakers, were in ſlavery at Algiers, G. Fox writ a book to the grand ſultan, and the king at Algiers, wherein he laid before them their indecent behaviour, and unreaſonable dealings, ſhewing them from their alcoran that this diſpleaſed God, and that Mahomet had given them other directions. To this he added a ſuccinct narrative of what hath been related here of G. Pattiſon's ſhip being taken and retaken, and how the Turks were ſet at liberty, without being made ſlaves: by which the Mahometans might ſee what kind of Chriſtians the Quakers were, viz. ſuch as ſhewed effectually that they loved their enemies, according to the doctrine of their ſupreme lawgiver, Chriſt. Now concerning thoſe Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were ſlaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them; but in the mean-while they ſo faithfully ſerved their maſters, that they were ſuffered to go looſe through the town, without being chained or fettered; and liberty was alſo allowed them to meet at

ſet times for religious worſhip: and their patrons themſelves would ſometimes come and ſee what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as Papiſt ſlaves in the exerciſe of their worſhip made uſe of, but hearing from their ſlaves that they reverently adored and worſhipped the living God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, they commended them for it, and ſaid it was very good, and that they might freely do ſo. And ſince one of them was raiſed to ſpeak by way of edification to his friends, ſome other Engliſh ſlaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the mean-while the Quakers name came to be known at Algiers, as a people that might be truſted beyond others.

It was in this year that William Caton went into England with his wife from Holland, (where he was married) and two friends more, one of which was Judith Zinſpenning my mother, who was moved to ſpeak at the meeting at Kingſton, where W. Caton interpreted for her. At another time being in a meeting at London, and he not preſent, and feeling herſelf ſtirred up to declare of the loving-kindneſs of the Lord to thoſe that feared him, ſhe deſired one Peter Sybrands to be her interpreter; but he, though an honeſt man, yet not very fit for that ſervice, one or more friends told her, they were ſo ſenſible of the power by which ſhe ſpoke, that though they did not underſtand her words, yet they were edified by the life and power that accompanied her ſpeech; and therefore they little mattered the want of interpretation; and ſo ſhe went on without any interpreter. She had indeed a very good talent, and left ſuch repute behind her, that I coming ſeveral years after into England, kindneſs was ſhewed me in ſeveral places on her account. After a ſtay of ſome weeks at London, and thereabouts, ſhe went to Colcheſter, in order to return with W. Caton's wife to Holland; but making ſome ſtay in that town, ſhe there writ a book of proverbs, which, W. Caton having tranſlated into Engliſh, was printed at London. After her departure, he ſtaying behind, travelled through Eſſex, Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Yorkſhire; and coming into Lancaſhire, he repaired

to Swarthmore, and found there not only his ancient miſtreſs, Margaret Fell, who received him very kindly, but alſo G. Fox, not long before he was taken priſoner.

From thence Caton went to Sunderland, and ſo to Scarborough, where meeting with a veſſel bound for Holland, he embarked, and went off with a fair wind: but it was not long before the wind changed; and being about ten leagues from the land, the ſky began to look tempeſtuous; which made Caton adviſe the maſter to return; but he thinking the weather would ſoon change, was unwilling to do ſo; yet it fell out otherwiſe, for a violent ſtorm aroſe, by which the ſhip was ſo exceedingly toſt, that ſhe grew leaky, and took ſo much water, that the pumps continually muſt be kept going. But this ſo wearied the ſeamen, that Caton alſo fell to pumping; for though he found himſelf prepared to meet death, if it had been the will of the Lord, yet he knew it to be the duty of a man to preſerve his life by lawful means, as long as poſſible; beſides, he pitied the poor ſeamen, and ſo was made willing to help them as much as lay in his power. But at length they loſt the uſe of the rudder, and were near the ſands and ſhallows, by which the danger was greatly increaſed, and death ſeemed to approach.

Now Caton, though given up in the will of the Lord, and prepared to have found his grave in the deep, yet did not omit to call upon the Lord, and to pray to the Moſt High for deliverance, if it were conſiſtent with his holy will; and when the ſtorm was at the higheſt, his ſupplication was heard, and the tempeſt on a ſudden began to ceaſe, and the wind to abate; which gave him occaſion to praiſe the Almighty for the great mercy ſhewed to him and the mariners. Yet the wind being contrary, the maſter reſolved to enter Yarmouth, where Caton met with another ſtorm: for on the Firſt-day of the week, being at a meeting of his friends, he with ſeven more were apprehended, and carried to the main guard. The next day they were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered them the oath of allegiance; which they refuſing to take, were ſent to priſon, where he was

kept above ſix months, ſo that it was not till the next year that he returned into Holland.

Whilſt he was in gaol, Stephen Criſp came the firſt time into Holland, to viſit his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. It would not be amiſs here to ſay a little of his qualifications. He was a man of notable natural abilities, and had been zealous for religion before ever he entered into fellowſhip with thoſe called Quakers. But when the report of this people ſpread itſelf in the place where he lived, he made enquiry after them and their doctrine, and though he heard nothing but evil ſpoken of them, it nevertheleſs made ſome impreſſion upon his mind, when he conſidered how they were derided, hated, ſlandered, and perſecuted; becauſe this generally had been the lot of thoſe that truly feared God. But having heard that one of their tenets was, that ſin might be overcome in this life, this ſeemed to him a great error. And therefore, when James Parnel came to Colcheſter, he armed himſelf with arguments, to oppoſe him earneſtly: for looking upon him as one that was but a youth, he thought he ſhould be able to prevail upon him. He himſelf was then about ſeven and twenty years of age, being not only well verſed in ſacred writ, but alſo in the writings of many of the ancient philoſophers. After he had heard Parnel preach very powerfully, and found his words more piercing than he had imagined, he ventured to oppoſe him with ſome queries; but he ſoon found that this young man was endued with ſound judgment; and with all his wiſdom and knowledge he was not able to reſiſt him, but was forced to ſubmit to the truth he held forth. Now he thought himſelf ſo enriched, that for a month or two he made it his buſineſs, by the ſtrength of his reaſon, to defend the Truth he had embraced. But he ſoon found that this was not ſufficient; for ſelf was not ſubdued under the croſs, and he was not yet come to an experimental knowledge of what he aſſerted and defended with words. In this condition he ſaw that he muſt truly become poor in ſpirit, if God ever ſhould enrich him with heavenly wiſdom. This brought

him to mourning and ſorrow, by which he came more and more to be weaned from his natural knowledge, wherein he uſed to delight. And continuing faithful in this way of ſelf-denial, he at length began to enjoy peace in his mind, and ſo advanced in virtue and real knowledge, that in time he became an eminent miniſter of the goſpel, and travelling to and fro, many were converted by his miniſtry.

About this time appeared in England, one Lodowick Muggleton, who pretended that he and one John Reeves were the two witneſſes which are ſpoken of Rev. xi. 3. And though it was not long before Reeves died, yet Muggleton continued in his wild imaginations, which grew to that degree, that he gave forth a paper, in which he ſaid, 'That he was the chief judge in the world, and in paſſing the ſentence of eternal death and damnation upon the ſouls and bodies of men. That in obedience to his commiſſion, he had already curſed and damned many hundreds of people both body and ſoul, from the preſence of God, elect men, and angels, to eternity. That he went by as certain a rule in ſo doing, as the judges of the land do, when they give judgment according to law. And that no infinite Spirit of Chriſt, nor any god, could, or ſhould be able to deliver from his ſentence and curſe,' &c. Theſe abominable blaſphemies he gave forth in publick.

Richard Farnſworth, a zealous and intelligent miniſter, among thoſe called Quakers, anſwered this blaſphemer in writing, and diſcovered the horribleneſs of his prophane and curſed doctrine and poſitions; and he ſaid, among the reſt, in a book he publiſhed in print, 'Conſider the nature of thy offence, how far it extends itſelf; and that is, to paſs the ſentence of eternal death and damnation, both upon the bodies and ſouls of men and women, and that to eternity. Conſider that thy injuſtice, done by colour of office, deſerves to have a puniſhment proportionable to the offence; and can the offence in the eye of the Lord be any leſs than ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe thou haſt pretended to do it in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo wouldeſt make the Holy Ghoſt the author

of thy offence, which it is not? And ſeeing thou art guilty of ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, there is a puniſhment already proportioned for ſuch an offence; and alſo thou art puniſhable by the law of the land, for preſuming, under pretence of a commiſſion, and as a judge, to paſs the ſentence of death upon the bodies of men and women, and pretending to go by as certain a rule in ſo doing, as the judges of the land do,' &c. Thus continued Farnſworth to anſwer Muggleton at large, and ſhewed him how his judgment was not only contrary to truth, but alſo againſt the law of the land. But he was daring enough to give a reply to this ſerious anſwer, and ſaid in it, that he ſhould commend Farnſworth, firſt, for ſetting his name to it; and, ſecondly, for ſetting down his words ſo truly and punctually, that it made his commiſſion and authority to ſhine the more bright and clear. And that he was as true an ambaſſador of God, and judge of all mens ſpiritual eſtate, as any ever was ſince the creation of the world. 'And if you Quakers, and others, (thus continued he) can ſatisfy yourſelves, that there never was any man commiſſioned of God to bleſs and curſe, then you ſhall all eſcape that curſe I have pronounced upon ſo many hundreds: and I only ſhall ſuffer for curſing others, without a commiſſion from God. But my commiſſion is no pretended thing, but as true as Moſes's, the prophets, and the apoſtles' commiſſion was.

A multitude more of abominations this blaſphemer belched out, and among the reſt, that no man could come to the aſſurance of the favour of God, but in believing that God gave this power unto John Reeves and himſelf. That he had power given him over all other gods, and infinite ſpirits whatſoever: that he (Muggleton) had the keys of heaven, and of hell; and that none could get into heaven, except he opened the gates. That he had power to remit their ſins who received his doctrine, and to retain and bind their ſins more cloſe upon their conſciences, for their deſpiſing, or not receiving his doctrine. That he was ſingle in doctrine, knowledge, judgment, and power, above all men, either prophets, or apoſtles, ſince the beginning of the world, or that ſhould be hereafter

whilſt the world doth endure. That there was no true miniſter, meſſenger, nor ambaſſador of God in the world, but himſelf; neither ſhould there be ſent any of God after him to the world's end. That a God without him, ſpoke to him by voice of words, to the hearing of the ear. That no perſon condemned by him, could make his appeal unto God, neither by himſelf, nor by any other; becauſe God was not in the world at all. 'This power to condemn (ſaith he) hath God given unto me, and in this regard I am the only and alone judge, what ſhall become of men and women after death; neither ſhall thoſe that are damned by me, ſee any other god or judge but me.—I am loth to tranſcribe more of theſe moſt horrible blaſphemies; and we have cauſe to wonder at the long forbearance of God, that he thus bore the diſdainful affront offered by this inhuman monſter, in defiance of his almightineſs.

This Muggleton ſaid alſo to Farnſworth, that becauſe he was not under the ſentence of his commiſſion by verbal words, or writing, he ſhould give anſwer to his letter. 'For (ſaid he) I never give anſwer in writing to any one that is under the ſentence of my commiſſion.' This ſhuffle, not to be bound to anſwer, when he had ſhut up any one under his pretended damnation, ſeemed comical and facetious. Yet Farnſworth did not omit to anſwer his blaſphemous poſitions publickly, and to ſhew the abſurdity of Muggleton and John Reeve's being the two witneſſes.

Hereafter I ſhall have occaſion again to make mention of this Muggleton, for he lived yet ſeveral years; and do not find that any puniſhment was inflicted on him by the magiſtrates, other than the pillory, and half a year's impriſonment; though many think (not without good reaſon) that ſuch blaſphemers ought to be ſecluded from converſation with men.

Francis Howgill, in the latter part of this year, being in the market at Kendal, in Weſtmoreland, about his buſineſs, was ſummoned by the high conſtable to appear before the juſtices of the peace at a tavern. For being a zealous preacher among thoſe called Quakers, occaſion was watched to impriſon him under ſome colour of juſtice,

how unjuſt ſoever. Being come to the place appointed, the oath of allegiance was tendered him; and becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to ſwear, they committed him to priſon till the aſſizes at Appleby. Then appearing at Appleby, the ſame oath was tendered him in court by the judges; for not taking of which he was indicted, only he had liberty to anſwer to the indictment at the next aſſizes. In the mean-time there being a gaol delivery at Appleby, he was required to enter into bond for his good behaviour: but well knowing this was only a ſnare to bring him into further bonds, he refuſed, and ſo was re-committed to priſon. And not being tried till next year, we ſhall leave him there.

About this time happened a ſingular caſe, which I cannot well paſs by unmentioned. One Oliver Atherton, a man of a weak conſtitution, having refuſed to pay tithes to the counteſs of Derby, who laid claim to the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the pariſh of Ormſkirk, where he lived, was by her proſecution impriſoned at Derby, in a moiſt and unwholeſome hole, which ſo weakened him, that after having lain there two years and a half, he grew ſick; and a letter was writ in his name to the counteſs, in which was laid before her not only the cauſe why he had refuſed the payment of tithes, viz. for conſcience-ſake, but alſo that his life was in danger, if he ſtaid longer in that unwholeſome priſon; and that therefore ſhe ought to ſhew compaſſion, leſt ſhe drew the guilt of innocent blood upon her.

Now though Oliver's ſon, who brought this letter, met with rough treatment for not uncovering his head, yet the letter was delivered into her own hands: but the counteſs continued hard-hearted. Godfrey, the ſon, returned to his father in priſon, and told him (who was now on his death bed) that the counteſs would not allow him any liberty. To which he ſaid, 'She has been the cauſe of much bloodſhed; but this will be the heavieſt blood to her that ever ſhe ſpilt.' And not long after he died. His friends having got his corpſe, carried it to Ormſkirk, but at Garſtang, Preſton, and other towns, they

paſt, they faſtened to the market croſs the following inſcription, which alſo had been put on his coffin.

'This is Oliver Atherton from the pariſh of Ormſkirk, who by the counteſs of Derby had been perſecuted to death, for keeping a good conſcience towards God and Chriſt, in not paying of tithes to her.'

Now though three more, who with him were impriſoned for the ſame cauſe, gave notice of this to the counteſs, that they might not likewiſe die in priſon, as their fellow priſoner had, yet ſhe would ſhew no pity; and threatened to accuſe thoſe at Garſtang, to the king and his council, for having ſuffered the putting up of the ſaid inſcription. But by this ſhe opened people's mouths the more, and an omnipotent hand prevented the executing of her threatening: for exactly three weeks after the day Atherton was buried, ſhe died.

This year alſo in October, Humphry Smith, a preacher among thoſe called Quakers, having been priſoner a year at Wincheſter, for his religion, was by death delivered from his bonds. He had a viſion in the year 1660, in the month called July, concerning the fire of London, which happened ſix years after: a relation of which he gave forth in print.

In the year 1662, being about London, he ſaid to ſome of his friends, that he had a narrow path to paſs through; and more than once ſignified, he ſaw he ſhould be impriſoned, and that it might coſt him his life. And coming not long after to Alton in Hampſhire, he was taken from a meeting of his friends, and committed to a ſtinking cloſe priſon at Wincheſter, where, after a whole year's impriſonment, he fell ſick; and in the time of his ſickneſs ſpoke many excellent words to thoſe about him, ſignifying, that he was given up to the will of the Lord, either in life or death. And lying in great weakneſs, he ſaid, 'My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at ſuch a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend.' At another time he was heard to ſay, 'Lord, thou haſt ſent me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my ſmall meaſure, which thou haſt committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me farther,

thy will be done.' Alſo he ſaid, 'I am the Lord's, let him do what he will.' Not long before his departure he prayed very earneſtly, ſaying, 'O Lord, hear the inward ſighs and groans of thine oppreſſed, and deliver my ſoul from the oppreſſor. Hear me, O Lord, uphold and preſerve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art ſtrong and mighty, O Lord.' He alſo prayed to God, that he would deliver his people from their cruel oppreſſors. And for thoſe that had been convinced by his miniſtry, that the Lord would be their teacher. He continued quiet and ſenſible to the laſt period of his life, dying a priſoner for bearing witneſs to truth; and thus he ſtept from this troubleſome and tranſitory life, into one that is everlaſting.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

## THE EIGHTH BOOK.

IN the foregoing year we left G. Fox in Lancaſter priſon, where at the ſeſſions the oath of allegiance being tendered to, and refuſed by him, he was brought to his trial in the month called March, which begins the year 1664. Being brought to the bar before judge Twiſden, he ſaid, 'Peace be amongſt you all.' At which the judge looking upon him, ſaid, 'What! do you come into the court with your hat on?' Whereupon the gaoler taking it off, G. Fox ſaid, 'The hat is not the honour that comes from God.' Then ſaid the judge, 'Will you take the oath of allegiance?' G. Fox anſwered, 'I never took any oath in my life.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge, 'will you ſwear or no?' G. Fox replied, 'I am a Chriſtian, and Chriſt commands me not to ſwear; and ſo doth the apoſtle James likewiſe; and whether I ſhould obey God or man, do thou judge.' 'I aſk you again,' ſaid the judge, 'whether you will ſwear or no!' To which he made anſwer, 'I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Chriſtian, and ſhould ſhew forth Chriſtianity. Doſt thou not know (thus he went on) that Chriſtians in the primitive times, under the ten perſecutions, and ſome alſo of the martyrs

in queen Mary's days, refuſed ſwearing, becauſe Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbidden it? Ye have experience enough, how many men have ſworn firſt to the king, and then againſt him. But as for me, I have never taken an oath in all my life; and my allegiance doth not lie in ſwearing, but in truth and faithfulneſs: for I honour all men, much more the king. But Chriſt, who is the great Prophet, who is the King of kings, the Saviour of the world, and the great Judge of the whole world, he ſaith, I muſt not ſwear. Now the point is, whether I muſt obey Chriſt, or thee. For it is in tenderneſs of conſcience, and in obedience to the command of Chriſt, that I do not ſwear. And we have the word of a king for tender conſciences.' G. Fox having ſpoke thus much, aſked the judge, if he did own the king? To which he ſaid, 'Yes, I do own the king.' 'Why then,' ſaid he, 'doſt thou not obſerve his declaration from Breda, and his promiſes made ſince he came into England, that no man ſhould be called in queſtion for matters of religion, ſo long as they lived peaceably? Now if thou owneſt the king, why doſt thou call me into queſtion, and put me upon taking an oath, ſeeing thou, or none, can charge me with unpeaceable living? The judge looking angry, ſaid, 'Sirrah, will you ſwear?' To which G. Fox told him, 'I am none of thy ſirrahs; I am a Chriſtian; and for thee, who art an old man and a judge, to ſit there and give nicknames to the priſoners, doth not become either thy grey hairs or thy office.' The judge being a little more cool, after ſome words to and fro, ſaid, 'G. Fox, ſay whether thou wilt take the oath, yea, or nay?' To which he replied, 'If I could take any oath at all, I ſhould take this: for I do not deny ſome oaths only, or on ſome occaſion, but all oaths according to Chriſt's doctrine, who ſaid, "Swear not at all." Now if thou, or any of you, or any of your miniſters or prieſts here, will prove that ever Chriſt or his apoſtle, after they had forbidden all ſwearing, commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, then I will ſwear.' None of the prieſts offering to ſpeak, the judge ſaid, 'I am a ſervant to the king, and the king ſent me not to diſpute with you, but to put the laws in execution; and therefore I

tender the oath of allegiance.' G. Fox continuing to refuſe ſwearing, was ſent again to priſon. Two days after, being brought again before the judge, it was aſked him, whether he would traverſe or ſubmit? To which G. Fox ſaid, he deſired he might have liberty to traverſe the indictment, and try it. Then order was given to take him away, and he was kept in priſon till the next aſſizes.

Being priſoner in Lancaſter caſtle, there was much talk of the Turks great progreſs in Hungary, there being at that time a war between the Emperor and the Turks; and many being afraid, he ſaid to ſome, that walking once in his chamber, he ſaw the Lord's power turn againſt the Turk, and that he was turning back again. And within a month after news came that he was defeated. Another time, as he was walking in the room, with his mind upon the Lord, he ſaw an extraordinary great light, and looking up, he beheld an angel of the Lord, with a glittering ſword ſtretched ſouthward, which ſhone ſo bright, as if the court had been all on fire. Of which I have for proof what he mentions of it in his journal, and alſo another ſmall book he gave out with the title of a Warning to England. Not long after a war broke out between England and Holland, and ſome time after the peſtilence appeared at London (which lies ſoutherly from Lancaſter) and after two years that city by the fire was turned into rubbiſh.

But I return to the Lancaſter aſſizes. Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, was alſo under confinement for refuſing the oath of allegiance. And G. Fox being in priſon, writ ſeveral papers to the magiſtrates, in which he manifeſted the evil of perſecution, and exhorted to virtue and piety.

In the month called Auguſt, the aſſizes were held again at Lancaſter, G. Fox being brought thither (judge Turner then ſitting on the crown-bench) and being called to the bar, the judge aſked the juſtices, whether they had tendered him the oath at the foregoing ſeſſions? They ſaying they had, and having ſworn it, the jury were ſworn too. Then the judge aſked him, whether he had not refuſed the oath at the laſt aſſizes? To which he anſwered, 'I

never took oath in life; and Chriſt the Saviour and Judge of the world ſaid, "Swear not all." The judge ſeeming not to take notice of this anſwer, aſked him, whether or no he had not refuſed to take the oath at the laſt aſſizes? G. Fox maintaining the unlawfulneſs of ſwearing, the judge ſaid, he was not at that time to diſpute whether it was lawful to ſwear, but to enquire whether he had refuſed to take the oath, or no. G. Fox then ſignifying that he did not diſapprove the things mentioned in the oath, ſaid, 'Plotting againſt the king, and owning the Pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge, 'you ſay well in that: but did you deny to take the oath; what ſay you?' 'What wouldeſt thou have me to ſay?' replied he, 'I have told thee before what I did ſay.' After ſome more words from both ſides, the indictment was read. G. Fox having informed himſelf of the errors that were in it, ſaid, he had ſomething to ſpeak to it, for there were many groſs errors in it. The judge ſignified that he would not hear him, but when he was at the point of giving judgment, the jury going out, ſoon returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon he told them, that both the juſtices and they too had forſworn themſelves; which cauſed ſuch confuſion in the court, that the pronouncing judgment was delayed. Margaret Fell being next brought to the bar, was alſo declared guilty.

The next day ſhe and G. Fox were brought up again to receive ſentence. Her counſel pleading many errors in her indictment, ſhe was ſet by; and G. Fox then being called, ſhewed himſelf unwilling to let any man plead for him; which ſeemed to make ſome ſtop; yet he was aſked by the judge, what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not paſs ſentence upon him. At which he told him, 'I am no lawyer, but yet I have much to ſay, if thou wilt but have patience to hear.' Thereupon thoſe on the bench laughed, and ſaid, 'Come, what have you to ſay?' Then he aſked the judge, whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's ſubjects, or to the ſubjects of foreign princes. To which the judge ſaid, 'To the ſubjects of this realm.' 'Then,' ſaid George, 'look on the indictment, and ye may ſee

that ye have left out the word ſubject: and not having named me in the indictment as a ſubject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath.' They then looking to the ſtatute, and the indictment, ſaw that it was as he ſaid, and the judge confeſſed that it was an error. Next G. F. told him, he had ſomething elſe to ſtop judgment; and he deſired them to look what day the indictment ſaid the oath was tendered to him at the ſeſſions there? They looking, ſaid it was the eleventh of January. Then he aſked, 'What day of the week was that ſeſſion held on?' 'On a Tueſday,' ſaid they. To which G. F. ſaid, 'Look in your almanack, and ſee whether there was any ſeſſion held at Lancaſter on the eleventh of January. They looking, found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the ſeſſions were on the day called Tueſday, which was the twelfth day of the ſaid month: 'Look ye now,' ſaid he, 'ye have indicted me for refuſing the oath in the quarter-ſeſſions held at Lancaſter on the eleventh day of January laſt, and the juſtices have ſworn that they tendered me the oath in open ſeſſions here that day, and the jury upon their oath have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye ſee there was no ſeſſions held at Lancaſter that day.' The judge, to cover the matter, aſked, whether the ſeſſions did not begin on the eleventh day? To which ſome in the court anſwered, 'No; the ſeſſions held but one day, and that was the twelfth.' Then the judge ſaid, this was a great miſtake, and an error. Some of the juſtices grew ſo angry at this, that they ſeeming ready to have gone off the bench, ſtamped, and ſaid, 'Who hath done this? Somebody hath done this on purpoſe.' Then ſaid G. F. 'Are not the juſtices here that have ſworn to this indictment, forſworn men? But this is not all; I have more yet to offer why ſentence ſhould not be given againſt me, in what year of the king was it; that the laſt aſſize, which was in the month called March, was holden here?' To this the judge ſaid, it was in the ſixteenth year of the king. But ſaid G. Fox, 'The indictment ſays it was in the fifteenth year.' This was alſo acknowledged to be an error: but both judge and juſtices were in ſuch a fret,

that they knew not what to ſay; for it had been ſworn alſo, that the oath was tendered to G. Fox at the aſſize mentioned in the indictment, viz. in the fifteenth year of the king, whereas it was in the ſixteenth; which made G. Fox ſay, 'Is not the court here forſworn alſo, they having ſworn a whole year falſe?' Some other remarkable errors he ſhewed, which I, having no mind to be tedious, paſs by with ſilence.

G. Fox then deſiring juſtice, and ſaying, that he did not look for mercy, the judge ſaid, you muſt have juſtice, and you ſhall have law: which made him aſk, 'Am I now free from all that hath been done againſt me in this matter?' 'Yes,' ſaid the judge; but then ſtarting up in a rage, he ſaid, 'I can put the oath to any man here; and I will tender you the oath again.' G. Fox then telling him, that he had examples enough of yeſterday's ſwearing, and falſe ſwearing; 'For I ſaw before my eyes,' ſaid he, 'that both juſtices and jury forſwore themſelves;' yet the judge aſked him, if he would take the oath? But he replied, 'Do me juſtice for my falſe impriſonment all this while;' for he had been locked up, as was well known, in a wet and cold room, and therefore he ſaid, 'I ought to be ſet at liberty.' At which the judge ſaid, 'You are at liberty, but I will put the oath to you again.' G. Fox then turning himſelf about, ſaid to the people, 'Take notice, this is a ſnare; but I ought to be ſet free from the gaoler, and from this court.' But the judge inſtead of hearkening to that, cried, 'Give him the book.' G. Fox then taking the book, and looking in it, ſaid, 'I ſee it is a bible, and I am glad of it.' In the mean-while the jury being called by order of the judge, they ſtood by; for though they had deſired, after they had brought in their former verdict, to be diſmiſſed, yet he told them, he could not diſmiſs them yet, becauſe he ſhould have buſineſs for them; and therefore they muſt attend, and be ready. G. Fox, perceiving his intent, looked him in the face, which made him bluſh: nevertheleſs he cauſed the oath to be read, and then aſked G. Fox whether he would take the oath or no; to which he ſaid, 'Ye have given me a book here to kiſs, and to ſwear on; and this

book ſays, kiſs the Son; and the Son ſays in this book, "Swear not at all," and ſo ſays alſo the apoſtle James: now I ſay, as the book ſays, and yet ye impriſon me, for doing as the book bids me. How chance ye do not impriſon the book for ſaying ſo? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongſt you, which bids me ſwear not? Why do not ye impriſon the book alſo?' Whilſt he was ſpeaking thus, he held up the bible open, to ſhew the place where Chriſt forbids ſwearing. But the book was taken from him, and the judge ſaid, 'No, but we will impriſon George Fox.'

This caſe was ſo ſingular, that it was ſpread over all the country, as a by-word, that they gave G. Fox a book to ſwear on, that commanded him not to ſwear at all, and that this book, viz. the Bible, was at liberty, and he in priſon, for doing as the Bible ſaid. But the judge urged him ſtill to ſwear; to which G. Fox ſaid, 'I am a man of a tender conſcience; conſider therefore, that it is in obedience to Chriſt's command that I cannot ſwear: but if any of you can convince me, that after Chriſt and the apoſtle had commanded not to ſwear, they did alter that command, and commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, then ye ſhall ſee I will ſwear.' And he ſeeing there ſeveral prieſts, ſaid, 'If ye cannot do it, let your prieſt do it.' But none of the prieſts ſaid any thing; and the judge ſaid, 'All the world cannot convince you.' To which he replied, 'How is it like the world ſhould convince me? For the whole world lies in wickedneſs: but bring out your ſpiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me.' Then the ſheriff and the judge ſaid, that the angel ſwore in the Revelations. To which G. Fox replied, 'When God bringeth in his firſt-begotten Son into the world, he ſaith, "Let all the angels of God worſhip him;" and he ſaid, "Swear not at all." 'Nay,' ſaid the judge, 'I will not diſpute.' Then he told the jury, it was for Chriſt's ſake that he could not ſwear; and therefore he warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their conſciences, becauſe they muſt all appear before his judgment-ſeat. After ſome more words ſpoken, the gaoler took him away.

In the afternoon he was brought up again. And the

jury having brought him in guilty of what he was charged with in the indictment, viz. his not taking the oath, the judge aſked him, what he had to ſay for himſelf. He then deſired the indictment to be read; ſince he could not anſwer to that which he had not heard. The clerk reading it, the judge ſaid, 'Take heed it be not falſe again.' But the clerk read it in ſuch a manner, that G. Fox could hardly underſtand what he read. And when he had done, the judge aſked G. Fox what he had to ſay to the indictment. To which he ſaid, 'At once hearing ſo large a writing read, and that at ſuch a diſtance, that I could not diſtinctly hear all the parts of it; I cannot well tell what to ſay to it: but if you will let me have a copy of it, and give me time to conſider, I ſhall anſwer it.' This put the court to a little ſtand; but at length the judge aſked him, what time he would have? And he anſwered, 'Till the next aſſize.' 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'What plea will you make now; are you guilty, or not guilty?' To which he replied, 'I am not guilty at all of denying ſwearing obſtinately and wilfully: and as for thoſe things mentioned in the oath, as jeſuitical plots, and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart: and if I could take any oath, I ſhould take this; but I never took any oath in all my life.' To this the judge returned, 'You ſay well; but the king is ſworn, the parliament is ſworn, I am ſworn, the juſtices are ſworn, and the law is preſerved by oaths.' On which G. Fox told him, they had had ſufficient experience of mens ſwearing, and had ſeen how the juſtices and jury ſwore wrong the other day: and continued he, 'If thou haſt read in the book of Martyrs, how many of them did refuſe to ſwear, both within the time of the ten perſecutions, and in biſhop Bonner's day, thou mayeſt ſee that to deny ſwearing in obedience to Chriſt's command, is no new thing.' To this the judge ſaid, he wiſhed the laws were otherwiſe. G. Fox ſaid then, 'Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay: and if we tranſgreſs our yea and our nay, let us ſuffer as they do, or ſhould do, that ſwear falſely. This I have offered to the king, and the king ſaid it was reaſonable.'

After ſome farther diſcourſe, G. Fox was committed to priſon again, and colonel Kirby ordered the gaoler to keep him cloſe, and to ſuffer nobody to come to him, as one that was not fit to be diſcourſed with. The gaoler did not ſcruple to follow this order, for he locked him up in a ſmoky tower, where the ſmoke of the other priſoners came up ſo thick, that ſometimes one could hardly ſee a burning candle; ſo that there ſeemed to have been an intent to choak him; for the turnkey could hardly be perſuaded to unlock one of the upper doors a little to let out the ſmoke. Beſides this hardſhip, in wet weather it rained in upon his bed to that degree, that his ſhirt grew wet. In this pitiful condition he lay during a long cold winter, which ſo afflicted him, that his body ſwelled, and his limbs were much benumbed. Here we will leave him till he was brought again to his trial, which was not before the next year.

But before I part with him, I muſt mention, that ſome time before he had written ſeveral papers to the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and alſo to the pope. Theſe writings were by ſomebody elſe turned into Latin, and ſo given out in print. In theſe he levelled chiefly againſt perſecution for religion's ſake. He reproved the king of Spain more eſpecially, becauſe of the inquiſition, and the burning of people: and he did not ſpare the pope, as being the ſpring of theſe evils, ſaying, 'Innocent blood hath long cried for vengeance to the Lord: the earth almoſt ſwims with innocent blood; and the cry of it is heard. Your frozen profeſſion, and your cold winter images being ſet up in your ſtreets, the Lord God of power and dread, and of heaven and earth, will be avenged on thee, and you all; his day is approaching. Ye great and rich cardinals and pope, ye have been fed like fat hogs; and ſeeing that thou wouldeſt not receive the Lord's meſſengers, but threw them in priſon, and in your inquiſition, it may be the Lord may give you a viſit another way, for his dread is gone out, and his zeal is kindled againſt you.—The fields are ſprinkled with blood of the innocent, and ye are the aceldama, or the field of blood. But the Lord is coming to take vengeance upon

you; his hand is ſtretched over your heads, and his power is gone over you; with that he will rule you, and ſmite you down, and bring you that are lofty from your ſeats, and abaſe your pride, and take the glory to himſelf.—How much blood, which is unmeaſurable, and cannot be meaſured here, have ye drank ſince the days of the apoſtles, and made yourſelves drunk with it! But now is the indignation and wrath of the Almighty come and coming upon you; and thou pope muſt feel it. Tremble therefore, thou pope, tremble, fear, and quake thou pope, tremble ye cardinals, tremble ye jeſuits, tremble ye priors, tremble ye monks and friars, of what rank ſoever, for the army of the Lord God is coming over you, by whom ye ſhall be ſhaken, and daſhed to pieces.' Theſe are but ſmall ſparkles of that flame which G. Fox blew againſt the pope, intermixing his writings with many demonſtrations, that the Romiſh church was the whore of Babylon, and that ſhe it was that had defiled herſelf with idolatry and ſuperſtition, and had bathed herſelf in the blood of the ſaints, having furiouſly attacked them with ſword and fire. This he concluded with theſe words: 'The plagues of God will be thy portion, O pope, who hath deceived the nations: and all ye jeſuits and cardinals, howl, for your miſery is coming, the mighty day of the Lord God upon you all; the Lord God, who will be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, and with none of your inventions.' Thus G. Fox writ in that day to the pope and his counſellors; and no wonder that he paid dear for this ſharp language againſt the head of the church of Rome; for it may be believed, that a great many of the court party, in thoſe days, were either concealed Papiſts, or favourers of them: and yet among the national clergy, and even thoſe of other perſuaſions, many branded the Quakers with the odious name of ſecret Papiſts, thereby to make them incur the hatred of the people.

Now I return to Francis Howgill, whom in the foregoing year we left in priſon at Appleby. It was in the forepart of this year that he was brought to his trial. Being come into court before the judges ſat, he ſpoke to the clerk of the aſſizes, and told him, he did not know

whether they expected his appearance then or not: the clerk ſaid, 'You have done well,' and that he would acquaint the judge, and he ſhould only engage to him to appear the next aſſizes, to anſwer the indictment againſt him, and that he ſhould not appear in court; Francis bid him do what he would. In the mean-time Sir Philip Muſgrave (ſo called) a great adverſary to the truth, and the great and chief proſecutor of Francis, had informed the judges againſt him, that he was a dangerous perſon, a ringleader, and a keeper up of meetings of dangerous conſequence, and deſtructive to the peace of the nation; ſo then they concluded he ſhould appear in court; and ſo the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he ſhould be called. So the court began; judge Twiſden gave the charge to the grand jury, in which he ſaid, there was a ſort of people, who under pretence of conſcience and religion, ſeemed to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, and under colour of this hatched treaſons and rebellions, and gave the jury charge to enquire and preſent ſuch, that the peace of the nation might be preſerved; ſo they impannelled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar, and the judge ſpake as followeth:

Judge, ſpeaking calmly to him, ſaid, the face of things was much altered ſince the laſt aſſizes, and made a large ſpeech to him and the country, telling him, that all ſects under pretence of conſcience did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions, 'Not (ſaith he) that I have any thing to charge you with; but ſeeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the laſt aſſizes, and you refuſed to take it, it was looked upon that ſuch perſons were enemies to the king and government;' and ſaid; 'I will not trouble you now to anſwer to your indictment, but I muſt do that the next aſſizes; in the mean-time you muſt enter into recognizance for your good behaviour.'

To which F. H. anſwered, I deſire liberty to ſpeak, which he had without interruption, and ſaid as followeth:

F. H. Judge Twiſden, thou very well knoweſt upon how ſlender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the laſt aſſizes, where thou wert pleaſed to tender me the oath of allegiance, though I believe both thee and

thee and the reſt of the court, did know it was a received principle among us not to ſwear at all; many reaſons I gave thee then, many more I have to add, if I may have audience; for it may appear to you an abſurd thing, and obſtinacy in me to refuſe it, if I ſhould not tender a reaſon; I am (ſaid he) none of thoſe that make religion a cloak of maliciouſneſs, nor conſcience a cloak to carry on plots or conſpiracies, the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of ſuch things; and ſeeing I am engaged to appear at the next aſſizes, I deſire no farther thing may be required of me.

Judge. You muſt enter into bond this dangerous time, and therefore conſider of it, and tell me now, or before the aſſizes end.

The ſecond day of the aſſizes he was called again.

F. H. Seeing thou art pleaſed to let me anſwer to the indictment, which I am willing to do, I have been of good behaviour, and ſhall ſo continue; but it ſeems a hard thing to me, and full of ſeverity, that ſeeing I am obliged to appear to anſwer an indictment of ſo high a nature (if proſecuted againſt me) which tends to the loſs of my liberty for life, and my eſtate for ever, I hope the court will not envy my liberty for five months.

Judge Turner ſaid, We do not deſire your impriſonment, if you will be of good behaviour.

F. H. preſſed that they would not put him upon giving bond to be of good behaviour, knowing himſelf to be bound by the truth, that he could not miſbehave himſelf.

One Daniel Flemming, another perſecuting juſtice, had framed another indictment againſt him for meeting, and ſtood up (fearing the ſnare of giving bond would not hold) and ſaid as followeth:

D. Flemming. My lord, he is a great ſpeaker, it may be the Quakers cannot want him.

Judge. Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond.

F. H. ſaid he had nothing to accuſe himſelf of, for his conſcience bore him witneſs that he loved peace, and ſought it with all men.

Judges both ſpake. What do you tell of conſcience? We meddle not with it; but you contemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

F. H. We are fallen in a ſad age; if meeting together peaceably, without arms, or force, or intention of hurt to any man, only to worſhip God in Spirit, and exhort one another to righteouſneſs, and to pray together in the Holy Ghoſt, as the primitive Chriſtians of old, that this ſhould be reckoned breach of peace and miſbehaviour.

Judge Twiſden. Do you compare theſe times with them? They were heathens that perſecuted, but we are Chriſtian magiſtrates.

F. H. It is a doctrine always held by us, and a received principle which we believe, that Chriſt's kingdom could not be ſet up with carnal weapons; nor the goſpel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built with violence; but the Prince of Peace was manifeſted amongſt us, and we could learn war no more, but could love enemies, and forgive them that did evil to us.

Philip Muſgrave ſtood up, and ſaid, 'My Lord, we have been remiſs towards this people, and have ſtriven with them, and put them in priſon again and again, and fined them, and as ſoon as they are out they meet again.'

Then ſtood up John Lowther, called a juſtice, and ſaid, 'My Lord, they grow inſolent, notwithſtanding all laws, and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous.

Philip Muſgrave ſtood up, and produced a paper (and juſtice Flemming, ſo called, ſeconded him) in great capital letters, and gave it the judge; he told the judge, that it happened ſome Quakers were ſent to priſon, and one of them died at Lancaſter, and they carried his corpſe through the country, and ſet that paper upon his coffin, this is the body of ſuch an one, who was perſecuted by Daniel Flemming till death.

Judge. We have ſpent much time with you, I will diſcourſe no more.

F. H. I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to ſpeak, I ſhall not trouble you much longer; I ſhall be willing to appear to anſwer to the

indictment at the aſſizes, and in the mean-time to live peaceably and quietly, as I have done, if that will ſatisfy.

Judge. You muſt enter into bond to come at no more meetings.

F. H. I cannot do that, if I ſhould, I were treacherous to God and my own conſcience, and the people and you would but judge me a hypocrite.

They were loath to commit him, yet at laſt they did.

This was in the latter part of the month called March, and he was kept about five months as before in a bad room, and none ſuffered to ſpeak with him, but who got ſecretly to him without the gaoler's knowledge.

It was about this time that John Audland departed this life. He, and his boſom friend, John Camm, (whoſe deceaſe was ſome years before) had travelled much together in the miniſtry of the goſpel; therefore I will give an uninterrupted relation of their latter end, but firſt that of John Camm.

He was of very good parentage, born at Camſgil, in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, which ſeat had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors long before him. From his childhood he was inclined to be religious, and ſeeking after the beſt things, he joined with thoſe that were the moſt ſtrict in performing religious duties. And having afterwards heard G. Fox, he embraced as truth the doctrine he preached, and growing up in it, he himſelf became an eminent miniſter of the goſpel among thoſe called Quakers. He and his boſom friend John Audland, were the firſt of that ſociety who preached at Briſtol, where having been in the meetings of the Baptiſts and Independents, they alſo had meetings in ſeveral places without the city, where there was a great concourſe of people, and many received their doctrine. Since that time, theſe two miniſters travelled much together, and many were convinced by their miniſtry. But at length John Camm, who did not ſpare himſelf, began to fall under a kind of conſumption, inſomuch that through weakneſs he was fain to ſtay at home; and then he often called his children and family together, exhorting them to

godlineſs, and praying to the Lord for them. Some weeks before his death, he once expreſſed himſelf thus: 'How great a benefit do I enjoy above many, having ſuch a large time of preparation for death, being daily dying, that I may live for ever with my God, in that kingdom that is unſpeakably full of glory. My outward man daily waſtes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives, and mounts upwards towards its place and habitation in the heavens.' The morning that he departed this life, he called his wife, children, and family to him, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, to love his truth, to walk in it, and to be loving and kind to one another, telling them that his glaſs was run, the time of his departure was come; and he was to enter into everlaſting eaſe, joy, and reſt: charging them all, to be patient and content with their parting with him. And ſo fainting, he paſſed into a ſweet ſleep; but by the weeping and crying of thoſe about him, he awakened, and deſired to be helped up a little in his bed, and then he ſpoke to this effect: 'My dear hearts, ye have wronged me and diſturbed me, for I was at ſweet reſt; ye ſhould not ſo paſſionately ſorrow for my departure; this houſe of earth and clay muſt go to its place; and this ſoul and ſpirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to live with him for ever, where we ſhall meet with everlaſting joy.' Then taking leave of his family, he charged them to be content with his departure; and lying down, within a little time deceaſed.

His beloved friend John Audland (who often bemoaned the loſs of ſo dear a companion) died alſo of a kind of conſumption: for his ardent zeal made him ſtrain his voice beyond what his body was well able to bear. In a meeting which he once had with J. Camm, in a field without Briſtol, where Charles Marſhall was one of his auditors, after J. Camm had left off ſpeaking, he ſtood up, with an awful and ſhining countenance; and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he ſaid, 'I proclaim a ſpiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and ſeparation from God, and I propheſy to the four winds of heaven.' Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to re-

pentance; and ſpoke with ſuch a piercing authority, that ſome of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under the ſenſe of their tranſgreſſion. And when at Briſtol he many times preached in an orchard to a great multitude, he would lift up his voice exceedingly, in order to be heard by all. Thus he ſpent his natural ſtrength, though he was but a young man. About the twentieth year of his age, he married with one Anne Newby, of Kendal, a virtuous maid, not only of good family, but alſo excelling in piety, and therefore ſhe freely gave him up to travel in the ſervice of the goſpel, notwithſtanding his company was very dear to her; which made her ſay, that ſhe believed few ever enjoyed a greater bleſſing in a huſband ſo kind and affectionate. And how heartily and tenderly ſhe loved him, may be ſeen by the following letter ſhe writ to him.

'Dear Huſband,

'Thou art dearer to me than ever; my love flows out to thee, even the ſame love that I am loved withal of my Father. In that love ſalute me to all my friends, for dear you are all unto me, my life is much refreſhed in hearing from you. I received thy letters, and all my ſoul deſireth is to hear from thee in the life; dear heart, in life dwell, there I am with thee out of all time, out of all words, in the pure power of the Lord, there is my joy and ſtrength; O! how am I refreſhed to hear from thee, to hear of thy faithfulneſs and boldneſs in the work of the Lord. O! dear heart, I cannot utter the joy I have concerning thee; thy preſence I have continually in ſpirit, therewith am I filled with joy; all glory and honour be to our God for ever. O! bleſſed be the day in which thou waſt born, that thou art found worthy to labour in the work of the Lord. Surely the Lord hath found thee faithful in a little, therefore he hath committed much unto thee; go on in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, from whence all ſtrength cometh, to whom be all glory, and honour for ever. O! dear heart, go on, conquering and to conquer, knowing this, that thy crown is ſure. So, dear heart, now is the time of the

Lord's work, and few are willing to go forth into it. All the whole world lieth in wickedneſs, doing their own work; but bleſſed be the Lord for ever who hath called us from doing our own work, into his great work. O! marvellous are his works, and his ways paſt finding out. O! dear heart, thou knoweſt my heart, thou mayeſt read daily how that I rejoice in nothing more than in thy proſperity in the work of the Lord: Oh! it is paſt my utterance to expreſs the joy I have for thee. I am full, I am full of love towards thee, never ſuch love as this; the mighty power of the Lord go along with thee, and keep thee faithful and valiant, and bold in his pure counſel, to ſtand ſingle out of all the world. O! dear heart, all my love to thee is purer than gold ſeven times purified in the fire: O! pure is he that hath loved us, therefore let purity and holineſs cover us for ever. A joyful word it was to me, to hear that thou waſt moved to go for Briſtol: O! my own heart, my own life, in that which now ſtands, act and obey, that thou mayeſt ſtand upon thy alone guard; ſo, dear heart, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept pure out of all temptations, ſingly to dwell in the life: ſo farewel.

'Anne Audland.'

By this letter it appears, that there was an endeared mutual love between this virtuous couple. He was a man of great knowledge, but when his underſtanding came to be opened by the preaching of G. Fox, he would ſay ſometimes, 'Ah, what have we been doing! Or what availeth our great profeſſion? All our building tumbles down; our profeſſion is high as the wind; the day of the Lord is upon it, and his word, as a fire, conſumes it as dry ſtubble; and puts an end to all empty profeſſions and high notions, without life or ſubſtance; to all the wiſdom of fallen man. We muſt forſake the world, and all its glory; it is all but vanity and vexation of ſpirit: it is a Saviour that I long for; it is him that my ſoul pants after. O that I may be gathered into his life, and overſhadowed with his glory, ſanctified throughout by his word, and raiſed up by his eternal power!' He continuing in this

eſtate of daily ſupplication and inward travail of ſoul, it pleaſed the Lord at length to furniſh him with an extraordinary qualification to proclaim his word, which he did ſome years faithfully, and with great zeal. And though his wife loved him dearly, and preferred his company above what the world could give; yet in regard of his goſpel ſervice, ſhe gave him up freely to be much from home; whereby during a great part of the time of their marriage, ſhe had not his deſirable company.

In the mean-while he laboured diligently in the Lord's harveſt, till his bodily ſtrength failing, and meeting with hard impriſonments, he was ſeized with a moſt violent cough, which was followed by a fever, ſo that his ſleep was taken from him, which made him grow very weak; but he bore his ſickneſs with great patience, and ſaid once, that in thoſe great meetings in the orchard at Briſtol, he often forgot himſelf, not conſidering the inability of his body, from a deſire to be heard by all: but that his reward was with him, and he content to be with the Lord, which his ſoul valued above all things.' Not long before his departure, being viſited by ſome of his friends, he ſpoke ſo comfortably, and with ſuch power, as one that was beyond the feeling of his weakneſs. To his wife, who was big with child, and nigh her delivery, well knowing how tenderly ſhe loved him, he ſaid, 'My will is in true ſubjection, ſubmitting to the will of the Lord, whether life or death; and therefore give me up freely to his diſpoſing.' And ſhe, how dear ſoever he was to her, did ſo; which gave him ſome eaſe, ſeeing her ſincere reſignedneſs; and being ſometimes overcome with joy, he praiſed God in his ſickneſs; nay ſo ardent was his zeal, that once, though very weak, he deſired to be helped up in bed upon his knees; and thus he fervently ſupplicated the Lord in the behalf of his churches, that they might be preſerved in the truth, out of the evil of the world, and that his goſpel might ſpread, and be publiſhed to the gathering of all that pertain to Iſrael. His ſtrength now diminiſhing daily, he ſweetly departed at the age of thirty-four years, about three weeks after the fever firſt ſeized him. And his widow, who ten days after his deceaſe

was delivered of a ſon, behaved herſelf diſcreetly, and ſaid afterwards in a paper concerning him: 'The Eternal God, who by his providence joined us together in marriage in our young days, in his bleſſed counſel alſo cauſed his day to ſpring from on high upon us: in the marvellous light, and bright ſhining whereof, he revealed his Son Chriſt in us, and gave us faith to believe in him, the eternal word of life, by which our ſouls came to be quickened and made alive in him; and alſo in and by the quickening of his holy power, we were made one in a ſpiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being knit together in the unſpeakable love of truth, which was our life, joy, and delight, and made our days together exceeding comfortable: as being that whereby all our temporal enjoyments were ſanctified, and made a bleſſing to us.' How hard it was, and how great a loſs, to part with ſo dear and tender an huſband as he was to me, is far beyond what I can expreſs: the dolour of my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to declare. Yet in this I contented myſelf, that it was the will of the Lord that he was taken from the evil; and that my loſs, though great, was not to be compared to his eternal gain. This widow, in proceſs of time, was married to Thomas Camm, ſon of John Camm, her former huſband's boſom friend. She was indeed a woman of great virtue: but now I part with her, with intention to ſay more of her when I ſhall come to the time of her deceaſe.

I return to Francis Howgill, whom we left in priſon, and who now appeared again at the aſſizes, which were holden at Appleby, in the month called Auguſt. And he having got liberty to ſpeak with the clerk of the aſſizes, who told him, that he muſt prepare himſelf to come to a trial, anſwered, he was prepared, but thought that all he could ſay, would little avail, believing they purpoſed to proſecute him with all ſeverity; which proved ſo, as will appear by what follows; for the county juſtices had incenſed the judges againſt him beforehand. Yet Howgill endeavoured all he could to convince them of his innocency; and to that end drew up the ſubſtance of the oath into ſeveral heads, which he could ſubſcribe to;

to this he joined another paper to judge Turner, ſhewing the cauſe of his firſt commitment, and the former proceedings againſt him: and how unequal it was to proſecute him upon a ſtatute made againſt popiſh recuſants. He alſo ſignified in that paper, that he was a man of a tender ſpirit, and feared the Lord from a child, and had never taken any oath but once in his life, which was twenty years ago; and that his refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, was not in any evil intent to the king's perſon or government, but merely upon a conſcientious account, and that he could not ſwear, being otherwiſe perſuaded of the Lord, ſeeing it was againſt the command of Chriſt, and the apoſtle James's doctrine. Beſides, that he was able to make it evident to be againſt the example of the primitive Chriſtians for divers hundred years, and ſo no new opinion. That he did neither in wilfulneſs nor obſtinacy refuſe it, being ſenſible of the damage that would come thereby, if they did proſecute him upon that ſtatute, he having a wife and children, and ſome ſmall eſtate, which he knew lay at ſtake in the matter; but that though it were his life alſo, he could not revolt from, or deny that which he had moſt certainly believed in: but if any could convince him, either by ſcripture or reaſon, he had an ear to hear. And therefore all thoſe things conſidered, he deſired he might be diſmiſſed from his bonds, and from their perſecution of him upon that account. Theſe papers were delivered to the judges and juſtices before he appeared in court, and were read by them. He then being called to the bar at the aſſizes holden at Appleby, judge Turner ſaid to him, 'Here is an indictment againſt you for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance; ſo you muſt plead to it, either guilty or not guilty.'

F. H. with a heart girded up with ſtrength and courage, ſaid, 'Judge Turner, may I have liberty to ſpeak, and make my defence, for I have none to plead my cauſe but the Lord?'

Judge. You may.

F. H. I will lay the true ſtate of my caſe before thee, and of the proceedings againſt me from the firſt, ſeeing judge Twiſden is not here, who had knowledge of all the

proceedings hitherto. I am a countryman, born and brought up in this country; my carriage and converſation is known, how I have walked peaceably towards all men, as I hope my countrymen can teſtify. About a year ago being at my neighbouring market-town about my reaſonable and lawful occaſions, I was ſent for by an high conſtable out of the market to the juſtices of peace, before whom I went; and when I came there, they had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to aſk me queſtions to enſnare me about our meetings; and when they could find no occaſion, they ſeemed to tender the oath of allegiance to me, though they never read it to me, neither did I poſitively deny it, yet they committed me to priſon; and ſo I was brought hither to this aſſize, and then the mittimus by which I was committed, was called for, and the judge read it, and ſaid to the juſtices it was inſufficient: nevertheleſs judge Twiſden tendered the oath of allegiance to me; many things I did allege then, and many more I have to ſay now, if time will permit: from that time I was under an engagement to appear at the next aſſizes, and ſo was called, and did appear at the laſt gaol-delivery, and a farther obligation was required of me for good behaviour, which I could not give, leſt I ſhould be brought into a farther ſnare; and ſince that time I have been committed priſoner theſe five months, ſome of which time I have been kept under great reſtraint, my friends not permitted to ſpeak to me; and thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto. As to the oath, the ſubſtance thereof, with the repreſentation of my caſe, is preſented to the court already, unto which I have ſet my hand, and alſo ſhall in thoſe words teſtify the ſame in open court, if required; and ſeeing it is the very ſubſtance the law doth require, I deſire it may be accepted, and I cleared from my impriſonment.

Judge. I am come to execute the law, and the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it; do you think the law muſt be changed for you, or only for a few; if this be ſuffered, the adminiſtration of juſtice is hindered, no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king, nor other particular caſes tried; and your principles are alto-

gether inconſiſtent with the law and government; I pray you ſhew me which way we ſhall proceed, ſhew me ſome reaſon, and give me ſome ground.

F. H. I ſhall: in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every truth is confirmed; and we never denied to give, and ſtill are ready to give evidence for the king wherein we are concerned, and in any other matter for the ending of ſtrife between man and man in truth and righteouſneſs, and this anſwers the ſubſtance of the law.

Judge. Is this a good anſwer, think you? Whether to be given with or without oath: the law requires an oath.

F. H. Still evidence is and may be given in truth, according to the ſubſtance of the law, ſo that no detriment cometh unto any party, ſeeing that true teſtimony may be borne without an oath; and I did not ſpeak of changing the law: yet ſeeing we never refuſed giving teſtimony, which anſwereth the intent and ſubſtance of the law, I judged it was reaſonable to receive our teſtimony, and not to expoſe us to ſuch ſufferings, ſeeing we ſcrupled an oath only upon a conſcientious account, in tenderneſs of conſcience, for fear of breaking the command of Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, which if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cauſe for us with him.

Judge. But why do you not go to church, but meet in houſes and private conventicles, which the law forbids.

F. H. We meet together only for the worſhip of the true God in Spirit and Truth, having the primitive Chriſtians for our example, and to no other end, but that we may be edified, and God glorified; and when two or three are met together in the name of Chriſt, and he in the midſt of them, there is a church.

Judge. That is true: but how long is it ſince you have been at church? Or will you go to the church the law doth allow of? Give me ſome reaſons why you do not go.

F. H. I have many to give thee, if thou haſt patience to hear me: firſt, God dwells not in temples made with mens hands. Secondly, the pariſh houſe hath been a temple for idols, to wit, for the maſs and the rood; and

I dare have no fellowſhip with idols, nor worſhip in idols temples; for what have we to do with idols, their temples and worſhip?

Judge. Were there not houſes called the houſes of God, and temples?

F. H. Yes, under the law; but the Chriſtians, who believed in Chriſt, ſeparated from theſe (and the temple was made and left deſolate) and from the Gentiles temples too, and met together in houſes, and broke bread from houſe to houſe; and the church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now; many more things I have to ſay: the judge interrupted.

Judge. Will you anſwer to your indictment?

F. H. I know not what it is, I never heard it, though I have often deſired a copy.

Judge. Clerk, read it.

So he read it: how that F. H. had wilfully, obſtinately, and contemptuouſly denied to ſwear when the oath was tendered.

F. H. I deny it.

Judge. What do you deny?

F. H. The indictment.

Judge. Did you not deny to ſwear? And the indictment convicts you that you did not ſwear.

F. H. I gave unto the court the ſubſtance of the oath, as you all know. Secondly, I told you I did not deny it out of obſtinacy or wilfulneſs, neither in contempt of the king's law or government; for my will would rather chooſe my liberty, than bonds; and I am ſenſible it is like to be a great damage to me; I have a wife and children, and ſome eſtate, which we might ſubſiſt upon, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at ſtake; but if it were my life alſo, I durſt not but do as I do, leſt I ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of God; and do you judge I would loſe my liberty wilfully, and ſuffer the ſpoiling of my eſtate, and the ruining of my wife and children in obſtinacy and wilfulneſs? Sure nay.

Judge. Jury, you ſee he denies the oath, and he will not plead to the indictment, only excepts againſt it becauſe of the form of words, but you ſee he will not ſwear, and

yet he ſays he denies the indictment, and you ſee upon what ground.

And then they called the gaoler to witneſs and ſwear that the laſt aſſizes F. H. did refuſe, &c. which he did; and the jury, without going from the bar, gave in their verdict, guilty, and then the court broke up that night.

The next day towards evening, when they had tried all the priſoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his ſentence.

Judge ſtood up and ſaid, 'Come, the indictment is proved againſt you, what have you to ſay why ſentence ſhall not be given?

F. H. I have many things to ſay, if you will hear them. Firſt, as I have ſaid, I denied not out of obſtinacy or wilfulneſs, but was willing to teſtify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I was concerned. Secondly, becauſe ſwearing was directly againſt the command of Chriſt. Thirdly, againſt the doctrine of the apoſtle. Fourthly, even ſome of your principal pillars of the church of England; as biſhop Uſher, ſome time primate of Ireland, he ſaid in his works, the Waldenſes did deny all ſwearing in their age, from that command of Chriſt and the apoſtle James, and it was a ſufficient ground; and Dr. Gauden, late biſhop of Exeter, in a book of his I lately read, he cited very many ancient fathers, to ſhew, that the firſt three hundred years Chriſtians did not ſwear, ſo that it is no new doctrine.

To which the court ſeemed to give a little ear, and ſaid nothing, but talked one to another, and Francis ſtood ſilent, and then the judge ſaid,

Judge. Sure you miſtake.

F. H. I have not the books here.

Judge. Will you ſay upon your honeſt word they denied all ſwearing?

F. H. What I have ſaid is true.

Judge. Why do you not come to church, and hear ſervice, and be ſubject to the law, and to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake?

F. H. We are ſubject, and for that cauſe we do pay taxes, tribute and cuſtom, and give unto Cæſar the things

that are his, and unto God the things that are his, to wit, worſhip, honour and obedience; and if thou mean the pariſh aſſembly, I tell thee faithfully, I am perſuaded, and upon good ground, their teachers are not the miniſters of Chriſt, neither their worſhip the worſhip of God.

Judge. Why; it may be for ſome ſmall things in the ſervice you reject it all.

F. H. Firſt, it is manifeſt they are time-ſervers, one while preaching up that for divine ſervice, to people, that another while they cry down, as popiſh, ſuperſtitious and idolatrous; and that which they have preached up twenty years together, make ſhipwreck of all in a day; and now again call it divine, and would have all compelled to that themſelves once made void.

Judge. Why; never ſince the king came in.

F. H. Yes, the ſame men that preached it down once, now cry it up; ſo they are ſo unſtable and wavering, that we cannot believe they are the miniſters of Chriſt. Secondly, they teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men, contrary to Chriſt and his apoſtle's rule, who would have every one perſuaded in their own minds, and ſaid, whatſover is not of faith is ſin; and yet they ſay, faith is the gift of God, and we have no ſuch faith given; but yet they would force theirs upon us, and becauſe we cannot receive it, they cry, you are not ſubject to authority and the laws, and nothing but confiſcations, impriſonment and baniſhment is threatened, and this is their greateſt plea; I could mention more particulars; then the judge interrupted.

Judge. Well, I ſee you will not ſwear, nor conform, nor be ſubject, and you think we deal ſeverely with you, but if you would be ſubject, we ſhould not need.

F. H. I do ſo judge indeed, that you deal ſeverely with us for obedience to the commands of Chriſt; I pray thee canſt thou ſhew me how that any of thoſe people, for whom the act was made, have been proceeded againſt by this ſtatute, though I envy no man's liberty.

Judge. Oh yes, I can inſtance you many up and down the country that are premunired, I have done it myſelf, pronounced ſentence againſt divers.

F. H. What againſt Papiſts?

Judge. No.

F. H. What, againſt the Quakers? So I have heard indeed; though then that ſtatute was made againſt Papiſts, thou letteſt them alone, and executeſt it againſt the Quakers.

Judge. Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increaſe, but there is a new ſtatute will make you fewer.

F. H. Well, if we muſt ſuffer, it is for Chriſt's ſake, and for well doing.

Francis then being ſilent, the judge pronounced the ſentence, but ſpake ſo low, that the priſoner, though near to him, could ſcarce hear it.

The ſentence was, You are put out of the king's protection and the benefit of the law, your lands are confiſcate to the king during your life; and your goods and chattels for ever, and you to be priſoner during your life.

F. H. A hard ſentence for my obedienee to the commands of Chriſt; the Lord forgive you all.

So he turned from the bar; but the judge ſpeaking, he turned again, and many more words paſſed to the ſame purpoſe, as before; at laſt the judge roſe up and ſaid,

Judge. Well, if you will yet be ſubject to the laws, the king will ſhew you mercy.

F. H. The Lord hath ſhewed mercy unto me, and I have done nothing againſt the king, nor government, nor any man, bleſſed be the Lord, and therein ſtands my peace; for it is for Chriſt's ſake I ſuffer, and not for evil doing. And ſo the court broke up. The people were generally moderate, and many were ſorry to ſee what was done againſt him; but Francis ſignified how contented and glad he was, that he had any thing to loſe for the Lord's precious Truth, of which he had publickly borne teſtimony, and that he was now counted worthy to ſuffer for it.

This he did chearfully, and died in bonds after above four years impriſonment, as may be related in its due time. He was a man of learning, and a great writer among his fellow believers; inſomuch that during his confinement he

writ not only ſeveral edifying epiſtles to exhort them to conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs in the doctrine of Truth, but alſo ſome books to refute the oppoſers of it.

We have here ſeen how the judge ſaid, there is a new ſtatute which will make you fewer. This ſtatute bore the title of an act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles. And though the act made two years before did extend to baniſhment, yet that puniſhment was renewed, and expreſſed more at large in this, which was as followeth:

Whereas an act made in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of our late ſovereign lady queen Elizabeth, intituled an act to retain the queen's majeſties ſubjects in their due obedience, hath not been put in due execution by reaſon of ſome doubt of late made, whether the ſaid act be ſtill in force; although it be very clear and evident, and it is hereby declared, that the ſaid act is ſtill in force, and ought to be put in due execution:

II. For providing therefore of further and more ſpeedy remedies againſt the growing and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries, and other diſloyal perſons, who under pretence of tender conſciences, do at their meetings contrive inſurrections, as late experience hath ſhewed;

III. Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by, and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that if any perſon of the age of ſixteen years or upwards, being a ſubject of this realm, at any time after the 1ſt day of July, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and four, ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; at which conventicle, meeting, or aſſembly, there ſhall be five perſons or more aſſembled together, over and above thoſe of the ſame houſehold; then it ſhall and may be lawful to and

for any two juſtices of the peace of the county, limit, diviſion or liberty wherein the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, or for the chief magiſtrate of the place where ſuch offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, (if it be within a corporation where there are not two juſtices of the peace) (2) and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to them or him reſpectively made of ſuch offence, either by confeſſion of the party, or oath of witneſs, or notorious evidence of the fact (which oath the ſaid juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby empowered and required to adminiſter) to make a record of every ſuch offence and offences under their hands and ſeals reſpectively; (3) which record ſo made, as foreſaid, ſhall to all intents and purpoſes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every ſuch offender for ſuch offence: and thereupon the ſaid juſtices and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall commit every ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, to the goal or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding the ſpace of three months, unleſs ſuch offender ſhall pay down to the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate ſuch ſum of money not exceeding five pounds, as the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate (who are hereby thereunto authorized and required) ſhall fine the ſaid offender at, for his or her ſaid offence; which money ſhall be paid to the churchwardens for the relief of the poor of the pariſh where ſuch offender did laſt inhabit.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforeſaid convicted, then ſuch offender ſo convicted of ſuch ſecond offence, ſhall incur the penalty of impriſonment in the goal or houſe of correction, for any time not exceeding ſix months, without bail or mainprize, unleſs ſuch offender ſhall pay down to the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate, ſuch ſum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate (who are thereunto authorized and required, as aforeſaid) ſhall fine the ſaid offender at, for his or her

ſaid ſecond offence, the ſaid fine to be diſpoſed in manner aforeſaid.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any ſuch offender ſo convicted of a ſecond offence contrary to this act in manner aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, then any two juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate, as aforeſaid, reſpectively, ſhall commit every ſuch offender to the goal, or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize until the next general quarter ſeſſions, aſſizes, goal-delivery, great ſeſſions, or ſitting of any commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer in the reſpective county, limit, diviſion or liberty which ſhall firſt happen; (2) when and where every ſuch offender ſhall be proceeded againſt by indictment for ſuch offence, and ſhall forthwith be arraigned upon ſuch indictment, and ſhall then plead the general iſſue of not guilty, and give any ſpecial matter in evidence, or confeſs the indictment: (3) and if ſuch offender proceeded againſt, ſhall be lawfully convicted of ſuch offence, either by confeſſion or verdict, or if ſuch offender ſhall refuſe to plead the general iſſue, or to confeſs the indictment, then the reſpective juſtices of the peace at their general quarter ſeſſions, judges of aſſize and goal-delivery, juſtices of the great ſeſſions at the great ſeſſions, and commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer at their ſitting, are hereby enabled and required to cauſe judgment to be entered againſt ſuch offender, that ſuch offender ſhall be tranſported beyond the ſeas to any of his majeſty's foreign plantations (Virginia and New-England only excepted) there to remain ſeven years: (4) and ſhall forthwith under their hands and ſeals make out warrants to the ſheriff or ſheriffs of the ſame county where ſuch conviction or refuſal to plead or to confeſs, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, ſafely to convey ſuch offender to ſome port or haven neareſt or moſt commodious to be appointed by them reſpectively; and from thence to embark ſuch offender to be ſafely tranſported to any of his majeſty's plantations beyond the ſeas, as ſhall be alſo by them reſpectively appointed (Virginia and New-England only excepted:) (5) whereupon the ſaid

ſheriff ſhall ſafely convey and embark, or cauſe to be embarked ſuch offender, to be tranſported, as aforeſaid, under pain of forfeiting for default of ſo tranſporting every ſuch offender, the ſum of forty pounds of lawful money, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him or them that ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the king's courts of record, by bill, plaint, action of debt, or information; in any of which no wager of law, eſſoign or protection ſhall be admitted: (6) and the ſaid reſpective court ſhall then alſo make out warrants to the ſeveral conſtables, headboroughs, or tythingmen of the reſpective places where the eſtate real or perſonal of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported ſhall happen to be, commanding them thereby to ſequeſter into their hands the profits of the lands, and to diſtrain and ſell the goods of the offender ſo to be tranſported, for the reimburſing of the ſaid ſheriff all ſuch reaſonable charges as he ſhall be at, and ſhall be allowed him by the ſaid reſpective court for ſuch conveying, or embarking of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported, rendering to the party, or his or her aſſigns, the overplus of the ſame, if any be, unleſs ſuch offender, or ſome other on the behalf of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported, ſhall give the ſheriff ſuch ſecurity as he ſhall approve of, for the paying all the ſaid charges unto him.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in default of defraying ſuch charges by the parties to be tranſported, or ſome other in their behalf; or in default of ſecurity given to the ſheriff, as aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful for every ſuch ſheriff to contract with any maſter of a ſhip, merchant, or other perſon, for the tranſporting of ſuch offender at the beſt rate he can: (2) and that in every ſuch caſe it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch perſons ſo contracting with any ſheriff for tranſporting ſuch offender, as aforeſaid, to detain and employ every ſuch offender ſo by them tranſported, as a labourer to them or their aſſigns, for the ſpace of five years, to all intents and purpoſes, as if he or ſhe were bound by indentures to ſuch perſon for that purpoſe: (3) and that the reſpective ſheriffs ſhall be allowed or paid from the king,

upon their reſpective accompt in the exchequer, all ſuch charges by them expended, for conveying, embarking and tranſporting of ſuch perſons, which ſhall be allowed by the ſaid reſpective courts from whence they received their reſpective warrants, and which ſhall not have been by any of the ways aforementioned paid, ſecured, or reimburſed unto them, as aforeſaid.

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that in caſe the offender ſo indicted and convicted for the ſaid third offence, ſhall pay into the hands of the regiſter or clerk of the court or ſeſſions where he ſhall be convicted (before the ſaid court or ſeſſions ſhall be ended) the ſum of one hundred pounds, that then the ſaid offender ſhall be diſcharged from impriſonment and tranſportation, and the judgment for the ſame.

VIII. And be it further enacted, that the like impriſonment, indictment, arraignment and proceedings ſhall be againſt every ſuch offender, as often as he ſhall again offend after ſuch third offence; nevertheleſs is diſchargeable and diſcharged, by the payment of the like ſum as was paid by ſuch offender for his or her ſaid offence next before committed, together with the additional and increaſed ſum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed; (2) the ſaid reſpective ſums to be paid as aforeſaid, and to be diſpoſed as followeth, viz. the one moiety for the repair of the pariſh church or churches, chapel or chapels of ſuch pariſh within which ſuch conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting ſhall be held; and the other moiety to the repair of the highways of the ſaid pariſh or pariſhes (if need require) or otherwiſe for the amendment of ſuch highways as the juſtices of peace at their reſpective quarter ſeſſions ſhall direct and appoint. (3) And if any conſtable, headborough or tything-man, ſhall neglect to execute any the ſaid warrants made unto them for ſequeſtering, diſtraining, and ſelling any of the goods and chattels of any offender againſt this act, for the levying ſuch ſums of money as ſhall be impoſed for the firſt or ſecond offence, he ſhall forfeit for every ſuch neglect, the ſum of five pounds of lawful money of England, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him that

ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the king's courts of record, as is aforeſaid. (4) And if any perſon be at any time ſued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, ſuch perſon ſhall and may plead the general iſſue, and give the ſpecial matter in evidence; (5) And if the plaintiff be nonſuited, or a verdict paſs for the defendant thereupon, or if the plaintiff diſcontinue his action, or if upon demurrer, judgment be given for the defendant, every ſuch defendant ſhall have his or their treble coſts.

IX. And be it further enacted, that if any perſon againſt whom judgment of tranſportation ſhall be given in manner aforeſaid, ſhall make eſcape before tranſportation, or being tranſported as aforeſaid, ſhall return unto this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, without the ſpecial licence of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in that behalf firſt had and obtained, that the party ſo eſcaping or returning, ſhall be adjudged a felon, and ſhall ſuffer death as in caſe of felony, without benefit of clergy, (2) and ſhall forfeit and loſe to his majeſty all his or her goods and chattels for ever; and ſhall further loſe to his majeſty all his or her lands, tenements and hereditaments for and during the life only of ſuch offender, and no longer: and that the wife of any ſuch offender by force of this act, ſhall not loſe her dower, nor ſhall any corruption of blood grow, or be by reaſon of any ſuch offence mentioned in this act; but that the heir of every ſuch offender by force of this act, ſhall and may after the death of ſuch offender, have and enjoy the lands, tenements and hereditaments of ſuch offenders, as if this act had not been made.

X. And for better preventing of the miſchiefs which may grow by ſuch ſeditious and tumultuous meetings, under pretence of religious worſhip, (2) Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the lieutenants or deputy lieutenants, or any commiſſioned officers of the militia, or any other of his majeſty's forces, with ſuch troops or companies of horſe or foot; and alſo the ſheriffs and juſtices of peace, and other magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, or any of them jointly or ſeverally, within any

the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with ſuch other aſſiſtance as they ſhall think meet, or can get in readineſs with the ſooneſt, on certificate made to them reſpectively under the hand and ſeal of any one juſtice of the peace, or chief magiſtrate, as aforeſaid, of his particular information or knowledge of ſuch unlawful meetings or conventicles held or to be held in their reſpective counties or places, and that he (with ſuch aſſiſtance as he can get together, is not able to ſuppreſs or diſſolve the ſame) ſhall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are ſo held, or to be held, and by the beſt means they can to diſſolve and diſſipate, or prevent all ſuch unlawful meetings, and take into their cuſtody ſuch of thoſe perſons ſo unlawfully aſſembled as they ſhall judge to be the leaders and ſeducers of the reſt, and ſuch others as they ſhall think fit to be proceeded againſt according to law for ſuch their offences.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall wittingly and willingly ſuffer any ſuch conventicle, unlawful aſſembly, or meeting aforeſaid, to be held in his or her houſe, outhouſe, barn, or room, yard or backſide, woods or grounds, ſhall incur the ſame penalties and forfeitures as any other offender againſt this act ought to incur, and be proceeded againſt in all points, in ſuch manner as any other offender againſt this act ought to be proceeded againſt.

XII. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any keeper of any gaol or houſe of correction, ſhall ſuffer any perſon committed to his cuſtody for any offence againſt this act, to go at large, contrary to the warrant of his commitment according to this act, or ſhall permit any perſon who is at large, to join with any perſon committed to his cuſtody by virtue of this act, in the exerciſe of religion, differing from the rites of the church of England, then every ſuch keeper of a goal, or houſe of correction, ſhall for every ſuch offence forfeit the ſum of ten pounds, to be levied, raiſed, and diſpoſed by ſuch perſons and in ſuch manner as the penalties for the

firſt and ſecond offences againſt this act are to be levied, raiſed and diſpoſed.

XIII. Provided always, that no perſon ſhall be puniſhed for any offence againſt this act, unleſs ſuch offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the offence committed: (2) and that no perſon who ſhall be puniſhed for any offence by virtue of this act, ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame offence by virtue of any other act or law whatſoever.

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted, that judgment of tranſportation ſhall not be given againſt any feme covert, unleſs her huſband be at the ſame time under the like judgment, and not diſcharged by the payment of money as aforeſaid; but that inſtead thereof, ſhe ſhall by the reſpective court be committed to the goal or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding twelve months, unleſs her huſband ſhall pay down ſuch ſum, not exceeding forty pounds, to redeem her from impriſonment, as ſhall be impoſed by the ſaid court, the ſaid ſum to be diſpoſed by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner, as the penalties for the firſt and ſecond offence againſt this act are to be diſpoſed.

XV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively impowered as aforeſaid to put this act in execution, ſhall and may, with what aid, force, and aſſiſtance they ſhall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refuſal or denial, enter into any houſe, or other place, where they ſhall be informed any ſuch conventicle as aforeſaid, is or ſhall be held.

XVI. Provided, that no dwelling-houſe of any peer of this realm, whilſt he or his wife ſhall be there reſident, ſhall be ſearched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majeſty under his ſign manual, or in the preſence of the lieutenant, or one of the deputy lieutenants, or two juſtices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum of the ſame county or riding: (2) nor ſhall any other dwelling-houſe of any peer or other perſon whatſoever, be entered into with force by virtue of this act, but in the preſence of one juſtice of the peace, or

chief magiſtrate reſpectively, except within the city of London, where it ſhall be lawful for any ſuch other dwelling-houſe to be entered into as aforeſaid in the preſence of one juſtice of the peace, alderman, deputy-alderman, or any one commiſſioner for the lieutenancy for the city of London.

XVII. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon ſhall by virtue of this act be committed to the houſe of correction, that ſhall ſatisfy the ſaid juſtices of the peace, or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, that he or ſhe (and in caſe of a feme covert, that her huſband) hath an eſtate of freehold, or copyhold, to the value of five pounds per annum, or perſonal eſtate to the value of fifty pounds; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XVIII. And in regard a certain ſect called Quakers, and other ſectaries, are found not only to offend in the matters provided againſt by this act, but alſo obſtruct the proceedings of juſtice by their obſtinate refuſal to take oaths lawfully tendered unto them in the ordinary courſe of law; (2) Therefore be it farther enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons being duly and legally ſerved with proceſs, or other ſummons, to appear in any court of record, except court-leets, as a witneſs, or returned to ſerve of any jury, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, or being preſent in court ſhall refuſe to take any judicial oath legally tendered to him by the judge or judges of the ſame court, having no legal plea to juſtify or excuſe the refuſal of the ſame oath; (3) Or if any perſon or perſons being duly ſerved with proceſs, to anſwer any bill exhibited againſt him or them in any court of equity, or any ſuit in any court eccleſiaſtical, ſhall refuſe to anſwer ſuch bill or ſuit upon his or their corporal oath, in caſes where the law requires ſuch anſwer to be put in upon oath; or being ſummoned to be a witneſs in any ſuch court, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, ſhall for any cauſe or reaſon, not allowed by law, refuſe to take ſuch oath, as in ſuch caſes is required by law; (4) that then, and in ſuch caſe, the ſeveral and reſpective courts wherein ſuch refuſal ſhall

be made, ſhall be, and are hereby enabled to record, enter, or regiſter ſuch refuſal, which record or entry ſhall be, and is hereby made a conviction of ſuch offence; (5) and all and every perſon and perſons ſo as aforeſaid offending, ſhall for every ſuch offence incur the judgment and puniſhment of tranſportation in ſuch manner as is appointed by this act for other offences.

XIX. Provided always, that if any the perſon or perſons aforeſaid ſhall come into ſuch court, and take his or their oath in theſe words:

I do ſwear that I do not hold the taking of an oath to be unlawful, nor refuſe to take an oath on that account.

XX. Which oath the reſpective court or courts aforeſaid, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to tender, adminiſter, and regiſter before the entry of the conviction aforeſaid, (2) or ſhall take ſuch oath before ſome juſtice of the peace, who is hereby authorized and required to adminiſter the ſame, to be returned into ſuch court, (3) ſuch oath ſo made ſhall acquit him or them from ſuch puniſhment; any thing herein to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XXI. Provided always, that every perſon convicted as aforeſaid in any courts aforeſaid (other than his majeſty's court of king's bench, or before the juſtices of aſſize, or general goal-delivery) ſhall by warrant containing a certificate of ſuch conviction under the hand and ſeal of the reſpective judge or judges before whom ſuch conviction ſhall be had, be ſent to ſome one of his majeſty's goals in the ſame county where ſuch conviction was had, there to remain without bail or mainprize until the next aſſizes, or general goal-delivery, (2) where, if ſuch perſon ſo convicted ſhall refuſe to take the oath aforeſaid, being tendered unto him by the juſtice or juſtices of aſſize or goal-delivery, then ſuch juſtice or juſtices ſhall cauſe judgment of tranſportation to be executed in ſuch manner as judgment of tranſportation by this act is to be executed: but in caſe ſuch perſon ſhall take the ſaid oath, then he ſhall thereupon be diſcharged.

XXII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any peer of this realm ſhall offend againſt this act, he ſhall pay ten pounds for the firſt offence, and twenty pounds for the ſecond offence, to be levied upon his goods and chattels by warrant from any two juſtices of the peace, or chief magiſtrate of the place or diviſion where ſuch peer ſhall dwell: (2) and that every peer for the third, and every further offence againſt the tenour of this act, ſhall be tried by his peers, and not otherwiſe.

XXIII. Provided alſo, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act ſhall continue in force for three years after the end of this preſent ſeſſion of parliament; and from thence forward to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament after the ſaid three years, and no longer.

A learned man at London, of what perſuaſion I know not, publiſhed a little book in relation to this act, wherein he ſhewed from the laws of England, the abſurdity of it: ſince all religious acts, exerciſed by ſix perſons, not according to the formality of the church of England, were forbidden; and that at this rate it might be reckoned a tranſgreſſion, if a woman being in travail, and in danger of life, one of the company ſaid a prayer; or if any one ſpoke ſomething to comfort the near relations of a deceaſed perſon; or prayed for the health or happineſs of a young married couple, &c. by which it might happen, that ſome by the malice of their enemies, might not only incur impriſonment for three months, but alſo by virtue of the act of baniſhment, might be condemned to tranſportation. That this was not without danger, did appear ſufficiently by what judge Orlando Bridgman ſaid at Hertford to the jury, viz. 'You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence againſt them for any thing they ſaid or did at their meeting; for they may ſpeak to one another, though not with or by articular ſound, but by a caſt of the eye, or a motion of the head or foot, or geſture of the body. So that if you find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting under colour of re-

ligion in their way, though they ſat ſtill only and looked upon each other, it was an unlawful meeting.' At this rate the jurymen, who ought to be impartial judges, or mediators, were ſwayed, ſo that without fear they might find the Quakers that were met together guilty of tranſgreſſing the law.

Now, ſince at that time they were reſolved to baniſh the Quakers, ſo called, George Whitehead publiſhed a little book, in which he ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs of the perſecutors, and alſo ſtrengthened his friends with ſolid arguments againſt the charge of ſtiffneckedneſs, anſwering ſome ſpecious objections; amongſt the reſt, that the Quakers might keep ſmall meetings, and ſo not fall under the laſh of the law; for if they did not meet above five in number, they kept without the reach of the law; and by keeping private meetings they might alſo acquit their conſciences before God. But to this G. Whitehead anſwered, that it might have been objected to the prophet Daniel, that he might have prayed ſecretly, and not with open windows and thrice a day, after king Darius had ſigned the decree, that whoſoever ſhould aſk a petition of any god or man for thirty days, ſave of the king, he ſhould be caſt into the den of lions; but that Daniel, notwithſtanding this decree, had continued to pray to God as before. 'Since then,' ſaid G. Whitehead, our meetings are kept in obedience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom he hath given us, we may not leave off our teſtimony for God in that caſe; but we muſt be faithful to him, whatever we ſuffer on that account. For neither the threatenings of men, nor their ſeverity or cruelty acted againſt us, how far ſoever it may be extended, can make us to forſake the Lord in not keeping our aſſemblies, or to be aſhamed of Chriſt before men, leſt hereafter he be aſhamed of us before his Father which is in heaven.' Beſides he ſhewed, how unreaſonable it was to incite the jury on an ill-grounded ſuſpicion, without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment: and the judges he ſhewed their duty from the law, and Magna Charta. He alſo ſhewed how unequal it was, that ſoldiers, who abuſed his friends in their meetings,

ſhould be called as witneſſes againſt them; and that they ſhould be locked up with thieves and felons, ſince this was contrary to the right of a free-born Engliſhman. But this repreſentation of G. Whitehead was ſlighted, ſince they were reſolved to go on with baniſhing of the Quakers, and to tranſport them to the Weſt Indies; which however, according to the ancient laws, might not be done to a free-born Engliſhman againſt his mind. Joſiah Coale about this time gave forth alſo a paper, being a warning to the king and both houſes of parliament, to diſſuade them from perſecution. But this did not avail, for perſecution went on.

In the month called Auguſt, eight of thoſe called Quakers, viz. Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feaſt, Henry Marſhal, Jeremiah Hern, Thomas Wood, John Blendale, and Samuel Trahern, were tried at Hertford before judge Orlando Bridgman, already mentioned. The indictment contained, that they had been at an unlawful meeting under colour and pretence of religion; and the witneſſes declared, that they had met together above the number of five, and were taken at ſuch times, and ſuch places; for they muſt have tranſgreſſed thrice before they could be condemned to baniſhment: but the witneſſes declared alſo, that they neither heard them ſpeak any words, nor ſaw them do any thing at their meeting, but ſit ſtill. The indictment having been delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict; for there were ſome amongſt them whoſe conſciences would not give them leave to be acceſſary to this work of perſecution; and therefore they brought in their verdict *ignoramus*. Now, though ſuch a verdict as this ought not to be rejected, yet judge Bridgman ſtanding up, and ſeeming to be angry, ſpoke to the jury after this manner: 'My maſters, what do you mean to do? Will you make a noſe-of-wax of the law, and ſuffer the law to be baffled? Thoſe that think to deceive the law, the law will deceive them. Why do not ye find the bill?' To which one of the jury ſaid, that it concerned them to be wary, and well ſatisfied in what they did, for they were upon mens lives for ought they knew. 'No,' ſaid the judge, 'I

deſire not their lives, but their reformation:' and then he gave the jury ſome directions, and he ſo coloured the matter, that they going out again ſoon returned, and found the bill.

Then four of the priſoners were called to the bar, their indictment read, and they aſked, guilty, or not guilty; to which they anſwered, 'Not guilty,' and that they had tranſgreſſed no juſt law. 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'ye have tranſgreſſed this law, (having the act in his hand) and ye have been twice convicted already upon record, and if ye are found guilty by the jury this time, I muſt paſs the ſentence of tranſportation upon you. Now, therefore ye ſhall ſee that we do not deſire to ſtrain the law to the higheſt ſeverity; neither do I believe that it was the aim of the law-makers to be ſevere, but for conforming. If ye will promiſe that ye will not go, or be at any more ſuch meetings, I will ſhew you this favour, as to acquit you for what is paſt: this favour ye may receive before the jury is charged with you; but afterwards I cannot do it. And know alſo, if the jury for want of punctual evidence, ſhould not find you guilty, yet if ye are taken again, ye will be in the ſame caſe ye now are in. What ſay you? Will ye promiſe to meet no more?' To this the priſoners anſwered, they could promiſe no ſuch thing. Then a jury was called, and the indictment read a ſecond time, containing, that the priſoners had been at an unlawful meeting at ſuch a time and place, the firſt, ſecond, and third time. The witneſſes being called, gave the ſame evidence as before; and then the judge ſaid thus to the jury: 'My maſters, the jury, ye hear what evidence the witneſſes give; how they took them at ſuch times, at ſuch places, which are places they uſe to meet in; and that they were above the number of five, beſides the perſons of the family where they met; and that they are twice convicted already upon record: and this is the third offence, which incurs the ſentence of tranſportation, if ye find them guilty.' Then he ſpoke theſe words which have been mentioned already, viz. 'Ye are not to expect a plain punctual evidence againſt them for any thing they ſaid or did at their meeting, &c. for dumb

men may ſpeak to one another, ſo as they may underſtand each other by ſigns: and they themſelves ſay, that the worſhip of God is inward, in the ſpirit, and that they can diſcern ſpirits, and know one another in ſpirit. So that if ye find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting, under colour of religion in their way, though they ſat ſtill only, it was an unlawful meeting; and their uſe and practice not according to the liturgy of the church of England; for it allows and commands when people meet together in the church, that divine ſervice ſhall be read, &c. And ye muſt find the bill; for ye muſt have reſpect to the meaning and intent of the law, which the king and parliament have in wiſdom and policy made, not only againſt conventicles, but the words aſſembly and meeting were added; for we have had late experience of the danger of ſuch meetings under colour of religion: and it is an eaſy matter at ſuch meetings to conſpire and conſult miſchief. Therefore the wiſdom and policy of the king and parliament, leſt they ſhould be undermined, have made this law, which is not a law againſt conſcience, for it doth not touch conſcience at all, as I confeſs ſome other laws do, which enjoin coming to church, and ſome other things.' This and more judge Bridgman ſpoke to the jury, to perſuade them to bring the priſoners in guilty. And the jury being gone out, within the ſpace of an hour returned, and their foreman ſaid, that Nicholas Lucas, and the other three, were guilty.

What the judge had ſaid, that they had had late experience of the danger of ſuch meetings under colour of religion, was of no force at all; for it never had appeared that the Quakers in religious meetings did any thing elſe than the performing of their worſhip, though there were other evidences concerning the Fifth monarchy-men; but it was univerſally known that the Quakers had no part therein, nor joined with them in the leaſt degree. It was alſo a very abſurd ſaying of the judge, that this law did not touch conſcience; for it was merely for conſcience-ſake that the Quakers frequented not the publick ſervice and liturgy of the church of England, and kept religious

meetings by themſelves. But the jury ſeemed well ſatiſfied with what the judge had told them; and he having thus obtained his aim, read the priſoners names, and ſaid to them, 'What can ye ſay for yourſelves, that judgment of tranſportation ſhould not paſs, or be given againſt you?' To which they ſaid, 'We are innocent, and have tranſgreſſed no juſt law; if we muſt have that ſentence, we give up our bodies freely into the hands of the Lord; the will of the Lord be done.' 'Have ye nothing more to ſay?' ſaid the judge. 'Nothing, but that we are innocent,' replied the priſoners, 'we have wronged no man.' 'Then hearken to your ſentence,' ſaid the judge, 'Ye ſhall be tranſported beyond the ſeas, to the iſland of Barbadoes, there to remain ſeven years.'

Then Jeremiah Hern and Thomas Wood were called to the bar, and their indictment read, to which they pleaded, 'Not guilty, but innocent;' and Jeremiah ſaid, he was no ſuch perſon as the act mentioned, for plotting and contriving inſurrections. Then the judge interrupting him, ſaid, 'You are a forward man, you have an eſtate;' and ſo he cauſed him to be ſet by: and to Thomas Wood he ſaid, 'I hear a good report of you; conſider what you do; I am ſorry, ſeeing you have a good report among your neighbours, that you ſhould be found guilty, which I fear you will if you put yourſelf upon trial: I am willing to ſhew you favour; and it may be one man may fare the better for another.' This reflected on Jeremiah, who, by the malice of one John King, had been falſely repreſented to the judge. Yet Jeremiah having ſhewn how he had been wronged, the judge ſaid, they ſhould both partake of his favour, if they would but deſire it: and this favour conſiſted in this, as he himſelf ſaid, that he would waive the proceedings of the court, and give them time till the next aſſizes, to conſider better with themſelves. 'What ſay you (thus he continued), will ye have it deferred till the next aſſizes? for if the jury find the bill, you will be ſent to Jamaica; ye muſt not all go to one place.' To this the priſoners returned, 'We have tranſgreſſed no law of God, nor wronged any man: we

leave it to the court; we deſire it not.' 'If you will not deſire it,' replied the judge, 'I cannot, nor will do it.'

Then three other priſoners were brought to the bar, among whom was one John Reynolds, who, according to the depoſition of the witneſſes, had been within a yard of the door of the meeting-place, with his face from it. The judge then ſaid, 'God forbid that I ſhould do any thing that is not right and juſt againſt my conſcience; there is that which is written upon the wall before me, which puts me in mind, that I ſhould not judge for man, but for God.' Then turning to the jury, he ſpoke to them almoſt after the ſame manner, as he did concerning the other four priſoners: and to induce them to declare Reynolds (who was taken but not in the meeting) guilty, he ſpoke thus: 'Suppoſe a man be killed in a houſe, and nobody ſaw him killed, but a man is met coming out of the houſe with a bloody knife in his hand, it is a very probable evidence that he is guilty of the murder. So though the witneſſes do not ſay that they ſaw and took him in the meeting, yet they ſwore he was within a yard of the door with his face from the place where they uſually met; and he hath been taken twice already, and convicted upon record. My maſters, I leave it to you, go forth.' Then a bailiff was called, and charged to provide the jury a room, and to let none ſpeak with them, nor to let them have either bread, drink, or candle, till they brought in their verdict. The jury being gone out, ſoon agreed, and after they were returned ſaid, that four of the five priſoners were guilty, and that the other who ſtood without the door was not guilty.' So he was acquitted; but the other four being brought to the bar, the judge aſked them, what they could ſay why judgment of tranſportation ſhould not be given againſt them. Their anſwer was, 'We are innocent, and have not offended any juſt law of God or man, to deſerve that ſentence; we leave it to the witneſſes of God in thy or your conſciences.' Then the judge ſaid, 'Ye have offended againſt this law (having the act before him), which is made by the king and parliament, and executed by us their ſubordinate miniſters: if it be not righteous and juſt, we

muſt anſwer for that.' One of the priſoners had ſaid before, 'If I have tranſgreſſed any juſt law, let me ſuffer; and if not, he that judgeth for God will not condemn me.' To which the judge returned, 'You do well to put me in mind of my duty; pray think of your own.' And now he aſked the priſoners, 'Have you any more to ſay?' To which they anſwered, 'Nothing, but that we are innocent.' Then he ſaid, 'Hear your ſentence: you ſhall be tranſported beyond the ſeas, to the iſland of Jamaica, being one of his majeſty's foreign plantations, there to remain ſeven years. Now I have this one thing to acquaint you with, that if you, and either of you, will pay down here into the court, an hundred pounds before the court riſeth, you and every one of you ſhall be diſcharged, and clearly acquitted for what is paſt. And I will ſhew you this favour, not to diſcharge the court at this preſent, but ſhall adjourn it till afternoon.' This was done; and the court being met again, the judge ſent to the condemned priſoners to know if they would pay down the hundred pounds; but they anſwering, 'No,' the court was then ſoon diſcharged.

Seven of theſe priſoners not long after were carried on ſhip-board to be tranſported to the Weſt Indies; but (which was remarkable) the ſhip by contrary winds and ſtormy weather was hindered going to ſea. Not only the maſter, whoſe name was Thomas May, but alſo his men, grew very uneaſy at this: for they believed that Heaven was againſt them: nay, the ſailors threatened to leave the ſhip, if the maſter would not ſet thoſe priſoners aſhore. And he himſelf, conſidering how after having lain long in the Downs, and more than once ſet ſail, they were hindered to go on by contrary winds, reſolved at length, after having lingered about two months, to ſet the baniſhed aſhore; and ſo he did, giving them a certificate, of which I have a copy in my cuſtody, that they were not run away, but freely put aſhore by him, for which, among others, he gave theſe reaſons, that ſeeing the great adverſities they had met with, he concluded from thence, that the hand of God was againſt him, and that therefore he durſt not go off with theſe priſoners, becauſe he found

them to be honeſt men, who had not deſerved baniſhment. And alſo that there was a law extant, that no Engliſhman might be tranſported againſt his mind. And that his men refuſed to proceed on the voyage if he would carry away theſe people. This certificate he gave under his hand, and ſo let them go away free; and not long after the ſhip ſet ſail with a fair wind. I do not find that the baniſhed, who returned home again, were proſecuted on this account: for the ſentence againſt them was executed as far as it could at that time, and they had made no oppoſition, but had been ſufferers.

Perſecution in the mean-while did not ceaſe: but this did not diſcourage thoſe called Quakers; they continued valiant, as I have ſeen in many letters ſent about that time to ſome of my acquaintance. One ſaid in the court of juſtice, 'We are in the ſervice of the Lord, and may not leave it;' and another who was offered to be freed of baniſhment, if he would pay down an hundred pounds, ſaid, 'Though I had an hundred lives to loſe, and could redeem them all for an hundred pence, yet I would not do it.' But this could not ſtop the violence of the perſecutors; till an heavier hand reached them, as may be related hereafter.

In the months October and December many were condemned to tranſportation, and among theſe ſeveral women, whoſe trials I ſhall but curſorily ſpeak of: for if I ſhould relate all particulars, the deſcription would far exceed my limits; and therefore I will but touch upon ſome few things.

On the 13th of October, ſixteen of thoſe called Quakers were tried at Hicks's Hall, in Middleſex, for the third offence, as they called it. The grand jury conſulting together about finding the bill of indictment, could not well agree. And the juſtices giving them a check, one of the jurymen deſired to know, by what law they ought to find a bill againſt any perſons, without witneſſes to teſtify the fact committed. To which anſwer was made by the court, that their records teſtified the crime or fact, and that ſuch their record was a ſufficient witneſs without the teſtimony of any man. And for a proof of this it was further ſaid,

'The records in Chancery ſerve as a ſufficient teſtimony; and if it be ſo in Chancery, why not here?' The jury having been twice upon this buſineſs, was ſent up a third time; and Edward Shelton the clerk ſaid he would go up alſo to help them, and ſo he did; it having been threatened, that if the jurymen did not find a bill, they ſhould be fined. Nevertheleſs, at their return they anſwered, 'No verdict.' Whereupon the juſtices finding the jurymen not to anſwer their ends, took them apart, and examined them one by one, telling them that the only thing they were to look upon was, that they did aſſemble together above the number of five in company; which, according to what they ſaid, their records ſhewed. This made ſome of the jury comply; but others ſtood it out, and ſignified that in conſcience they could not conſent to what was required of them. But the major part complying with the juſtices, upon their threatening them, and the others being ſtrongly preſt, the bill was, by a kind of force, accepted at length. But how hard a caſe this was to ſome, appeared by the mournful confeſſion of one of the jury, who to eaſe his conſcience publiſhed in print a ſmall book, with the title of 'The Wounded Heart, or The Juryman's Offences,' &c. in which he openly diſapproved the fact, to which he had been induced by human fear. The pains had been ſo great to perſuade the jury to bring in a verdict according to the mind of the court, that the clerk, as was reported, ſaid, he had rather have given twenty pounds, than have been ſo troubled.

The next day the priſoners were brought to the bar, and William Proctor, of Gray's Inn, ſat as judge in the court. The queſtions and anſwers I paſs by for brevity ſake. One Hannah Trigg pleading ſhe was innocent, was aſked how old ſhe was; to which ſhe ſaying ſhe was not ſixteen years old; one of the juſtices did not ſtick to ſay, ſhe told a lie; and that he thought the Quakers would not lie. In the mean-while it appeared, that he only ſaid ſo by gueſs to baffle her; for by a certificate of ſome that were preſent at her birth (which was divulged in print) it was proved that ſhe being the daughter of Timothy

Trigg, was born at London on the 20th of the month called Auguſt, 1649; and ſo was but fifteen years of age, and dealt with againſt the law; which was the harder, becauſe this maid falling ſick, died in priſon, after the ſentence of baniſhment had been paſt upon her: which ſentence was now pronounced againſt twelve perſons, among whom were four maids; and four married women were condemned to a confinement of eleven months in Bridewell. The judge in the pronouncing the ſentences was ſo diſturbed in his mind, that ordering ſome to be tranſported to Virginia, and others to Barbadoes, he condemned ſome alſo to be ſent to Hiſpaniola; at which the people were not a little ſurprized, for he made it plainly appear, that he did not conſider what he ſaid; ſince Hiſpaniola was no place in the dominions of the king of England: but he was ſo confounded, that he alſo accuſed the priſoners of having tranſgreſſed the laws of the commonwealth, forgetting that England was no more a commonwealth, as it was before the reſtoration of king Charles II.

On the 15th of October above forty of the priſoners called Quakers were tried before the judges Hide and Keeling. To mention all the exorbitances of this trial, which were not few, I count needleſs: for as to the queſtions and anſwers, and the paſſing of ſentence, the reader may form to himſelf an idea of it from what hath been ſaid already of the trial at Hertford, &c. A maid being aſked, guilty, or not guilty, anſwered, 'I never was taken at any ſeditious meeting or conventicle in my life.' To which the judge ſaid, 'But, woman, were not you taken at the Bull and Mouth the 21ſt of Auguſt?' She anſwered, 'I am innocent in the ſight of God and all good people.' That this was true the judge did not deny, but ſaid, 'I believe that, woman, but you have tranſgreſſed a law.' She replied, 'As for the Bull and Mouth, I believe I have been there an hundred times, and if the Lord permit me life and liberty, I do not know but I may go there an hundred times more.' The judge then ſaying, 'Woman, will you plead or no, guilty, or not guilty, or elſe I muſt paſs ſentence upon you.' She anſwered,

'The will of the Lord be done, I am innocent.' Yet this could not avail her, though judge Hide had ſaid a little before concerning the priſoners, 'If they are innocent, then they are not guilty.' But ſhe was ſet by as mute, or *pro confeſſo*, as to the fact charged againſt her in the indictment. Others who complained of the unreaſonableneſs of the proceedings, were hectored as impudent: and the jury ſhewing themſelves diſſatisfied concerning the witneſſes, judge Hide ſaid to them, it was no untruth if a man did miſtake in the time, and that his evidence was good, though he did not ſee one in the houſe: 'For,' ſaid he, 'if forty men be in a room, and one is brought out of the room to me, ſtanding at the door, cannot I ſwear that he was in that room, if I ſee him come out? You muſt not make ſuch ſcruples.'

In the mean-while there were ſome among the witneſſes who did not know the priſoners by face; ſo that there was reaſon enough to diſprove their teſtimony. But whatever was objected, the buſineſs muſt go on: for though one of the witneſſes declared that the meeting, from which the priſoners had been taken, was peaceable; and though one of the priſoners ſaid, that the law was made againſt ſeditious meetings, and that nothing of ſedition had been proved againſt them: yet judge Keeling ſaid, the act was made to prevent ſuch meetings, becauſe under colour and pretence of religion, plots and conſpiracies might be carried on. And when a priſoner ſaid, that he was at a peaceable godly meeting, and received much comfort there; the judge returned, 'That is as much as we deſire. You confeſs you were there; and though it was a peaceable meeting, yet it was an unlawful one.' Another of the priſoners who pleaded that the law the court acted by was contrary to Magna Charta, and the ancient fundamental laws of the land, was anſwered by judge Hide, 'If the king and parliament ſhould make a law that two juſtices without a jury ſhould adjudge a man to death for the third offence as a felon, without benefit of clergy, it would be a good law, and according to Magna Charta, and the law of the land; and we ſhould be bound to execute it.' It ſeems this judge (who no

long after was ſuddenly ſummoned hence to appear before the divine aſſizes) was of opinion, that ſince the legiſlative power reſided in the king and parliament, all that they reſolved and enacted, muſt paſs for good law. But if I ſhould mention all the abſurdities I meet with in theſe proceedings, when ſhould I come to an end? True it is, that ſometimes a ſhew was made of pity: for judge Keeling ſaid to two maids, 'We are ſorry that ſuch young maids ſhould be thus deluded.' But becauſe they would not promiſe to go to the publick church, though they declared themſelves ready to aſſiſt at divine ſervice, they were deemed as guilty. Another priſoner being aſked by judge Hide, whether he would go to church, anſwered, 'If I have my liberty, I ſhall go to church.' But when it appeared that he did not mean the eſtabliſhed or publick church, this promiſe could not ſave him. One Richard Poulton, a lad of fifteen years of age, who by a certificate ſhewed, that he was not yet ſixteen years old, and therefore no tranſgreſſor of the law, was aſked, if he would ſwear he was not ſixteen, juſt as if he could have remembered the time of his birth; to which he anſwered, that he was not brought up to ſwearing; and being aſked, whether he would promiſe to go to church; he anſwered, he ſhould promiſe no ſuch thing. Then he was returned to the reſt that were to be ſentenced.

This was on the 17th of the aforeſaid month; when nineteen perſons, among which were ſome women, were condemned to baniſhment, and four married women to twelve months impriſonment in Bridewell. None of the judges it ſeems had a mind to pronounce ſentence, and therefore they left this buſineſs to the city recorder. He then bidding the priſoners to hearken to the judgment of the court, ſpoke ſo ſoftly, that he could not well be heard, which made one of the priſoners ſay, that he ought to ſpeak louder, for they could not hear him. But he continuing to ſpeak ſoftly as before, two or three others of the priſoners told him, they could not tell what he ſaid. To which he anſwered, he cared not whether they did or no; and then ſaid, 'Hearken to your ſentence, You and every of you, ſhall be tranſported beyond the

ſeas, the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica, being two of his majeſty's plantations, there to remain ſeven years.' Thus the perſecutors endeavoured to be rid of the Quakers: but though perſecution now was very hot, yet they fainted not, neither were they in want of ſuch vigilant aſſiſtants, as both by example and words continually encouraged them to faithfulneſs; who yet (which was remarkable) were not condemned to baniſhment, as many others.

Among theſe was Joſiah Coale alſo, who about this time, as I have been told, was in priſon at London; and both by writing, and by word of mouth, did exhort his fellow-believers to conſtancy: for (when under confinement) he betook himſelf to his pen, and recommended to his friends, that they would not forſake their meetings, though they were to undergo great ſufferings, ſince it was God's good pleaſure to let their patience be tried. 'And,' ſaid he, 'that theſe afflictions come upon us is by God's permiſſion: who then ſhall gainſay him, or endeavour to reaſon with him about matters of ſo great a concern, ſince his way is hid from man.' He alſo ſignified to them that this was done to try their faith, and that therefore they ought to continue bold, and perſevere valiantly. 'And though,' ſaid he, 'great ſufferings and afflictions attend us, yet my heart, praiſed be the Lord, is not troubled, neither hath fear ſeized me, becauſe I ſee the intent of the Lord in it.' And in one letter he ſpoke thus: 'Friends, this know; that for the ſake of the reſidue of the ſeed which is yet ungathered, is my life freely ſacrificed up into the hand of the Lord; and ready and willing am I to lay it down for the teſtimony of God's bleſſed truth, which he hath given me to bear, if thereunto I am called: for bonds and afflictions attend me daily, and I may ſay, we are in jeopardy of our lives daily: ſo let your prayer to God be for me, that I may be kept unto the end, to finiſh my teſtimony with joy, and in all things to bring glory and honour to the name of the Lord, who is over all, bleſſed for ever.' This his Chriſtian deſire he obtained, as will be ſaid in due place. It was a time of ſuffering; and thoſe to whoſe ſhare it fell, continued

valiant; whilſt others did not neglect to exhort the king and parliament to leave off perſecution. Among theſe was William Bayly, who gave forth a very ſerious exhortation and warning againſt perſecution to the king and parliament, &c. beginning thus:

For the King and Parliament, &c.

'Friends,

'The God of heaven hath put it into my heart to write a few words unto you, in the fear and dread of his name, and in the counſel of his own will, concerning the work which ye have taken in hand againſt him and his people; this is not the end and work for which the Lord God hath permitted you into the places of government and rule, in this nation, (nor the way for you to proſper, nor to prolong your days in the earth) thus to perſecute and afflict an innocent and harmleſs people, who are peaceable, and walk uprightly towards God and man; therein endeavouring, in all things, to keep their conſciences void of offence, and who have no helper in the earth but the Lord alone; neither is their kingdom of this world, but they are verily the children and ſervants of the moſt high God, whom he hath gathered from amongſt men, and from the kindreds of the earth, to be the firſt fruits unto him, and to the Lamb in this age; and we are his, and not our own, he hath bought us, and redeemed us unto himſelf, and to him alone have we committed our innocent cauſe, and he hath undertaken to plead it for us, with all our adverſaries; and no weapon formed againſt us ſhall ever proſper, but be broken to pieces.

'Therefore friends, be awakened and open your eyes, and ſee what a ſtir and a do here is in this nation; to hale and drag up and down a company of tender, innocent, and harmleſs people, men and women, and children from their peaceable meetings, who meet together in the fear and tender love of God, without any evil or bad intent toward any; but have goodwill and compaſſion toward all men, even to the worſt of our enemies, as the Lord bears us witneſs; and theſe are they that are driven as ſheep to

the ſlaughter, and thrown into your noiſome gaols, and priſons, and houſes of correction; by rude and brutiſh people (your ſervants) whom you have ſet on work by your authority, till many of them have (patiently) ſuffered till death, whoſe innocent blood will aſſuredly be required at your hands, (though they ſhall not go free of the guilt, who have had the leaſt hand in it, without ſpeedy repentance.) And thus ye may ſee and read, how the diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus, are as ſheep and lambs in the midſt of wolves in this age, and as a lilly among thorns, and all this is only for obeying his commands, and for worſhipping the everlaſting inviſible God, in the ſpirit, and in the truth, according to the Scriptures, the which, if you knew and underſtood, you would tremble to think what you have done againſt them, to cauſe ſo many of the little ones, which believe in Chriſt, ſo grievouſly to ſuffer, who ſaid, it were better a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and be drowned in the depth of the ſea, that ſhould offend one of theſe little ones, that believe in me; and as true as Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered, and roſe again, and as God liveth, who raiſed him from the dead, we are ſome of thoſe his little ones that believe in him, who (in deriſion and ſcorn in this age) are called Quakers, as ye might call Moſes, the prophets and apoſtles (in days paſt) who did quake and tremble at the preſence of the Lord, who is the ſame now as ever he was, though the ungodly know him not, nor his power: and we are of that poor and afflicted people, mentioned Zeph. iii. 12. 19. "Whoſe truſt is in the name of the Lord, who will undo all that afflicts them."

'But what ſhall I ſay unto you; if ye will not, or cannot believe our faithful teſtimony (or the teſtimony of God through us) and the innocency of our cauſe and ſufferings, neither will ye believe, if one ſhould riſe from the dead and declare it unto you; for many tender viſitations, and timely warnings, and gentle reprehenſions have you had, from the pure ſpirit of the Lord God, both from his witneſs in your own conſciences, and from his faithful ſervants and meſſengers, who have written and declared unto you in his name and power in this your day. And

as for my part, who am one of the leaſt of the thouſands of Iſrael, I could willingly have been ſilent as toward you at this time, but the Lord (whom I ſerve in my ſpirit) hath laid it upon me to warn you once more (for whoſe ſakes I have borne a burthen) in the true ſight and ſenſe of your ſad eſtate, and of the day of thick darkneſs, wrath and diſtreſs, which is haſtening upon you from the Almighty.

'Wherefore be not proud nor rebellious, but hear, and obey the word of the Lord; for thus ſaith the Lord God that made heaven and earth, let my innocent people alone, and touch them not any more, as ye have done; for they are mine, and I have called them, and choſen them, and redeemed them; they are my jewels, which I am making up, they ſhall ſhew forth my glory before men to the whole world; I have anointed them, and I will preſerve them and deliver them, and crown them with an everlaſting ſalvation. I will rebuke kings and rulers for their ſakes, and diſtreſs nations, and diſthrone the mighty from their ſeats that riſe up againſt them, as I have done; and let my everlaſting goſpel have a free paſſage in theſe nations; and do not reproach and afflict my ſervants and meſſengers ſo any more, whom I have choſen and ſent to preach and declare the way of life and ſalvation to the ends of the earth, but bow your ear and your heart unto them and their teſtimony, that it may be well with you, and prolong your days; for he that bleſſeth them ſhall be bleſſed, and he that curſeth them ſhall be curſed, and every hand ſhall wither that oppoſeth them, as hath been, and ſhall be, henceforth for ever: I the Lord have ſpoken it.

'But and if you will not hear, but will ſtill perſiſt, and go on, as ye have done, to oppreſs my heritage, and harmleſs people, and make war and oppoſition againſt my power and truth, and thus ſet yourſelves and your power againſt me, the living God, I will bring you down ſuddenly, to the aſtoniſhment of nations, and I will cut your day ſhort, and turn your pleaſures into howling and lamentation, and ſhame and contempt ſhall cover your memorial as a garment. Thus will I work for the deliver-

ance of my ſeed, and none ſhall let it; for the year of my redeemed is come, and the day of vengeance is in my heart, to plead its cauſe with all fleſh.

'Therefore, conſider your ways, and ſee what ye are doing, and what the effect of this your work will be; ye are but men, and the children of men, who were but as yeſterday; your breath alſo is in your noſtrils, and your life is but a vapour, which will ſoon vaniſh away: you labour in the very fire, and bring forth wind, which blows up the flame of that which will conſume you, and deprive you of all happineſs for ever: O that ye had but hearts to conſider it! For the more you ſtrive with the Lord, and oppreſs his people, the more will they multiply, and grow ſtronger and ſtronger; and you ſhall wax weaker and weaker, and your works ſhall be your heavy burthen; for life and immortality is riſen, and the power of God is ſtirring in the hearts of thouſands, and light underſtanding (the excellent ſpirit which was in Daniel) is breaking forth like the lightning (which ſhines out of the eaſt into the weſt) in the ſight of many people, whereby they know, it is the day of the coming of the Son of Man, with power and great glory, that every eye may ſee him, and they that have pierced him ſhall mourn bitterly: ſo, your labour is in vain, and your works for the fire, and your ſtriving with your Maker to no purpoſe, as to effect your end and aim. And of theſe things you have been often forewarned, and the Lord hath been very long ſuffering towards you, in ſparing you thus long, and ſuffering you thus far to act againſt him and his dear people; and his mercy and forbearance hath been evidently ſhewed in a large meaſure unto you, in deferring his heavy judgments thus long, which muſt have been confeſſed to be juſt upon you. And will you thus requite the Lord, by increaſing your taſks of oppreſſion upon his tender innocent people? O unwiſe and ungrateful generation! Hath not God yet ſhewed you, that you ſhould do juſtly, and love mercy, and walk humbly? But are theſe your fruits and practices, fruits of mercy or juſtice? Or if there be any tincture or ſpark of love, or humility in them, let God's witneſs (the light) in all your conſciences, and in people, anſwer. I tell

you plainly, that ſuch fruits and doing among you, that profeſs yourſelves Chriſtians, have made the very name of Chriſt and Chriſtianity, a proverb of reproach through nations, and have cauſed the God of heaven to be blaſphemed; and how could it be otherwiſe, ſeeing you who profeſs the moſt knowledge of God, and have talked of converting the heathen (as ſome of your leaders have done) are found the leaſt in the life and fruits thereof: but to what would they convert them? to pride and ſwearing, and drunkenneſs, and oppreſſion, and all manner of exceſs, and to perſecute people for their good conſcience? They have no need of that; for, ſome of them have ſaid, they did not uſe to ſwear, and be drunk, &c. till they came among the Chriſtians, and learned of them, did not do ſo in their own country: ye are ſo far from converting them, being out of the life of what ye profeſs and talk of yourſelves, that the very heathen or infidels (as ye call them) do judge and condemn you (who are making enquiry) concerning theſe your proceedings againſt this harmleſs people, among whom ſome of them have been kindly entreated, who viſited them at the Lord's requiring, though contrary in opinion and religion; and this doth riſe up in judgment againſt you.

'But, friends, have not you yourſelves been under ſuffering, and ſome of you been driven into ſtrange countries, or lands, for your cauſe (as it was called)? Nay, did not the king himſelf once flee for refuge to a tree, to ſave himſelf from his enemies hands? If not, why are there ſuch repreſentations made of it, in ſo many places in the nation? And was not this as great a mercy and deliverance from God, ſo to obſcure and preſerve him, from them who purſued him (and many of you alſo?) And are theſe things forgotten? Can mercy be loved, except it be remembered? And do you remember and love his mercies, by doing juſtly, and walking humbly with him, as he doth require? Or do you boaſt in a vain glory, as if your own arm had done it, or your own ſtrength or deſerts had delivered you? If ſo, then God muſt needs be forgotten, and his mercies trod under foot, and his viſitations and counſels caſt behind your back; and ſo, all

that forget God, ſhall be torn in pieces, and there ſhall be none to deliver them, as it is written.

'And were theſe your ſufferings (which you ſuſtained by them ye oppoſed) unjuſt and unequal? And if you ſhould ſay, they were; then I ſay, it is much more unjuſt and very unequal in the ſight of God, and all ſober people that fear him, for you, thus to inflict ſuch cruel ſufferings, as impriſoning, and ſtifling up to death in your noiſome gaols and holes among thieves and murderers, and to pronounce ſentence of baniſhment upon an innocent, harmleſs, peaceable people, that do not oppoſe you in the leaſt, with any outward force, neither do ſo much as the thoughts of it lodge within our breaſts, as the Lord God knoweth (who hath called us to peace) but on the contrary have ſought and do ſeek your welfare and happineſs, both in this world, and in the world to come, which in time ſhall be manifeſt to the whole earth.

'And if you ſay, your ſufferings were unjuſt and unequal (though you did oppoſe them, and make war againſt them ſo long as you could) becauſe they deprived you of your rights and privileges, and juſt liberties, and natural birth-rights, &c. which were your due to enjoy, as being free-born of the nation: then how much more is it unjuſt, and unequal, and unrighteous, thus to inflict ſufferings upon your friends, and oppreſs your peaceable neighbours, who are free-born people of the ſame nation, and do not oppoſe you, but are tender towards you (as aforeſaid), and ſubject to all wholeſome juſt laws, and tributary to you, for which cauſes we ought to have our juſt liberty, and enjoy the privilege of our birth-right, which is our due (ſo long as we live peaceably and harmleſsly) but if it be not a privilege to be pleaded for, then are all your own grounds and reaſons, and cauſe, without a foundation, and you and the whole nation may be ſwept away by any that are able to do it, without being charged with injuſtice or oppreſſion, which is contrary to the juſt balance (the light of Chriſt), in all peoples conſciences. And as we are the dearly beloved people of the moſt high God, who doth bleſs us with his preſence, and manifeſt his everlaſting love and good-will towards us daily, and

overſhadow us with his power and tender mercies, whom he hath gathered out of the evil ways and ſpirit of this world, and all the vanities thereof, unto himſelf, to walk with him who is inviſible, in the upright, blameleſs, undefiled life, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe generation; I ſay, conſidering theſe things, how greatly and unrighteouſly do our ſufferings appear to all ſober people, whoſe eyes are open, and will be more open to diſcern and ſavour the bitterneſs of that proud, envious, wrathful ſpirit, which thus hath acted and deceived you; and its end is numbered by them that have wiſdom from above.

'For friends, ſet aſide the reproachful name of Quakers, and the other titles of deriſion and ſcorn (which the envious and blood-thirſty ſpirit hath invented to render the people of God odious in all ages), and tell me what ye have juſtly to charge againſt this people, (whom you ſo furiouſly purſue to the dens and caves of the earth, to the loſs of the lives of ſo many of them; by which children are made fatherleſs, and tender-hearted women, mournful widows,) and let it come forth to open view, and declare it abroad (as your articles againſt them) to the whole world, and ſpeak the truth, and nothing but the truth, (as you uſe to tell one another) that all people may rightly know and underſtand the very ground and moſt ſecret cauſe (who do enquire) of theſe your preſent proceedings againſt them; for notice is taken by many, and ere long it muſt be manifeſt to all men, as the folly and madneſs of Jannes and Jambres was, that withſtood Moſes; for you withſtand no leſs than him of whom Moſes wrote; who ſaid, "I am the light of the world," againſt whom Saul was once exceedingly mad, and had thoughts to do very much againſt that way, which was then as well as now, called Hereſy, till the light of Jeſus, whom he perſecuted, met with him, with his letters (or warrants) to hale men and women to priſon (as your ſervants do), and ſmote him to the ground, and made him tremble, who (from that time) became ſuch a Quaker as you now perſecute and impriſon till death: but the light of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the living God, will meet with all perſecutors, and oppreſſors about religion, let them be never

ſo mad, or think they ought to do much againſt that way they call Hereſy; as ſome of you have ſaid, who have made a mock at the light, even publickly, which many took notice of, and even marvelled at ſuch blaſphemy (in an open court) againſt the Saviour of the world: and there is no other name under heaven by which men ſhall be ſaved, but him who ſaid, John vii. 7. 12. and 16. "I am the light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

'And this is he in whom we have believed, and of whom we have declared, and muſt declare and bear teſtimony as long as we have a being; and the world ſhall know that our teſtimony is true; and for his name and truth only, do we thus patiently ſuffer the contradictions of ſinners, as our brethren did by the zealous Jews in ages paſt; but you are not ſo zealous for Chriſt's law and commandments, as they were of Moſes and the prophets (which Chriſt ends and fulfils); who thought it was not lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day, (as to heal the ſick) for then would you "Do to all men, as ye would they ſhould do to you;" for his law runs thus, "And be ye merciful," &c. and "Love you your enemies; and ſwear not at all," &c. as ye may read.

'But behold, how both Jews and Gentiles take notice, and are aſhamed and grieved, to hear and ſee what a deal of bad works you do, even on your Sabbath-day (as ſome of you call it) and how you prophane the day of your worſhip, with your cattle, and ſervants (which are within your gates), what riding and running, and toiling, in rage and fury (like madmen), ſweating, and ſwearing, and curſing, and dragging, and haling the innocent members of Chriſt's body out of their peaceable meetings, into your gaols and holes, on your day of worſhip. But are your ſacrifices (ye offer at that time) accepted? Have ye peace whilſt theſe things are acting in your name, and by your authority? If you have peace and pleaſure therein, let me tell you from the righteous God, you are hardened in your ſins againſt him, and he will break your peace ſpeedily, and turn your pleaſure into bitterneſs and lamentation; and his innocent people's meetings ſhall ſtand, and

be increaſed; and their way ſhall proſper, and the truth ſhall ſpread and prevail, and have dominion over all nations; and their enemies ſhall fall and be confounded, let them ſtrive what they can againſt them; for they are of God (and not of man, or the will of man) and they ſeek his glory and not their own; and ſuch as abide faithful to him, ſhall triumph over all the principalities, and powers of the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, and make a ſhew openly of the victory over all that do or may oppoſe them; for their life is immortal, and the Lord of heaven and earth is their ſtrength, who is with them as a mighty terrible one; therefore ſhall their perſecutors fall before them.

'And let me tell you again, that by theſe your unreaſonable, and unjuſt dealings, the underſtandings of thouſands are the more opened; and the tender ſober part, or principle in them, doth feel the weight and burthen of this grievouſneſs, which you have preſcribed, and do ſo eagerly purſue, to the impriſoning to death ſo many innocent perſons and free-born people of this nation, beſides hundreds are liable to the ſame, which yet remain in your priſons. And your unnatural, cruel ſentence of baniſhment, to ſeparate dear and tender huſbands from their dear and tender wives, and tender children, and little innocent babes: Oh! how do you rend the bowels of the meek of the earth, whom God hath bleſſed? What is become of all your promiſes of liberty for tender conſciences? God's curſe and vengeance will come upon you, and his plagues will purſue you to deſtruction if ye proceed in this work; and your wives ſhall be widows, and your children fatherleſs; the Lord hath ſpoken it. If you had the hearts of men, or of fleſh, ye would be afraid, and bluſh at the very thoughts hereof; my heart and ſoul melts within me, and I am even bowed down (with cries to God) in my ſpirit, to think of the hardneſs of your hearts.

'God Almighty, cut ſhort thy work in righteouſneſs, and ſhorten the days of oppreſſion and cruelty for thine elect's ſake; which cry night and day unto thee; and make

known thy name and power to the ends of the earth; and let the heathen hear, and fear, and bow to thy righteous ſceptre; and let the kings of the earth lay down their crowns at the feet of the Lamb, that through thy righteous judgments they may partake of thy tender mercies, which endure for ever; that their eyes may be no longer withholden, nor blinded by the god of this world (the power and prince of darkneſs) but that they may come to ſee thee, who art inviſible, and enjoy the ſame precious life of pure unfeigned love, which abounds in the hearts of thy hidden ones; and receive thy peaceable wiſdom, to be governed, and to govern therein; then would they ſurely know, that we are thine, and confeſs to thy glorious truth; and ſpeak good of thy name, and magnify thy power, and no longer count the blood of thy everlaſting covenant (wherewith we are ſanctified) as an unholy thing.

'But, O thou righteous, holy, pure, eternal God, art unknown unto all them that ſit in darkneſs, and dwell in the ſpirit of enmity againſt thee and thy people; though thou art come near to judgment, according to the promiſe, Mal. iii. 5. And thy way of life and ſalvation is hid from them, therefore they hate us without a cauſe, and thus evily intreat us in the darkneſs of their minds, and in the ignorance and hardneſs of their hearts; for which my ſoul doth pity them, and even intreat thee for them, that if poſſible their eyes may be yet opened, and their hearts yet ſoftened, and their ſpirit humbled, that they may ſee what they are doing in the dark, and conſider the effect of their work, which will aſſuredly follow: and if thy warnings and gentle viſitations will not humble them, then let thy judgments awaken them, and bring them down, and humble them, that they may perceive ſomething of what thou art doing (in theſe latter days) and art reſolved to do to the ends of the earth, though the whole world ſhould gather and band together to oppoſe thy work and people; for thou has begun (and thou wilt go through and perfect) thy work; thou wilt raiſe thy ſeed, and gather thine elect from the four winds, and bring them from the ends of the earth, and ſcatter the proud in the vain imaginations of their hearts; and thou wilt break thy

way through all that oppoſe thee in this the day of thy mighty power, in which thou art ariſen (as a giant to run his race) to finiſh tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſin, and bring in and eſtabliſh everlaſting righteouſneſs; that the kingdom of this world may become thy kingdoms, and of thy Chriſt, as thou haſt promiſed, and art now fulfilling; glory, and honour, and thanks, and everlaſting praiſes be to thy glorious name, world without end. Amen.

'So friends, ye are and have been warned again and again by the faithful meſſengers and ſervants of the Lord, in love to your ſouls; and you are left without excuſe, if never words more ſhould be mentioned unto you; by which ye might perceive, how the Lord doth ſtrive with you, that ye might repent, and be ſaved from the wrath to come, though ſome of you feel little of it in your own conſciences; but his ſpirit will not always ſtrive with you: for, if you will not believe them, but ſlight and reject them, and neither make conſcience of what hath proceeded out of your own mouth, nor regard to perform your own words and publick engagements, in that which is juſt, which the Lord requireth of you, nor remember his by-paſt and preſent mercies, and long ſuffering towards you, but trample all under foot; I ſay, if it be thus with you, and you are reſolved to go on, you will wholly be given up, and be exceedingly hardened, and grow deſperate in cruelty and oppreſſion againſt God, and his truth and people, till your whole earth is filled with violence; and then (as true as God liveth) will the flood come upon you, and ye ſhall fall after the manner of Egypt; and the weight of the dreadful judgments, due for all your abominations and cruelties, ſhall ſink you down into the pit that is bottomleſs, and that ſuddenly, as the Lord hath ſpoken,

'By his ſervant, who is a lover of the welfare of all your ſouls, and I am thus far clear of all your blood,

'William Bayly.'

Written in the Tenth month, 1664, at Hartford.

Again, in December, twelve of thoſe called Quakers, were condemned to baniſhment; for it was reſolved to go on, not regarding what George Biſhop gave forth in print, and cauſed to be delivered to the king and the members of parliament, being as followeth:

To the King and both Houſes of Parliament, thus ſaith the Lord.

'Meddle not with my people, becauſe of their conſcience to me, and baniſh them not out of the nation becauſe of their conſcience; for if ye do, I will ſend my plagues upon you, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord.

'Written in obedience to the Lord,
by his ſervant,

'George Biſhop.'

Briſtol, the 29th of the Fifth month, 1664.

The fulfilling of this prediction we ſhall ſee; for within a ſhort time a war enſued with the Dutch, and the peſtilence appeared at London; but before it broke out, yet more of the impriſoned Quakers were condemned to baniſhment, viz. two and thirty perſons, both men and women, who were ſentenced by the court on the 6th, 14th, and 15th of December; for whatever they ſaid in defence of themſelves, proved ineffectual. One aſked, If we meet really to worſhip God, muſt we ſuffer for that? And judge Hide anſwered, 'Yes, that you muſt.' But judge Keeling, to mend the matter a little, ſaid, 'You ſhall not ſuffer for worſhipping God, but for being at an unlawful aſſembly, contrary to the law.' Another ſaid, I meet to worſhip the eternal God in Spirit, as he perſuades my heart and conſcience; and muſt I be condemned to baniſhment for that?' 'Yes, yes,' ſaid judge Keeling, 'for the law is againſt it.' To which judge Twiſden added, 'He hath confeſſed that he was there to worſhip God; and their worſhip is contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' Thus we ſee, if there was but evidence that

the priſoners had been at a meeting, this was counted ſufficient to condemn them. A woman being aſked, what ſhe had to ſay to the evidence given, anſwered, 'Be it known unto you all, if I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of the living God.' After all the priſoners had been called to the bar, they were at length ſentenced to be tranſported to Jamaica, and to remain there ſeven years.

This year in September died my mother, Judith Zinſpenning at Amſterdam in Holland, where ſhe was born of religious parents among the Baptiſts, into whoſe ſociety her father Conrad Zinſpenning was entered in a ſingular manner; of which, though it may ſeem ſomewhat out of my road, yet becauſe of the remarkable ſteps of Providence appearing therein, I will give a ſhort account. He being of Cologne in Germany, was bred a Papiſt; and after he had paſt the Latin ſchools, his father thruſt him into a cloiſter; (for Papiſts uſed to think it meritorious to offer up one of their children to the clergy.) But he found the monaſtical life ſo much againſt his inclination, that his father dying before the probation year was expired, he begged his mother to aſſiſt him in his intention to leave the fraternity, ſince he was not yet bound by vow. She complied with his deſire, and ſo he got out, and then he was put to a trade. After he had ſerved his time, he reſolved to travel, and firſt took a turn to Holland, from thence to France, and then to Italy, and the metropolis Rome, and ſo back again. Having been a lay-friar, he got letters of recommendation to ſuch monaſteries as were of the order of thoſe monks he had lived with; that ſo he might freely find lodging there for ſome time. And becauſe in Holland there are no cloiſters, he was recommended to ſome eminent Papiſts at Amſterdam: whither being come, he liked the place ſo well, that he reſolved to ſtay there ſome time; which he did, after having found employment. And thus getting into acquaintance, he came in time to live with a Baptiſt, who employed him as a journeyman. He never till now met with the New Teſtament, in which he began to read ſo eagerly, that the Lord co-operating by his good ſpirit, his

underſtanding came to be opened, ſo that he got a clear ſight of the ſuperſtition and errors of the popiſh religion, in which he was trained up; and then entering into diſcourſe with his maſter, was perſuaded to renounce popery, and to enter into the communion of the Baptiſts. This broke all his meaſures concerning his intended travels; and then reſolving to ſettle where he was, he took to wife one Katharine de Mol, a virtuous maid, whoſe father was one of the primitive Baptiſts that aroſe under the perſecution in Flanders, from whence he with many more came to ſettle in Holland.

From theſe parents my mother deſcended, who was religiouſly inclined even from her youth, and became ſo well verſed in the Holy Scriptures; and was ſo diligent in writing down ſo much of the ſermons ſhe heard, as ſhe could retain by memory; that her father ſaid ſometimes, 'It is a pity that this girl is not a boy, who then in time might become an eminent inſtrument in the church. After ſhe was come to age, though much inclined to lead a ſingle life, yet at length ſhe was married to my father, Jacob Williamſon Sewell, a very religious young man; whoſe father William Sewell, from Kidderminſter in Worceſterſhire, having been one of thoſe Browniſts, that left England and ſettled in Holland, married a Dutch wife at Utrecht, where my father was born; who being come to age, endeavoured to walk in the narrow way, and converſed moſtly with the ſtricteſt profeſſors of thoſe days. And both he and my mother came in time to grow diſſatisfied with that worſhip to which they were joined; yet in clearneſs of underſtanding my mother exceeded my father; neverthelefs ſhe continued diſſatisfied as well as he, with the common way of worſhip ſhe belonged to; ſo that oftentimes, when ſhe came from the meeting-houſe, ſhe reſolved not to go there any more, becauſe ſhe reaped no real and ſubſtantial benefit by it. But then the firſt day of the week being come again, ſhe was in a ſtreight, thinking that however it was, yet by the apoſtle we were exhorted not to forſake the aſſemblies. In this irreſolute condition ſhe continued a long time; and being incumbered with the cares of the family, ſhe was not ſo much

at liberty for performing religious duties, (viz. prayers, reading of, and meditating on the Holy Scriptures, viſiting the ſick, and ſuch like pious exerciſes) as ſhe was before ſhe was married; which made her wiſh ſometimes ſhe had never entered into matrimony, and that ſhe might live to enjoy again that peace and quiet which once ſhe had. But ſhe knew not yet that it was the love of the Lord thus working upon her, to draw her off from tranſitory things. In this ſtate ſhe was often ſeized with grief and ſorrow, ſo that ſhe counted herſelf the moſt miſerable of women; for neither huſband nor children, nor any outward enjoyments, could afford her any pleaſure; but all her deſire was to attain to an undefiled ſtate, in which ſhe might live an unblameable life, not only before men, but alſo before God: for feeling there was yet ſomething in her which was evil and polluting, ſhe ſtruggled to overcome it; but all her labour proved in vain. This made her cry earneſtly to the Lord as one in great danger; and her doubts whether it was poſſible to attain to perfection encreaſed. But in this forlorn ſtate it pleaſed the Lord to manifeſt himſelf to her in ſome meaſure, though ſhe knew not then it was he. And often ſhe cried out, 'Lord what will it avail me to know that thou haſt ſent thy Son into the world, and that he was crucified and died for the ſins of the world, if I am not ſaved by it. Lord forgive my ſins, and have mercy upon me.' And once when ſhe was alone, pouring out her heart before the Lord, he made himſelf known to her, and ſpoke to her ſoul, that if ſhe would be perfect, ſhe muſt follow the light in every reſpect. Having heard this, ſhe deſired to know what this light was; and the Lord ſhewed her, that the light was the life of men. This ſhe underſtood in ſome degree, and ſo ſeparated herſelf as much as ever ſhe could conveniently from converſation, endeavouring to live retiredly. And having about this time heard Dr. Galenus Abrahams, an eminent Baptiſt teacher, preach upon the parable of the ſeedſman; that which he ſpoke concerning the good ground, and how the ground muſt be fitted by the Lord's working, ſo affected her, that ſhe reſolved to reſt from all

her own labour; and ſo ſhe left frequenting the Baptiſts, aſſemblies any more.

In this retired ſtate ſhe continued a good while, and at length came to hear William Ames preach; and he declaring the light of Chriſt as the true teacher, this agreed with what had already been told her inwardly by the immediate manifeſtations of the Lord to her. And thus ſhe came fully to be convinced that this was the truth ſhe had ſo long deſired to know. Now ſhe ſaw that it was her duty to give up all, and to keep nothing back: for ſhe had already ſeen, that if ſhe would be Chriſt's diſciple, ſhe muſt forſake all, even her own ſelf. But a fear of the croſs was no ſmall impediment to her; yet now ſhe gave up to obedience; and ſaw that her former performances had been defective; and now all came into remembrance. This cauſed ſorrow; but ſhe prayed to the Lord both night and day, and then he manifeſted his power by which ſhe was led out of the darkneſs and bondage, wherein ſhe had been held captive; and her ſupplication was to the Lord, that it might not be with her as formerly, to wit, ſometimes great zeal, and then coldneſs again; but that ſhe might continue in fervency of ſpirit. After a long time of mourning the Lord manifeſted his kindneſs to her, by which ſhe came to be quickened and refreſhed; and by the judgments of the Lord all was narrowly ſearched out; ſo that nothing could be hid; and a ſeparation was made between the precious and the vile, and death paſſed over all. But thus to part with all her own wiſdom, and forſake her great attainments, was no ſmall croſs; yet ſhe became willing to bear it, although many violent tempeſts roſe to draw her off, if poſſible, from cloſe adhering to the beloved of her ſoul; yet ſhe was not forward in imitation: for my father, who when he was convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames and W. Caton, ſoon left off the common way of ſalutation, would ſometimes perſuade her by arguments to do ſo too; but ſhe told him, if the leaving off of that cuſtom was a thing the Lord required, ſhe believed he would ſhew it her in his own time, becauſe ſhe was given up to follow his requirings. And ſo the Lord

did in due time; and ſhe continuing zealouſly faithful, he was pleaſed after my father's death to give her publick teſtimony, and ſhe became eminently gifted: for her natural abilities ſurpaſſing the ordinary qualifications of her ſex, and becoming ſanctified by the Spirit of the Lord, could not but produce good effects; and ſhe came to be much viſited and ſought to by profeſſors; and the Fifth monarchy men applauded her becauſe of her pathetical admonitions. But ſhe was above flattery, and trampled upon it. Nay, ſhe was ſo well eſteemed, that I remember, having ſome movings to viſit the collegians in their meeting, after one of them had left off ſpeaking, ſhe ſtood up, and ſaid, that ſhe had ſomething upon her mind to ſpeak to them by way of exhortation. But knowing that they ſuffered not women to ſpeak amongſt them, ſhe was not willing bluntly to intrude herſelf; but deſired their leave, which they readily granted, and one of their chief ſpeakers ſaid to her, 'It is true, friend, we do not allow women to ſpeak in the church; yet we bear that reſpect to you, that we give you the liberty of ſpeaking.' And then ſhe cleared herſelf, having formerly been a frequenter of that aſſembly. And when ſhe had done ſpeaking, I do not remember ſhe was contradicted by any; but one of their ſpeakers concluded the meeting with a prayer.

Before that time ſhe writ and publiſhed a ſmall book to thoſe of her former ſociety, which ſhe called a Serious Reproof of the Flemiſh Baptiſts: in which ſhe dealt very plainly with them; and ſhewed how they were apoſtatized. She writ alſo ſome other treatiſes, extant in print; and was much beloved and well eſteemed by Engliſh friends, as appears by ſeveral letters written to her from England, and yet extant. Thoſe of her own nation often reſorted to her for inſtruction, ſhe being ſo well exerciſed in the way of the Lord, that ſhe was able to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon to various conditions. Many times ſhe viſited the meetings at Alkmaar, Haarlem, and Rotterdam; and was often invited by her friends to come and edify them with her gift. She writ alſo many letters for edification and admonition to particular perſons, and ſome epiſtles alſo to the church. But it pleaſed the Lord to take her early to

himſelf. When ſhe fell ſick, ſhe ſoon had a ſenſe that ſhe was not like to recover, and therefore ſpoke much to me in private, and acquainted me with ſeveral things touching myſelf, and relating to her outward eſtate. And the night before ſhe departed, ſhe called me to her bedſide, and exhorted me very fervently to depart from evil, and to fear the Lord: which by the mercy of God in time made very deep impreſſion on my mind; ſo that ſtill I find reaſon to bleſs the name of the Lord for having been pleaſed that I was the ſon of ſuch an excellent mother: who early in the morning when ſhe felt death approaching, called me up out of my bed, and ſent me to her brother, and to W. Caton, to come and ſee her; and I had hardly been returned a quarter of an hour before ſhe departed this life, and ſlept in peace, to my great grief then; though afterwards, when I came to years of diſcerning, I ſaw reaſon to believe that it was not without a ſingular providence that the Lord had taken her away: for one had long continued to be an importunate ſuitor to her, who in time loſt his integrity. To give a ſmall inſtance of her true zeal for God, I will inſert here the following epiſtle ſhe writ to her friends, to ſtir up the pure mind in them.

## An Epiſtle to the Friends of Truth.

'Grace and peace be multiplied among you, my dearly and much beloved friends, you that have received a bleſſing from God the heavenly Father in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord of glory; who by his unſpeakable love, and his unchangeable light, hath drawn you off from the imaginary worſhips, and brought you in meaſure to know him who was from the beginning. Dear friends, keep in the light by which ye are enlightened, and in the knowledge of God, which every one hath received for himſelf; watching againſt the ſeducings of ſatan, that your eyes may be kept open, leſt deceit ſhould prevail in any of you, by which truth might loſe its ſplendor, and the brightneſs of the Lord become darkened.

'I write theſe things to you in true love, and though

but young, yet as one that takes care for you; for the Lord knows how often ye are in my remembrance; deſiring for you, that ye may not only know the truth, but that ye may be found to be living witneſſes of it: for I, knowing the precioufneſs of it, cannot but deſire that others may alſo participate of the ſame: labour therefore for it, my friends, that ſo, when the Lord comes and calls to an account, every one may be found faithful according to what he hath received: for this is the talent which the Lord hath given, viz. the knowledge of him who is true, and who rewardeth every one according to his deeds: but the negligent and ſlothful ſervant ſaid that his Lord was an hard man, and that he gathered where he had not ſtrawed, and this was his condemnation: for the Lord ſaid, "Thou kneweſt that I was an auſtere man: wherefore then gaveſt not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with uſury?" Mind theſe things, my beloved friends, ye that have an ear to hear, and dig after this parable in yourſelves; for we all have received talents, ſome more, and others leſs. Let therefore every one be faithful to the Lord, according to what he hath received; for truly ſome of you, I believe, have received five talents. Let it but be duly conſidered and ſeen in the light of the Lord, what knowledge ye have had of the eternal God beyond many, even when ye were yet in darkneſs: how often hath the Lord appeared, and clearly made manifeſt himſelf? And how abundantly hath he made it known in the heart, that he it was who was worthy to be feared and ſerved? Certainly this is a great and weighty talent, and therefore the Lord may ſay juſtly, what could I have done more to my vineyard? O my friends, beſides all this, he hath cauſed his eternal light to ſhine into our hearts, whereby we have ſeen the corrupted ways of the world, and the paths leading to death. This, I ſay, the Lord hath ſhewed us by his eternal light: glory and praiſes be given to our God for ever.

'Dear friends, go on in that which ye have begun; for I can bear witneſs for the Lord, that his love hath been abundantly ſhed abroad upon us, without reſpect of

perſons: becauſe thoſe that fear him, and work righteouſneſs, are acceptable to him; and he makes his truth manifeſt among us, and cauſeth his peace and mercy to reſt upon us. It is true, that ſatan doth not reſt to ſcatter this, and to ſow doubts and unbelief in our hearts; but we keeping cloſe to the Lord, are preſerved from his ſnares; and happy is he who hath found a place where he is freed from tempeſts: but before this place be found, there are many hidden rocks that may be ſtruck on, not unknown to me. And therefore I have true compaſſion on thoſe who are not paſt them all yet; for ſhipwreck may eaſily be ſuffered on any of theſe.

'Yet in all this danger there is ſomething on which we may rely ſafely, and to which we may truſt, being as a beacon, viz. the light ſhining into our hearts, though it be ſometimes but as a ſpark; and ſo ſmall, in regard of the manifold ſeducings, that it can hardly be diſcerned. Here then is no ſmall grief and anguiſh; here all the mercies of the Lord, which formerly we enjoyed abundantly, are called in queſtion, or doubted of; here is danger, and yet certainty; for by not ſinning, the beacon is minded, and by relying on a true hope to be ſaved, we are preſerved in the tempeſt. I write theſe things for the information of thoſe that are travelling towards a city that hath a foundation, and whoſe builder and maker is God; for to ſuch my love is extended, and my deſire to the Lord for them is, that they may be kept by his power, to remain ſtanding at his coming.

'Dear friends, keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and have a care that your minds are not drawn out to hear words outwardly; but ſtand in the croſs to that which deſireth refreſhment from without: and when at any time ye feel but little refreſhment, let it not enter into your hearts that the Lord is not mindful of you; but center down into yourſelves, in the pure light, and ſtand ſtill therein; then it may be ye will find the cauſe why the preſence of the Lord is departed from you for ſome time; and ye putting away the cauſe, ſhall enjoy the Lord again to your comfort.

'May God Almighty preſerve you all by his power,

leſt any ſtrife or diſcord be found among you; and may you grow up in love, and thereby be obliged to bear each others burthens; and let no tranſitory things cumber your hearts, but be reſigned to the Lord; for that to which we are called, is not to be compared to that which is tranſitory, or periſhing; ſince it is a treaſure that is everlaſting, and to which the world, and all that is in it, is but as dung; becauſe the moſt glorious part of it is but vanity of vanities. O, my friends, let none be ſtopped by that which is an impediment to entering into the kingdom of heaven; but ſtrive all to enter the narrow gate; and ſearch every one of you your own hearts, with the light ye are enlightened with, which ſhall manifeſt your own ſtates to you; and keeping there, it ſhall multiply your peace, and every one ſhall find therein his own teacher, as thoſe have experienced who ſought the Lord with all their heart. Now the God of all mercies, who alone is immortal, keep you and us altogether to the end; that ſo in theſe dangerous times we may remain ſtanding, to the glory of his great name. O friends keep out craftineſs, and enter not readily into diſcourſe with thoſe that are out of the truth; for they ſpeak in their own wills, and are crafty, and, knowing no bridle to their mind, it produceth that by which the ſimple and innocent are caught; but ſtand ye rather, and keep in that wherein ye ſee their ſubtilty; for then, though ye may not have a word to apologize for yourſelves, yet ye ſhall be above them.

'This is written from me, a young plant, in love to you, according to the gift received from the Lord. My ſalutation is to you all in the light of truth.

'Judith Zinſpenning.'

In the year 1664 came forth a ſmall book in print, to the king and both houſes of parliament, wherein were ſet forth, not only the violent perſecution almoſt over all England, with the names of perſons, places, and caſes, which indeed were woeful, and ſome bloody; but it was alſo repreſented, that there were at that time in priſon above ſix hundred of thoſe called Quakers, merely for religion's ſake,

In the month called January, in the year 166$\frac{4}{5}$, thirty-ſix of that perſuaſion, among which were eight women, were condemned to be tranſported to Jamaica. The jury not being ſo forward to declare the priſoners guilty as the court deſired, were perſuaded however by the threatenings of judge Keeling, the recorder Wild, and the boiſterous Richard Brown, to do what was demanded of them.

On the 18th and 22d of the next month, thirty-four of the ſaid people were ſentenced to be carried to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell. The manner of their trial I paſs by with ſilence, to avoid prolixity. Thoſe that were tried on the 18th were ſentenced by judge Wharton; and thoſe on the 22d by judge Windham, who ſaid to Anne Blow, who declared, that the fear of the Lord being upon her heart, ſhe durſt not conform to any thing that was unrighteous, 'Anne Blow, I would ſhew you as much favour as the court will allow you, if you will ſay that you will go no more to that ſeditious meeting,' meaning the Bull-and-Mouth. To which ſhe anſwered, 'Wouldeſt thou have me ſin againſt that of God in my own conſcience? If I were ſet at liberty to day, if the Lord required it of me, I ſhould go to the Bull-and-Mouth to-morrow.'

Concerning one John Gibſon, the ſaid judge ſpoke to the jury in this manner: 'Gentlemen, although it is true, as this Gibſon ſaith, that it cannot be proved that they were doing any evil at the Bull-and-Mouth; yet it was an offence for them to be met there, becauſe in proceſs of time there might be evil done in ſuch meetings; therefore this law was made to prevent them.' By this we may ſee with what ſpecious colours the perſecutors cloaked their actions. I find among my papers, a letter of John Furly, and Walter Miers, (both of whom I knew well) mentioning, that ſome of the jury, for refuſing to give ſuch a verdict as was required of them, were fined in great ſums, and put into priſon, there to remain till they ſhould pay the fine.

Having now ſaid thus much of ſentencing, it grows time to ſpeak of the execution thereof.

Some of the perſons ordered for baniſhment, fell ſick,

and died in priſon; ſome became apoſtates, and ſome were redeemed by their relations that were not Quakers; but yet a conſiderable number was, though with great pains, brought on ſhip-board, to be tranſported to the Weſt-Indies. We have ſeen already how thoſe that were ſentenced at Hertford, by judge Orlando Bridgman, having been put aſhore by the maſter of the ſhip, returned. And it was not long after, that three of their friends, being on board the ſhip the Many-fortune of Briſtol, were alſo ſet on ſhore with a certificate from the maſter of the ſhip, ſigned by him and ſeven of his men, wherein they complained of their adverſity, and ſaid, that God had ſaid as it were in their hearts, "Accurſed be the man that ſeparates huſband and wife? and he who oppreſſeth the people of God, many plagues will come upon him."

But the firſt of thoſe called Quakers, who really taſted baniſhment, were Edward Bruſh, and James Harding, who were baniſhed, not only out of London, where they as citizens had as much right to live as the chiefeſt magiſtrates, but alſo out of their native country, contrary to the right of a freeborn Engliſhman: theſe, with one Robert Hays, were on the 24th of the month called March, early in the morning fetched from Newgate in London, and brought to Blackfriars ſtairs, where they were put into a boat, and ſo carried down to Graveſend, and there had on board a ſhip. Hardly any warning had been given to theſe priſoners; and Robert Hays being ſickly, had taken ſome phyſick, which had not done working; and ſince it was very cold that morning, and he had got nothing to eat before he came to Graveſend, he was ſeized in the ſhip with ſo ſevere ſickneſs, that he died of it, and then his corpſe was carried to London, and there buried. The other two were carried to Jamaica, where, by the providence of God, in time it fared well with them, and Edward Bruſh lived to return into England. It was remarkable, that not long after theſe perſons were baniſhed, the peſtilence broke out at London, firſt of all in the houſe of a mealman in Bearbinder lane, next door to the houſe where the ſaid Edward lived, which by ſome was thought worthy

being taken notice of; ſince that houſe was the firſt which was ſhut becauſe of the ſickneſs.

With the other priſoners they had more trouble and pains, becauſe no ſhipmaſters could be found that would carry them: wherefore an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with order that none ſhould go down the river without having a paſs from the Admiral; and this they would give to no maſter going to the Weſt-Indies, unleſs he made promiſe to carry ſome Quakers along with him to the place to which they were baniſhed. Whatever any maſters ſpoke againſt this, intimating that there was a law, according to which no Engliſhman might be carried out of his native country againſt his mind, was in vain. At length by force they got one to ſerve their turn; and then ſeven perſons that were ſentenced to baniſhment, were, on the 18th of the month called April, carried from Newgate to Blackfriars ſtairs, and ſo in a boat to Graveſend. But in the mean-time the peſtilence increaſed, and not long after Judge Hide, who had been very active in perſecuting, was with many others ſuddenly taken away out of this life; for he having been ſeen in the morning at Weſtminſter in health, as to outward appearance, it was told in the afternoon that he was found dead in his chamber; being thus ſummoned to appear and give account of his deeds before a higher court than ever he preſided in.

Yet tranſportation was not come to a ſtand; firſt, as hath been ſaid, three perſons, next ſeven, and on the 16th of the month called May, eight were carried down the river to Graveſend, and put on ſhip-board; but as the number of thoſe that were carried away was heightened, ſo alſo the number of thoſe that died of the peſtilence much more increaſed. But notwithſtanding this ſcourge from Heaven, tranſportation continued; for a maſter of a ſhip was found at length, who had ſaid, as was reported, that he would not ſtick to tranſport even his neareſt relations. And ſo an agreement was made with him, that he ſhould take between fifty and ſixty Quakers into his ſhip, and carry them to the Weſt-Indies. Of theſe eight or ten at a time were brought to the water-ſide, and ſo with boats

or barges carried to the ſhip, which lay at anchor in the Thames, in Bugbey's-hole, a little beyond Greenwich. Many of theſe priſoners, among which ſeveral women, not ſhewing themſelves ready to climb into the ſhip, leſt it ſhould ſeem as if they were inſtrumental to their tranſportation, were hoiſted up with the tackle; and the ſailors being unwilling to do this work, and ſaying, that if they were merchants goods, they ſhould not be unwilling to hoiſt them in, the officers took hold of the tackle, and ſaid, 'They are the king's goods.' This was on the 20th of the month called July, and on the 4th of the next month, when, according to the bill of mortality, three thouſand and forty died in one week, the reſt of the baniſhed priſoners were carried with ſoldiers to the ſaid ſhip, in which now were fifty-five of the baniſhed Quakers, and among theſe eighteen women. But ſomething adverſely hindered this ſhip from going away, and the peſtilence alſo entered into it, which took away many of the priſoners, and ſo freed them from baniſhment. But though the peſtilence grew more hot at London, and that a war was riſen between England and Holland, yet the fire of perſecution continued hot, and great rejoicings were made when the Dutch were beaten at ſea, and their admiral Obdam was blown up with his ſhip. Neither did the perſecutors leave off to diſturb the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, and impriſon many of them; nay ſo hardened and unrelenting were ſome, that when at London more than four thouſand people died in one week, they ſaid, that the only means to ſtop the peſtilence, was to ſend the Quakers out of the land. But theſe fainted not, but grew emboldened againſt violence. In September ſome meetings were ſtill diſturbed at London, though the number of the dead in one week was heightened to above ſeven thouſand, being encreaſed in that time nigh two thouſand. Now ſuch as intended to have met at the Bull-and-Mouth, were kept out from performing worſhip there; but yet meeting in the ſtreet, they were not diſturbed; for there ſeemed to be ſome fear of the common people, who grew diſcontented becauſe there was little to be earned by tradeſmen; and the city came to be ſo emptied, that graſs grew in the ſtreets

that uſed to be moſt populous, few people being ſeen by the way. Thus the city became as a deſert, and the miſery was ſo great, that it was believed ſome died for want of attendance.

It was about this time that Samuel Fiſher, who firſt had been a priſoner in Newgate at London, and afterwards in Southwark, ſince the beginning of the year 1663, till now, being about a year and a half, died piouſly.

It is reported that the king in the time of this great mortality once aſked, whether any Quakers died of the plague? And having been told, yes, he ſeemed to ſlight that ſickneſs, and to conclude, that then it could not be looked upon as a judgment or plague upon their perſecutors. But certainly his chaplains might well have put him in mind of what Solomon ſaith, "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked:' and of this ſaying of Job, "He deſtroyeth the perfect and the wicked:" as alſo that of the prophet, "That the righteous is taken away from the evil to come."

Now travelling in the country was ſtopped, which made ſome people go with boats along the coaſt, and ſo went aſhore where they had a mind. Thus did Stephen Criſp, who came about this time to York, where the duke of York was then, with many of the great ones. About this time Alexander Parker, and George Whitehead came to London, where they had good ſervice in preaching the truth.

Great fires were now kindled in the ſtreets to purify the contagious air; but no relief was found by it; for in the latter end of September, there died at London above eight thouſand people in one week, as I remember to have ſeen in one of the bills of mortality of that time. In the mean-while the ſhip in which the baniſhed priſoners were, could not go off, but continued to lie as a gazingſtock for thoſe ſhips that paſſed by; for the maſter was impriſoned for debt.

Now the prediction of George Biſhop was fulfilled, and the plagues of the Lord fell ſo heavily on the perſecutors, that the eagerneſs to baniſh the Quakers, and ſend them away, began to abate. The ſame G. Biſhop, about Mid-

ſummer, writ from the priſon at Briſtol (where he made account that he alſo ſhould have been baniſhed), a letter to his friends to exhort them to ſtedfaſtneſs, foretelling them, that if they happened to be baniſhed, God would give them grace in the eyes of thoſe among whom they ſhould be ſent, if they continued to adhere to him; and that when he ſhould have tried them, he ſhould bring them again into their native country; and that none ſhould root them out; but they ſhould be planted and built up there; and that the Lord ſhould viſit their enemies with the ſword and peſtilence, and ſtrike them with terror. This is but a ſhort hint of what he writ at large.

G. Fox the younger had alſo in the year 1661 given forth a little book, of which ſome ſmall mention hath been made before, in which he lamented England, becauſe of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedneſs and perſecution; ſaying among the reſt, that the Lord had ſpoken in him concerning the inhabitants. 'The people are too many, the people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them.' Beſides that the Spirit of the Lord had ſignified unto him, that an overflowing ſcourge, yea even an exceeding great and terrible judgment, was to come upon the land, and that many in it ſhould fall, and be taken away. And that this decree of the Lord was ſo firm, that though ſome of the Lord's children and prophets ſhould appear ſo as to ſtand in the gap, yet ſhould not that alter his decree. This with much more he writ very plainly; and though he was deceaſed long ago, yet this paper was reprinted, to ſhew the inhabitants how faithfully they had been warned.

What Iſaac Pennington, being a priſoner, writ about this time to the king and parliament, and publiſhed in print was alſo very remarkable, being deſigned with Chriſtian meekneſs to diſſuade them if poſſible from going on with this miſchievous work of perſecution. In this paper, containing ſome queries, among many weighty expreſſions, I find theſe alſo:

'After ye have done all ye can, even made laws as ſtrong as ye can, and put them in the ſtricteſt courſe of

execution ye can, one night from the Lord may end the controverſy, and ſhew whether we pleaſe the Lord in obeying him, or ye in making laws againſt us for our fidelity and obedience to him.

'And as the Lord is able to overturn you, ſo if ye miſtake your work, miſ-interpreting the paſſages of his providence, and erring in heart concerning the ground of his former diſpleaſure; and ſo (through the error of judgment) ſet yourſelves in oppoſition againſt him, replanting the plants which he will not have grow, and plucking up the plants of his planting; do ye not in this caſe provoke the Lord, even to put forth the ſtrength which is in him againſt you? We are poor worms. Alas, if ye had only us to deal with, we ſhould be nothing in your hands! But if his ſtrength ſtand behind us, we ſhall prove a very burthenſome ſtone, and ye will hardly be able to remove us out of the place wherein God hath ſet us, and where he pleaſeth to have us diſpoſed of. And happy were it for you, if inſtead of perſecuting us, ye yourſelves were drawn to wait for the ſame begettings of God (which we have felt) out of the earthly nature into his life and nature, and did learn of him to govern in that; then might ye be eſtabliſhed indeed, and be freed from the danger of thoſe ſhakings and overturnings, which God is haſtening upon the earth.

'Now becauſe ye may be apt to think, that I write theſe things for my own ſake, and the ſakes of my friends and companions in the truth of God, that we might eſcape the ſufferings and ſeverity which we are like to undergo from you, and not ſo mainly and chiefly for your ſakes, leſt ye ſhould bring the wrath of God and miſery upon your ſouls and bodies: to prevent this miſtake in you, I ſhall add what followeth. Indeed this is not the intent of my heart: for I have long expected, and do ſtill expect this cup of outward affliction and perſecution from you, and my heart is quieted and ſatisfied therein, knowing that the Lord will bring glory to his name, and good to us out of it: but I am ſure it is not good for you to afflict us for that which the Lord requireth of us, and wherein he accepteth us: and ye will find it the bitterest

work that ever ye went about, and in the end will wiſh that the Lord had rather never given you this day of proſperity, than that he ſhould ſuffer you thus to make uſe of it. Now that ye may the more clearly ſee the temper of my ſpirit, and how my heart ſtands in this thing, I ſhall a little open unto you my faith and hope about it, in theſe enſuing particulars:

'Firſt, I am aſſured in my heart and ſoul, that this deſpiſed people (called Quakers) is of the Lord's begetting in his own life and nature. Indeed, had I not ſeen the power of God in them, and received from the Lord an unqueſtionable teſtimony concerning them, I had never looked towards them: for they were otherwiſe very deſpicable in my eyes. And this I cannot but teſtify concerning them, that I have found the life of God in me owning them, and that which God hath begotten in my heart, refreſhed by the power of life in them: and none but the Lord knows the beauty and excellency of glory, which he hath hid under this appearance.

'Secondly, The Lord hath hitherto preſerved them againſt great oppoſitions, and is ſtill able to preſerve them. Every power hitherto hath made nothing of over-running them; yet they have hitherto ſtood, by the care and tender mercy of the Lord; and the ſeveral powers which have perſecuted them, have fallen one after another.

'Thirdly, I have had experience myſelf of the Lord's goodneſs and preſervation of me, in my ſuffering with them for the teſtimony of his truth, who made my bonds pleaſant to me, and my noiſome priſon (enough to have deſtroyed my weakly and tenderly-educated nature) a place of pleaſure and delight; where I was comforted by my God night and day, and filled with prayers for his people, as alſo with love to, and prayers for, thoſe who had been the means of outwardly afflicting me, and others upon the Lord's account.

'Fourthly, I have no doubt in my heart that the Lord will deliver us. The ſtrength of man, the reſolution of man is nothing in my eye in compare with the Lord. Whom the Lord loveth, he can ſave at his pleaſure. Hath

he begun to break our bonds and deliver us, and ſhall we now diſtruſt him? Are we in a worſe condition than Iſrael was, when the ſea was before them, the mountains on each ſide, and the Egyptians behind purſuing them? He indeed that looketh with man's eye, can ſee no ground of hope, nor hardly a poſſibility of deliverance; but (to the eye of faith) it is now nearer than when God began at firſt to deliver.

'Fifthly, It is the delight of the Lord, and his glory to deliver his people, when to the eye of ſenſe it ſeemeth impoſſible. Then doth the Lord delight to ſtretch forth his arm, when none elſe can help: and then doth it pleaſe him to deal with the enemies of his truth and people, when they are lifted up above the fear of him, and are ready to ſay in their hearts concerning them, they are now in our hands, who can deliver them?

'Well, were it not in love to you, and in pity, (in relation to what will certainly befal you, if ye go on in this courſe) I could ſay in the joy of my heart, and in the ſenſe of the good will of my God to us, who ſuffereth theſe things to come to paſs; go on, try it out with the ſpirit of the Lord, come forth with your laws, and priſon, and ſpoiling of our goods, and baniſhment, and death (if the Lord pleaſe) and ſee if ye can carry it: for we come not forth againſt you in our own wills, or in any enmity againſt your perſons or government, or in any ſtubbornneſs or refractorineſs of ſpirit; but with the lamb-like nature which the Lord our God hath begotten in us, which is taught and enabled by him, both to do his will, and to ſuffer for his name-ſake. And if we cannot thus overcome you (even in patience of ſpirit, and in love to you) and if the Lord our God pleaſe not to appear for us, we are content to be overcome by you. So the will of the Lord be done ſaith my ſoul.'

This the author concludes with a poſtſcript, containing a ſerious exhortation to forſake evil. Beſides this he gave forth another paper, wherein he propoſed this queſtion to the king and both houſes of parliament.

'Whether laws made by man, in equity, ought to extend any farther, than there is power in man to obey. And if it was not cruel to require obedience in ſuch caſes, wherein the party hath not a capacity in him of obeying.' And to explain this a little farther, he ſaid, 'In things concerning the worſhip of God, wherein a man is limited by God, both what worſhip he ſhall perform, and what worſhip he ſhall abſtain from, here he is not left at liberty to obey what laws ſhall be made by man contrary hereunto.' Thus Pennington ſtrove by writing to ſhew the perſecutors the evil of their doings: but a fierce party prevailed then; and the clergy continually blew the fire of perſecution; nay, many preſumed the time was now come totally to deſtroy the Quakers; and in December twelve more were condemned to tranſportation.

Concerning thoſe baniſhed that were now in the ſhip which lay in the Thames, I will yet leave them there, and take again a view of George Fox, whom in the foregoing year we left in a hard priſon at Lancaſter. In the month called March this year he was brought again to his trial before judge Twiſden; and though judge Turner had given charge at the aſſize before, to ſee no ſuch groſs errors were in the indictment as before, yet in that reſpect this was not much better than the former, though the judge examined it himſelf. The jury then being called to be ſworn, and three officers of the court having depoſed, that the oath had been tendered to him at the laſt aſſizes, according to the indictment, the judge ſaid, it was not done in a corner: and then aſked him, what he had to ſay to it; and whether he had taken the oath at the laſt aſſizes? George Fox thereupon gave an account of what had been done then, and that he had ſaid, that the book they gave him to ſwear on, ſaith, "Swear not at all." And repeating more of what he ſpoke then, the judge ſaid, 'I will not diſpute with you, but in point of law.' George Fox offering to ſpeak ſomething to the jury concerning the indictment, he was ſtopped by the judge; and then George Fox aſked him, whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's ſubjects only, or to the ſubjects

of foreign princes? The judge replied, 'To the ſubjects of this realm.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'look to the indictment, and thou mayeſt ſee that the word ſubject is left out of this indictment alſo.' Several other great errors as to time, &c. he had obſerved in the indictment, but no ſooner had he ſpoke concerning the errors, but the judge cried, 'Take him away gaoler, take him away.' Then he was hurried away; yet the people thought he ſhould have been called again; but that was not done. After he was gone, the judge aſked the jury, whether they were agreed? They ſaid, 'Yes,' and found for the king againſt him. The reaſon why George Fox was led away ſo ſuddenly, ſeemed to be that they expected he would have proved the officers of the court to have ſworn falſely, ſeeing the day on which the oath had been tendered to him at the aſſizes before, was wrong in the indictment; and yet they had ſworn, that on that day he had refuſed to take the oath. Before George Fox was brought before the judge, he had paſſed ſentence of *premunire* againſt Margaret Fell, for having refuſed to take the oath. And though this ſentence had not been paſſed againſt George Fox, yet he was recorded as a premunired perſon; though it had not been aſked him what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt him. And thus he continued priſoner in Lancaſter caſtle.

Whilſt he was there, though weak of body, he writ ſeveral papers; but the neighbouring juſtices laboured much to get him removed from thence to ſome remote place; for it was pretty well known among the people, how the court at the aſſizes had dealt with him. So about ſix weeks after, they got an order from the king and council to remove him from Lancaſter; and they received alſo a letter from the earl of Angleſey, wherein it was written, that if theſe things which he was charged with, were found true againſt him, he deſerved no clemency or mercy: and yet the greateſt matter they had againſt him, was his refuſal of the oath. His perſecutors now having prepared for his removal, the under ſheriff, and the head ſheriff's men, with ſome bailiffs, came and fetched him out of the caſtle, when he was ſo weak, by lying in that

cold, wet, and ſmoky priſon, that he could hardly go or ſtand. So they brought him down into the gaoler's houſe, where juſtice William Kirbey, and ſeveral others were. They called for wine to give him, but he well knowing their malice againſt him, told them, he would have none of their wine. Then they cried, 'Bring out the horſes.' G. Fox therefore deſired, that if they intended to remove him, they would firſt ſhew him their order, or a copy of it. But they would not ſhew him any but their ſwords. He then told them, there was no ſentence paſſed upon him, neither was he premunired, that he knew of; and therefore he was not made the king's priſoner, but was the ſheriffs: for they and all the country knew that he was not fully heard at the laſt aſſizes, nor ſuffered to ſhew the errors that were in the indictment, which were ſufficient to quaſh it. And that they all knew there was no ſentence of premunire paſſed upon him; and therefore he not being the king's priſoner, but the ſheriff's, deſired to ſee their order. But inſtead of ſhewing him their order, they haled him out, and lifted him upon one of the ſheriff's horſes; for he was ſo very weak, that he was hardly able to ſit on horſeback. Riding thus along the ſtreet, he was much gazed upon by the people, and had great reaſon to ſay, that he received neither chriſtianity, civility, nor humanity; for how ill and weak ſoever he was, yet they hurried him away about fourteen miles to Bentham in Yorkſhire; and ſo wicked was the gaoler, one Hunter, a young fellow, that he laſhed the horſe on which G. Fox rid, with his whip, to make him ſkip and leap, inſomuch that he had much ado to ſit him; and then would this wanton fellow come, and looking him in the face, ſay, 'How do you Mr. Fox?' To which he anſwered, it was not civil in him to do ſo. Yet this malicious fellow ſeemed little to regard it; but he had not long time to delight in this kind of inſolence; for ſoon after he was cut off by death.

G. Fox being come down to Bentham, was met by a marſhal and ſeveral troopers, and many of the gentry, beſides abundance of people, come thither to ſtare at him. Being entered the houſe, and very much tired, he deſired

they would let him lie down on a bed, which the ſoldiers permitted; and the marſhal, to whom he was delivered, ſet a guard upon him. After having ſtaid there a while, they preſſed horſes, and ſending for the bailiff and the conſtables, they had him to Giggleſwick that night. And there they raiſed the conſtables, who ſate drinking all night in the room by him, ſo that he could get but little reſt. The next day coming to a market town, ſeveral of his friends came to ſee him, and at night he aſked the ſoldiers, whither they intended to carry him? To which ſome ſaid, beyond ſea, and others, to Tinmouth Caſtle. And there was a fear amongſt them, leſt ſome ſhould reſcue him; but there was not the leaſt reaſon for it. The next night he was brought to York, where the marſhal put him into a great chamber, where many of the troopers then came to him. He then ſpeaking ſomething by way of exhortation to the ſoldiers, many of them were very loving to him. A while after the lord Frecheville, who commanded thoſe horſe, came to him, and was civil and loving, and G. Fox gave him an account of his impriſonment.

After a ſtay of two days at York, the marſhal and five ſoldiers were ſent to convey him to Scarborough Caſtle: theſe behaved themſelves civilly to him. On the way they baited at Malton, and permitted his friends to ſee him. Afterwards being come to Scarborough, they brought him to an inn, and gave notice of it to the governor, who ſent ſix ſoldiers to guard him that night. The next day they had him into the caſtle, and there put him into a room, with a centinel to watch him. Out of this room they ſoon brought him into another, which was ſo open, that the rain came in, and it ſmoked exceedingly; which was very offenſive to him. One day the governor, ſir John Croſland, came into the caſtle with one ſir Francis Cob. G. Fox deſired the governor to come into his room, and ſee how it was, and ſo they did: and G. Fox having got a little fire made in the room, it was ſo filled with ſmoke, that they could hardly find the way out again. And he being a Papiſt, G. Fox told him, that was his purgatory which they had put him into. For it

plainly appeared that there was an intent to vex and diſtreſs him: for after he had been at the charge of laying out about fifty ſhillings, to keep out the rain, and ſomewhat to eaſe the ſmoke, they put him into a worſe room, which had neither chimney nor fire-hearth; and lying much open toward the ſea-ſide, the wind ſo drove in the rain, that the water not only ran about the room, but alſo came upon his bed. And he having no fire to dry his clothes when they were wet, his body was ſo benummed with cold, and his fingers ſwelled to that degree, that one grew as big as two. And ſo malicious were his perſecutors, that they would hardly ſuffer any of his friends to come at him, nay, not ſo much as to bring him a little food; ſo that he was forced to hire ſomebody to bring him neceſſaries. Thus he ſpent about a quarter of a year, and afterwards being put into a room where a fire could be made, he hired a ſoldier to fetch him what he wanted. He then eat almoſt nothing but bread, and of this ſo little, that a threepenny loaf commonly ſerved him three weeks: and moſt of his drink was water, that had wormwood ſteeped in it; and once when the weather was very ſharp, and he had taken great cold, he got ſome elecampane beer.

Now though he deſired his friends and acquaintance might be ſuffered to come to him, yet this was refuſed; but ſome others were admitted to come and gaze upon him, eſpecially Papiſts, of whom a great company once being come, they affirmed, that the pope was infallible, and had been ſo ever ſince St. Peter's time. But G. Fox denied this, and alledged from hiſtory, that Marcellinus, one of the biſhops of Rome, denied the faith, and ſacrificed to idols; and therefore was not infallible. And he ſaid alſo, 'If the Papiſts were in the infallible ſpirit, they would not maintain their religion by gaols, ſwords, gallows, fires, racks, and tortures, &c. nor want ſuch means to hold it up by: for if they were in the infallible ſpirit, they would preſerve mens lives, and uſe none but ſpiritual weapons about religion.' He alſo told them how a certain woman that had been a Papiſt, but afterwards entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, having a taylor

at work at her houſe, and ſpeaking to him concerning the falſeneſs of the popiſh religion, was threatened to have been ſtabbed by him, for which end he drew his knife at her: ſince it was as the woman ſaid, the principle of the Papiſts, if any turn from their religion, to kill them if they can. This ſtory he told the Papiſts, and they did not deny this to be their principle, but aſked, if he would declare this abroad. And he ſaid, 'Yes, ſuch things ought to be declared abroad, that it may be known how contrary your religion is to true Chriſtianity.' Whereupon they went away in a rage. Some time after another papiſt came to diſcourſe with him, and ſaid, that all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Chriſt came; and that when he ſuffered he went into hell, and the devil ſaid to him, 'What comeſt thou hither for; to break open our ſtrong holds?' And Chriſt ſaid, 'To fetch them all out.' And ſo, he ſaid, Chriſt was three days and three nights in hell, to bring them all out. On which G. Fox ſaid to him that was falſe; for Chriſt ſaid to the thief, "This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe." He alſo ſaid, that Enoch and Elijah were tranſlated into heaven; and that Abraham alſo was in heaven, ſince the Scripture ſaith, that Lazarus was in his boſom. And Moſes and Elias were with Chriſt upon the mount, before he ſuffered. With theſe inſtances he ſtopped his adverſary's mouth, and put him to a nonplus.

Another time there came to him a great phyſician, called Dr. Witty, being accompanied with the lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth Caſtle, and ſeveral knights. G. Fox being called to them, this doctor undertook to diſcourſe with him, and aſked, what he was in priſon for? G. Fox told him, becauſe he would not diſobey the command of Chriſt, and ſwear. To which the doctor ſaid, he ought to ſwear his allegiance to the king. Now G. Fox knowing him to be a great Preſbyterian, aſked him, whether he had not ſworn againſt the king and the houſe of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant; and whether he had not ſince ſworn to the king. The doctor having no ready anſwer to this, G. Fox aſked him, what then was his ſwearing good for: telling him farther, 'My allegiance

doth not conſiſt in ſwearing, but in truth and faithfulneſs.' After ſome further diſcourſe, G. Fox was led away to his priſon again; and afterwards the doctor boaſted, that he had conquered G. Fox; which he having heard, told the governor, it was a ſmall boaſt in him to ſay he had conquered a bondman.

A while after, this doctor came again, having many great perſons with him, and he affirmed before them all, that Chriſt had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; that the grace of God, which brought ſalvation, had not appeared unto all men; and that Chriſt had not died for all men. G. Fox aſked him, what ſort of men thoſe were, which Chriſt had not enlightened; and whom his grace had not appeared unto. To which the doctor anſwered, 'Chriſt did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men.' Then G. Fox aſked him, whether adulterers and wicked men were not ſinners; and he ſaid, 'Yes.' Which made G. Fox ſay, 'And did not Chriſt die for ſinners? Did he not come to call ſinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' ſaid the doctor. 'Then,' replied G. Fox, 'thou haſt ſtopped thy own mouth.' And ſo he proved, that the grace of God had appeared to all men, though ſome turned it into wantonneſs, and walked deſpitefully againſt it; and that Chriſt had enlightened all men, though ſome hated the light. Several of thoſe that were preſent confeſſed it was true; but the doctor went away in a rage, and came no more to him.

Another time the governor came to him, with two or three parliament men, and they aſked him, whether he owned miniſters and biſhops; to which he ſaid, 'Yes, ſuch as Chriſt ſent forth; ſuch as had freely received, and would freely give; and ſuch as were qualified, and were in the ſame power and ſpirit that they were in, in the apoſtles' days. But ſuch biſhops and teachers as yours are, that will go no farther than they have a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the apoſtles: for Chriſt ſaith to his miniſters, "Go ye into all nations and preach the goſpel." But ye parliament men, that keep your prieſts and biſhops in ſuch great fat benefices, ye have ſpoiled them all: for do you think they will go

into all nations to preach, or will go any further than they have great fat benefices? Judge yourſelves, whether they will or no.' To this they could ſay little, and whatever was objected to G. Fox, he always had an anſwer in readineſs; and becauſe ſometimes it was ſimple and plain, his enemies from thence took occaſion to ſay, that he was a fool. But whatever ſuch ſaid, it is certain that he had a good underſtanding, though he was not educated in human learning. This I know by my own experience, for I have had familiar converſation with him.

In this his priſon, he was much viſited, even by people of note. General Fairfax's widow came once to him with a great company, one of which was a prieſt, who began to quarrel with him, becauſe ſpeaking to one perſon, he ſaid thou and thee, and not you; and thoſe that ſpoke ſo, the prieſt ſaid, he counted but fools. Which made G. Fox aſk him, whether they, that tranſlated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools; ſeeing they tranſlated the Scriptures ſo, and made the grammar ſo, thou to one, and you to more than one. With theſe and other reaſons he ſoon ſilenced the prieſt; and ſeveral of the company acknowledged the truth he declared to them, and were loving to him; and ſome of them would have given him money, but he would not receive it.

Whilſt I leave him yet priſoner, I will go to other matters, and relate the remarkable caſe of one William Dundas, who being a man of ſome repute in Scotland, came over to the communion of thoſe called Quakers, in a ſingular manner. He was a man of a ſtrict life, and obſerved the eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions there as diligently as any of the moſt preciſe; but in time he ſaw, that bodily exerciſe profited little, and that it was true godlineſs which the Lord required from man. In this ſtate, becoming more circumſpect than he was accuſtomed to be, he did not frequent the publick aſſemblies ſo much as formerly. But this was ſoon taken notice of, and being aſked the reaſon why, he ſaid, that there was a thing beyond that, which he looked for. But it was told him, this was a dangerous principle. To which Dundas replied, that he

was not to receive the law from the mouth of man. Then the miniſter (ſo called) ſaid to him, that he tempted God. To which Dundas returned, that God could not be tempted to evil. Now that which made him more averſe to the prieſts of that nation, was to ſee their domineering pride; and how they forced ſome that were not one with them, in their principles, to comply with their inſtitutions, ſprinkling the children of parents even without their conſent. Add to this, their going from one benefice to another, being always ready to go over from a ſmall church to a great one, under pretence of more ſervice for the church; whereas it plainly appeared, that ſelfiſh intereſt generally was the main cauſe. This behaviour of the clergy, and their rigid perſecution, if any deviated a little from the church ceremonies and the common form, turned Dundas's affection from them. An inſtance of this rigidneſs was, that one Wood, who had ſome charge in the cuſtom-houſe of Leith, and approved in ſome reſpect the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers, had ſaid, that Chriſt was the word, and that the letter was not the word. For this he was cited before the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly of Lothian, where Dundas was preſent; and Wood ſo well defended his ſaying, that none were able to overthrow his arguments: chiefly drawn from theſe words of John, "That the word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us." Wood continuing to maintain his aſſertion, they began to threaten him with excommunication, and would not allow him ſo much time as to give his anſwer to the next aſſembly. Excommunication there was ſuch a penalty, that people under it were very much deprived of converſation with men. The fear of this made Wood comply in a little time; and meeting Dundas about three months after in the ſtreet at Edinburgh, he told him, that he had been forced to bow to the aſſembly againſt his light; for if he had been excommunicated, he had loſt his livelihood. Thus Wood bowed through human fear, but be hardly out-lived this two years.

In the mean-while the prieſts became more and more jealous of Dundas; for he not having them in ſuch an eſteem as they wiſhed, they ſaid, that he would infect the

whole nation. And they did not ſtick here, but to know with whom he correſponded in England, they opened (ſo great was their power) his letters at the poſt-houſe, and ſometimes kept them: but if they found nothing in them, by which they could prejudice him, they cauſed them to be ſealed up again, and delivered to him. By this baſe practice, they came to know that one Gawen Lawry, merchant of London, ſent him a box, with about three pounds ſterling worth of books. This box Dundas found afterwards that the prieſt, John Oſwald, had taken away: and whatever he did, he could not get them again, till the Engliſh came into Scotland, but then many of them were wanting. Dundas in the mean-while unwilling to comply with the kirk, was at length excommunicated; but he was generally ſo well eſteemed, that none ſeemed to regard that ſentence, ſo as to keep at a diſtance from him; which made this act the more contemptible. Now though Dundas favoured the doctrine of the Quakers, yet they were ſuch a deſpiſed people, that he, who was a man of ſome account in the world, could not as yet give up to join with them.

It happened once that he was riding from Edinburgh to his houſe, in a winter evening, and hearing a noiſe of ſome men as if fighting, he bade his man ride up in haſte to ſee what it was, which he did, and calling out, ſaid, that there were two men on horſeback, beating another on foot, Dundas riding up to them, ſaw the two beating the other man, who ſaid to them, 'What did I ſay to you, but bid you fear God?' By this Dundas preſently perceived that the man thus beaten was a Quaker; and aſking his name, which the other telling, he knew it, though he did not know the man by ſight; and then he fell a beating the two with his rod, and ordered thoſe that were with him, to carry them to the next priſon: but the ſaid Quaker intreated him to let them go, which he did, after having aſked their names, and dwelling-places. About a week after, the ſaid Quaker told a relation of Dundas what kindneſs he ſhewed him, and how he had in ſome manner been ſaved by him; 'yet,' ſaid he, 'I found the ſame ſpirit in him that was in the other two men who beat

me.' Such a ſaying as this would have offended ſome men, but with Dundas it had a contrary effect; for theſe words ſo reached him, that ſome time after meeting the ſaid Quaker again, he deſired, that as he paſſed that way, he would make his houſe his lodging place: which kind invitation he ſeemed not unwilling to accept of. Dundas had now attained ſo much experience, that he could diſcern between the ſpirits of meekneſs and raſhneſs; and ſufficiently perceive that the ſaid Quaker, by that which he ſpoke concerning him, had not made himſelf guilty of the latter; but yet he could not bow ſo low, as to join in ſociety with the Quakers, though ſecretly he endeavoured more and more to live up to their doctrine; and therein he enjoyed more peace in his heart than formerly.

But his outward condition in the world not being very forward, he went into France, and ſettled at Dieppe. Whilſt he dwelt there, a certain woman out of England, came thither with her maid, and ſpread in the town ſome books of George Fox and William Dewſbury, tranſlated into French; and ſhe herſelf having written ſome papers, got them turned into French by Dundas, and ſo diſtributed them. But the meſſage ſhe chiefly came for, ſhe hid from him, and that not without reaſon; for what ſhe acted there, was ſo ſingular, that if it had been known before, it is probable ſhe would not have been able to perform it. Though I do not find what her intent was in the thing, yet it ſeems likely to me, that ſhe, not knowing the language there ſpoken, would by a ſign teſtify againſt their apparel and dreſs, and that on this wiſe: on the Firſt-day of the week ſhe came to the meeting-houſe of the Proteſtants there, where ſome thouſands of people were met; and, having ſet herſelf in the moſt conſpicuous place, juſt over againſt him that preached, before the ſervice was finiſhed, ſhe ſtood up, with the maid that was with her, who taking off a mantle and hood ſhe was covered with, ſhe appeared clothed in ſack-cloth, and her hair hanging down, ſprinkled with aſhes: thus ſhe turned herſelf round ſeveral times, that all the people might ſee her. This ſight ſtruck both preacher and auditory with no ſmall conſternation; and the preacher's wife afterwards

telling ſomebody how this ſight had affected her, ſaid, 'This is of deeper reach than I can comprehend.' The ſaid women having ſtood thus awhile, fell both down upon their knees, and prayed, and then went out of the meeting, many following them, and diſtributed ſome books. Then they came to their lodging, which was in a Scotchman's houſe; but he refuſing them entrance, they came to Dundas's lodging, who knew nothing of all this. They therefore told him, that the work they came for in that nation, was now done; and he aſking what they had done, they told him, and ſignified that they wanted lodging till they went away. Then he went abroad to ſee if he could find lodging for them, but in vain; he then offered them his bed, being willing to ſhift for himſelf ſomewhere elſe, but they refuſed to accept of his offer; and his landlady not being willing to let them ſit up that night in any of her rooms, they were fain to ſtay that night in an out-houſe.

Now this buſineſs had made ſuch a ſtir in the town, that one of the king's officers coming the next day to Dundas, told him, that he had tranſgreſſed the laws of the nation, by receiving perſons of another religion to his lodging: for the king tolerated only two religions, viz. Papiſts and Proteſtants. To this Dundas ſaid, that he had not tranſgreſſed the law of hoſpitality, and he had been forced to do ſo, ſince he could not let them lie in the ſtreet, where they would have been in danger of their lives by the rude multitude. Then the women were taken away, and ſent to priſon; and they not being provided with food, Dundas took care of that. Sometime after, an order being come from the parliament at Rouen, it was read to them, viz. that they ſhould be tranſported forthwith back to England, with the firſt paſſage-boat, and all their papers and books to be burnt in the market, and themſelves alſo, if ever they ſhould come to that nation again. In purſuance of this they were put into a paſſage-boat in the night time, and ſo ſent to England. Afterwards the people at Dieppe intended to purſue Dundas, as one of their judgment; but he was unwilling to be looked upon as ſuch, though the Proteſtants had informed againſt him, that he did not come

to their meetings: but of this no crime could be made, and Dundas told them, if they perſecuted him, being a merchant, and trafficking there, they might expect the like to be done to their merchants in England. And when the judge affirmed, that Dundas was of the judgment of thoſe women, he told him that they were better than he; but that their way was too ſtrait for him to walk in. There fell out two things which Dundas took ſingular notice of; the one was, that the Scotchman who ſhut out the women, died within twelve months after; and the other, that the houſe of his landlady, who refuſed them a chamber to ſit in, was burnt within the ſaid time, without its being known whence the fire came, no houſes being burnt beſides, though it was in the middle of the town.

In the mean-while Dundas continued in an unquiet condition; for by reaſon of human fear, he found himſelf too weak to profeſs publickly before men, what he believed to be truth.

Then he went to Rouen, but could get no reſt there, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed in body; and having from England gotten a great many books, treating of the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers, he ſent ſome of them to the judge criminal at Dieppe, and ſome to the Jeſuits college there, and at Paris. Afterwards he ſpread ſome books alſo at Caen, where many Proteſtants lived. But ſince thoſe books ſpoke againſt the Papiſts, and the Calviniſts were in fear that thereby they might be brought to ſufferings, they complained to the lieutenant-general of the town, of Dundas, as one that did not come to their meeting. By this he was forced to leave that place, and went to Alençon, where ſtaying a while, the judge criminal ſent for him; and after a long diſcourſe, he and Dundas agreed ſo well, that he invited him to come and ſee him oftener, and that if he would, he might have an opportunity to diſcourſe with ſome of the Jeſuits. But Dundas told him, that he was not willing to diſpute with any; yet he ſhould not be afraid to maintain his principles, againſt all the Jeſuits of the nation. This being told the Jeſuits it ſo exaſperated them againſt him, that being once out

of town, they cauſed his chamber-door to be broken up, to ſearch his lodging. He complaining of this to the judge criminal, the judge told him, he knew nothing of it, and if there was any thing, it did proceed from the Jeſuits, becauſe of his confidence againſt them. This ſeemed not improbable, for he found his letters opened at the poſt-houſe ſeveral times, and when he challenged the poſt-maſter, he received for an anſwer, that they came ſo to him.

Sometime after he returned to Caen, where he was not long; but his correſpondent at Alençon ſent him word, that the day after he went from thence, the governor of the town had been at his lodging to ſeek for him.

In the next year, when a war aroſe between England and France, he came again to Dieppe, in order to return to England; having got paſſage in company of the lord Hollis, ambaſſador from England; where being arrived, he frequented the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, yet was not bold enough to own the name of Quaker, but continued in the common way of ſalutations, &c. Yet at length the truth they profeſſed, had ſuch power over him, that not being able to enjoy peace without yielding obedience to the inward convictions upon his mind, he at length gave up, and ſo entered into their ſociety, and obtained a true peace with the Lord, which he had long reaſoned himſelf out of. In proceſs of time he publiſhed a book in print, from which I have drawn this relation, which he concluded with a poem, in which he thanked God for his ſingular dealings and mercies beſtowed upon him, wiſhing that others might reap benefit by it.

Thus parting with William Dundas, I am now to ſay, that in this year, 1665, in December, William Caton died at Amſterdam. He was a man not only of literature, and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and converſation, by which he was in good eſteem among thoſe he was acquainted with: and as to the reſpect he had there, this may ſerve as an inſtance. Holland at this time being in war with England, there were ſeveral Engliſh priſoners of war in the priſon of the court of admiralty at Amſterdam, who now and then were viſited

by Caton, and ſupplied with ſome ſuſtenance: but in this he was hindered by an officer of that court, who ſeemed offended becauſe Caton did not give him hat honour. This gave occaſion to Caton to complain of it to a burgomaſter of the city, I think the lord Cornelius Van Vlooſwyh, who at that time was one of the lords of the admiralty; he bid Caton come to his houſe at ſuch a time as he was to go to the court; which he did, and went with the ſaid burgomaſter towards the court, where being come, and entrance denied him by the ſaid officer, the burgomaſter charged him not to hinder Caton from viſiting the priſoners. About this time a law was made in England, called,

An Act for reſtraining Non-Conformiſts from inhabiting in Corporations.

Whereas divers parſons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other perſons in holy orders, have not declared their unfeigned aſſent and conſent in the uſe of all things contained and preſcribed in the book of Common Prayer, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the uſe of the church of England, or have not ſubſcribed to the declaration or acknowledgment contained in a certain act of parliament, made in the fourteenth year of his majeſty's reign, and intituled, 'An act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for the eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of England,' according to the ſaid act, or any other ſubſequent act. And whereas they, or ſome of them, and divers other perſon and perſons not ordained according to the form of the church of England, and as have, ſince the act of oblivion, taken upon them to preach in unlawful aſſemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of exerciſe of religion, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom, and have ſettled themſelves in divers corporations in England, ſometimes three or more of them in a place, thereby taking an opportunity to diſtil the poiſonous principles of ſchiſm and rebellion into

the hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom.

II. Be it therefore enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid parſons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other perſons in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, and all ſtipendiaries, and other perſons who have been poſſeſſed of any eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual promotion, and every of them, who have not declared their unfeigned aſſent and conſent, as aforeſaid, and ſubſcribed the declaration as aforeſaid, and ſhall not take and ſubſcribe the oath following:

(2) 'I, *A. B.* do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or ſtate: ſhall not come within five miles of any city, &c. nor teach ſchool, on pain to forfeit 40l.'

And though this act was chiefly made againſt the Preſbyterians and Independents, who formerly had been employed in the publick church, yet they ſuffered but little by it; but it was cunningly made uſe of to vex the Quakers, who, becauſe for conſcience ſake they could not ſwear, were on this law proſecuted and impriſoned, &c.

Now ſince the peſtilence had been ſo fierce this year at London, that about an hundred thouſand people were ſwept away by it and otherwiſe, and alſo many of thoſe called Quakers, there muſt be conſequently many poor widows and fatherleſs children among thoſe of that ſociety. And becauſe the men, who at times kept meetings to take care for the poor, found that this burthen grew too heavy for them, they offered part of this ſervice and care to the moſt grave and ſolid women of their church, who for

this ſervice met once a week at London, and this in time gave riſe to the womens Monthly Meetings in other places in England.

I return now to the ſhip with the baniſhed priſoners, which I left lying in the Thames; but the owners having put in another maſter, whoſe name was Peter Love, the ſhip, after long lingering, left the river, and came into the Downs. In the month called January of the year enſuing, Luke Howard writ from Dover, that of fifty-four baniſhed perſons, who almoſt half a year ago had been brought on ſhip-board, but twenty-ſeven remained, the reſt being dead. By this long ſtay the ſhip ſeveral times wanted a freſh ſupply of proviſion, and the ſhip's crew grew ſo uneaſy, that two of them having gone aſhore with the boat, ran away, leaving the boat floating, by which it was ſtaved to pieces. At length the maſter, though he had but few, and thoſe moſtly raw ſailors, and was ill provided with victuals, yet reſolved to ſet ſail. And ſo they weighed anchor, and went down the channel as far as Plymouth, where after ſome ſtay, they ſet ſail again, which was on the 23d of the month called February, but the next day being advanced as far as the Land's End, a Dutch privateer came and took the ſhip; and to avoid being retaken, went about the backſide of Ireland and Scotland, and ſo after three weeks came with ſome of the baniſhed to Horn, in North Holland, and ſome days after the prize, with the reſt of them, entered alſo into that port. Here they were kept ſome time in priſon, but the commiſſioners of the admiralty having underſtood, that there was no likelihood to get the baniſhed Quakers exchanged for Dutch priſoners of war in England, reſolved to ſet them at liberty, and gave them a letter of paſſport, and a certificate, that they had not made an eſcape, but were ſent back by them. They coming to Amſterdam, were by their friends there provided with lodging and clothes; for their own had been taken from them by the privateer's crew; and in proceſs of time they all returned to England, except one, who not being an Engliſhman, ſtayed in Holland. Thus the baniſhed were delivered, and the deſign of their perſecutors was brought to nought by an Almighty hand.

In the mean-while G. Fox continued priſoner in Scarborough Caſtle, where the acceſs of his friends was denied him, though people of other perſuaſions were admitted. Once came to him one doctor Cradock with three prieſts, accompanied with the governor and his wife, and many beſides. Cradock aſked him, what he was in priſon for? He anſwered, for obeying the command of Chriſt and his apoſtle in not ſwearing: but if he, being both a doctor and a juſtice of peace, could convince him, that after Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbidden ſwearing, they commanded Chriſtians to ſwear, then he would ſwear. 'Here's a bible,' continued he, 'ſhew me any ſuch command if thou canſt.' To this Cradock ſaid, 'It is written, ye ſhall ſwear in truth and righteouſneſs.' 'Aye,' ſaid G. Fox, 'it was written ſo in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Chriſt commanded not to ſwear at all: but where is it written ſo ſince Chriſt forbade all ſwearing? I could bring as many inſtances out of the Old Teſtament for ſwearing as thou, and it may be more too, but of what force are they to prove ſwearing lawful in the New Teſtament, ſince Chriſt and the apoſtles forbade it? Beſides, where it is written, "Ye ſhall ſwear," was this ſaid to the Gentiles or to the Jews?' To this Cradock would not anſwer; but one of the prieſts ſaid, it was to the Jews. 'Very well,' ſaid G. Fox, 'but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to ſwear? For thou knoweſt that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' ſaid Cradock, 'in the goſpel-time every thing was to be eſtabliſhed out of the mouths of two or three witneſſes, and there was to be no ſwearing then.' 'Why then,' returned G. Fox, 'doſt thou force oaths upon Chriſtians, contrary to thine own knowledge in the goſpel-times? And why doſt thou excommunicate my friends?' Cradock anſwered, 'For not coming to church.' 'Why,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young, to the Preſbyterians, Independents, and Baptiſts, many of whom made ſpoil of our goods, and perſecuted us becauſe we would not follow them: now we being but young, knew little then of your principles, and thoſe that knew them ſhould not have fled from us,

but ye ſhould have ſent us your epiſtles or homilies; for Paul writ epiſtles to the ſaints, though he was in priſon: but we might have turned Turks or Jews for ought we had from you for inſtruction. And now ye have excommunicated us, that is, ye have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madneſs in you to put us out, before we were brought in? But what doſt thou call the church?' continued he, 'That which you,' replied Cradock, 'call the ſteeple-houſe.' Then G. Fox aſked him, whether Chriſt's blood was ſhed for the ſteeple-houſe, and whether he purified and ſanctified it with his blood; 'And ſeeing,' thus continued he, 'the church is Chriſt's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, doſt thou think the ſteeple-houſe is Chriſt's wife and bride; and that he is the head of that old houſe, or of his people?' 'No,' ſaid Cradock, 'Chriſt is the head of the people, and they are the church.' 'But,' replied G. Fox, 'ye have given that title to an old houſe, which belongs to the people, and ye have taught people to believe ſo.' He aſked him alſo why he perſecuted his friends for not paying tithes; and whether God did ever give a command to the Gentiles, that they ſhould pay tithes; and whether Chriſt had not ended tithes, when he ended the Levitical prieſthood that took tithes; and whether Chriſt when he ſent forth his diſciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely, as he had given them freely; and whether all the miniſters of Chriſt were not bound to obſerve this command of Chriſt. Cradock ſaid, he would not diſpute that: and being unwilling to ſtay on this ſubject, he turned to another matter; but finding G. Fox never to be at a loſs for anſwer, and that he could get no advantage on him, he at length went away with his company.

With ſuch kind of people G. Fox was often troubled while he was priſoner there; for moſt that came to the caſtle would ſpeak with him, and many diſputes he had with them. But as to his friends, he was as a man buried alive, for very few of them were ſuffered to come to him. Joſiah Cole once deſiring admittance, the governor told

him, 'You are an underſtanding man, but G. Fox is a mere fool.' Now though the governor dealt hardly with him, yet in time he altered, for having ſent out a privateer to ſea, they took ſome ſhips that were not their enemies, which brought him into ſome trouble; after that he grew ſomewhat more friendly to G. Fox: to whom the deputy-governor ſaid once, that the king knowing that he had a great intereſt in the people, had ſent him thither, that if there ſhould be any ſtirring in the nation, they ſhould hang him over the wall. And among the Papiſts, who were numerous in thoſe parts, there was much talk then of hanging G. Fox. But he told them, if that was it they deſired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death nor ſufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from all ſtirrings and plottings, and one that ſought the good of all men. But the governor now growing kinder, G. Fox ſpoke to him when he was to go to the parliament at London, and deſired him to ſpeak with eſq. Marſh, ſir Francis Cob, and ſome others, and to tell them, how long he had lain in priſon, and for what. This the governor did, and at his coming back told him, that eſq. Marſh ſaid, he knew G. Fox ſo well, that he would go an hundred miles barefoot for his liberty; and that ſeveral others at court had ſpoken well of him.

After he had been priſoner in the caſtle there above a year, he ſent a letter to the king, in which he gave an account of his impriſonment, and the bad uſage he had met with, and alſo that he was informed, that no man could deliver him but the king. Eſq. Marſh, who was a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, did whatever he could to procure his liberty, and at length obtained an order from the king for his releaſe; the ſubſtance of which order was, 'That the king being certainly informed that G. Fox was a man principled againſt plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to diſcover plots, rather than to make any, &c. that therefore his royal pleaſure was, that he ſhould be diſcharged from his impriſonment, &c. This order being obtained, was not long after brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor,

who upon the receipt thereof, diſcharged him, and gave him the following paſſport:

'Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a priſoner here, and now diſcharged by his majeſty's order, quietly to paſs about his lawful occaſions, without any moleſtation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Caſtle, this firſt day of September, 1666.

'Jordan Croſslands,
'Governor of Scarborough Caſtle.'

G. Fox being thus releaſed, would have given the governor ſomething for the civility and kindneſs he had of late ſhewed him; but he would not receive any thing; and ſaid, whatever good he could do for him and his friends, he would do it, and never do them any hurt: and ſo he continued loving to his dying day; nay, if at any time the mayor of the town ſent to him for ſoldiers, to diſperſe the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, if he ſent any, he privately charged them, not to meddle with the meeting.

The very next day after G. Fox was releaſed, the fire broke out at London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country, how that city was turned into rubbiſh and aſhes, (inſomuch that after an inceſſant fire which laſted near four days, but little of old London, was left ſtanding) there being about thirteen thouſand and two hundred houſes burnt; the account whereof hath been ſo circumſtantially deſcribed by others, that I need not treat of it at large; but I cannot omit to ſay, that Thomas Briggs, ſome years before paſſing through the ſtreets of London, preached repentance to the inhabitants; and coming through Cheapſide, he cried out, that unleſs London repented, as Niniveh did, God would deſtroy it.

Now I may relate another remarkable prediction.

Thomas Ibbitt, of Huntingdonſhire, came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and (and as hath been related by eye witneſſes) did upon his coming thither, alight from his horſe, and unbutton his clothes in ſo looſe a manner, as if they had been put on in haſte juſt out of

bed. In this manner he went about the city on the ſixth (being the day he came thither) and alſo on the ſeventh day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire which ſhould lay waſte the city. On the evening of theſe days ſome of his friends had meetings with him, to enquire concerning his meſſage and call, to pronounce that impending judgment: in his account whereof he was not more particular and clear, than that he ſaid he for ſometime had the viſion thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt (as he expreſſed it) the fire in his own boſom: which meſſage or viſion was very ſuddenly proved to be ſadly true, as the foregoing brief account doth in part declare. The fire began on the 2d of September, 1666, on the firſt day of the week, which did immediately follow thoſe two days the ſaid Thomas Ibbitt had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

Having gone up and down the city, as hath been ſaid, when afterwards he ſaw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a ſpiritual pride ſeized on him, which, if others had not been wiſer than he, might have tended to his utter deſtruction: for the fire being come as far as the eaſt end of Cheapſide, he placed himſelf before the flame, and ſpread his arms forth, as if to ſtay the progreſs of it; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him (who ſeemed now altogether diſtracted) from thence, it was like he might have periſhed by the fire. Yet in proceſs of time, as I have been told, he came to ſome recovery, and confeſſed this error: an evident proof of human weakneſs, and a notorious inſtance of our frailty, when we aſſume to ourſelves the doing of any thing, which heaven alone can enable us.

I cannot well paſs by without taking notice of it, that about three weeks before the ſaid fire, the Engliſh landed in the iſland Schelling in Holland, under the conduct of captain Holmes, and ſetting the town on fire, there were above three hundred houſes burnt down belonging moſtly to Baptiſts that did not bear arms. It may be farther obſerved, that the Engliſh were beaten at ſea this ſummer by the Dutch, under the conduct of admiral De Ruyter, in a fight, which laſted four days; ſo that they had occaſion to

call to mind how often the judgments of God had been foretold them, which now came over their country, viz. peſtilence, war, and fire.

G. Fox being at liberty, did not omit to viſit his friends, and in their meetings to edify them with his exhortations, whereby others alſo ſometimes came to be convinced. And coming to Whitby, he went to a prieſt's houſe, who fourteen years before had ſaid, that if ever he met G. Fox again he would have his life, or he ſhould have his. But now his wife was not only become one of G. Fox's friends, but this prieſt himſelf favoured the doctrine profeſſed by his wife, and was very kind to G. Fox, who paſſed from thence to York, where he had a large meeting, and viſited alſo juſtice Robinſon, who had been loving to him from the beginning. At this time there was a prieſt with him, who told G. Fox, 'It is ſaid of you that ye love none but yourſelves.' But he ſhewed him his miſtake, and gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, that they parted friendly.

In this county G. Fox had many meetings, and one not far from colonel Kirby's abode, who had been the chief means of his impriſonment at Lancaſter and Scarborough caſtles; and when he heard of his releaſe, ſaid, he would have him taken again: but now when G. Fox came ſo near him, he himſelf was caught by the gout, which had ſeized him ſo that he was fain to keep his bed; and afterwards he met with adverſities, as did moſt of the juſtices and others who had been the cauſe of the impriſonment of G. Fox, who now coming to Sinderhill Green, had a large meeting there, where the prieſt ſent the conſtable to the juſtices for a warrant; but the notice being ſhort, the way long, and having ſpent time in ſearching for G. Fox in another houſe, before the officers came where the meeting was, it was ended, though they had almoſt ſpoiled their horſes by hard riding.

G. Fox paſſing from thence through Nottinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Oxfordſhire, and viſiting his friends in all places where he came, and edifying them in their meetings, gets at length to London: but he was ſo weak, by lying almoſt three years in hard

and cold impriſonments, and his joints and body were ſo ſtiff and benumbed, that he could hardly get on horſeback.

Being now at London, he beheld the ruins of the city, and ſaw the fulfilling of what had been ſhewn him ſome years before. Notwithſtanding this ſtroke on London, perſecution did not ceaſe, which gave occaſion to Joſiah Coale to write theſe lines to the king:

'King Charles,

'Set the people of God at liberty, who ſuffer impriſonments for the exerciſe of their conſcience towards him, and give liberty of conſcience to them to worſhip and ſerve him as he requireth, and leadeth them by his ſpirit; or elſe his judgments ſhall not depart from thy kingdom, until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people, and removed their oppreſſions. And remember thou art once more warned,

by a ſervant of the Lord,
Joſiah Coale.'

London, Dec. 2, 1666.

About this time, or it may be in the next month, Stephen Criſp publiſhed an epiſtle, containing an exhortation to his friends, and alſo a prediction concerning ſucceeding times, which is as followeth:

'Friends,

'I am the more drawn forth at this time to viſit you with an epiſtle, becauſe the Lord hath given me ſome ſight of his great and dreadful day, and workings in it, which is at hand, and greatly haſtens, of which I have ſomething to ſay unto you, that ye may be prepared to ſtand in his day, and may behold his wondrous working among his enemies, and have fellowſhip with his power therein, and may not be diſmayed nor driven away in the tempeſt, which will be great.

'And as concerning thoſe ſucceeding times, the ſpirit of the Lord hath ſignified, that they will be times of horror and amazement, to all that have, and yet do reject his counſel: for as the days of his forbearance, warning and

inviting, have been long, ſo ſhall his appearance amongſt thoſe that have withſtood him, be fierce and terrible; even ſo terrible, as who ſhall abide his coming? for the Lord will work both ſecretly and openly, and his arm ſhall be manifeſt to his children in both.

'Secretly he ſhall raiſe up a continual fretting anguiſh among his enemies, one againſt another, ſo that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they ſhall ſeek to make each other miſerable, and delight therein for a little ſeaſon; and then the prevailer muſt be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit muſt fall therein; and the confidence that men have had one in another ſhall fail, and they will beguile and betray one another, both by counſel and ſtrength; and as they have banded themſelves to break you, whom God hath gathered, ſo ſhall they band themſelves one againſt another, to break, to ſpoil and deſtroy one another; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief, upon the account of their ſolemn engagement, ſhall fail; ſo that few men ſhall count themſelves, or what is theirs, ſafe in the hand of his friend, who hath not choſen his ſafety and friendſhip in the pure light of the unchangeable truth of God; and all the ſecret counſels of the ungodly ſhall be brought to nought, ſometimes by the means of ſome of themſelves, and ſometimes by impoſſibilities lying in their way, which ſhall make their hearts fail of ever accompliſhing what they have determined; and in this ſtate ſhall men fret themſelves for a ſeaſon, and ſhall not be able to ſee the hand that turns againſt them, but ſhall turn to fight againſt one thing, and another, and a third thing, and ſhall ſtagger, and reel in counſel and judgment, as drunken men that know not where to find the way to reſt; and when they do yet ſtir themſelves up againſt the holy people, and againſt the holy covenant of light, and them that walk in it, they ſhall but the more be confounded; for they ſhall be helped with a little help, which all the ungodly ſhall not hinder them of, to wit, the ſecret arm of the Lord, maintaining their cauſe, and raiſing up a witneſs in the very hearts of their adverſaries to plead their innocency, and this ſhall make them yet the more to vex themſelves, and to go thorough hard-

beſtead; for when they ſhall look upward to their religion, to their power, policy, or preferments, or friendſhips, or whatſoever elſe they had truſted in, and relied upon, they ſhall have cauſe to curſe it; and when they look downwards to the effects produced by all thoſe things, behold then trouble, and horror, and vexation take hold on them, and drive them to darkneſs; and having no help but what is earthly, and being out of the knowledge of the mighty overturning power of the Lord God Almighty, they ſhall deſpair and wear out their days with anguiſh; and beſides all this, the terrible hand of the Lord is, and ſhall be openly manifeſted againſt this ungodly generation, by bringing grievous and terrible judgments and plagues upon them, tumbling down all things in which their pride and glory ſtood, and overturning, overturning even the foundations of their ſtrength; yea, the Lord will lay waſte the mountain of the ungodly, and the ſtrength of the fenced city ſhall fail; and when men ſhall ſay, "We will take refuge in them," Nah. iii. 12, 13. they ſhall become but a ſnare, and there ſhall the ſword devour: and when they ſhall ſay, we will go into the field, and put truſt in the number and courage of our ſoldiers, they ſhall both be taken away; and this evil alſo will come of the Lord, and his hand will be ſtretched out ſtill, and ſhall bring confuſion, ruin upon ruin, and war upon war; and the hearts of men ſhall be ſtirred in them, and the nations ſhall be as waters, into which a tempeſt, a ſwift whirlwind is entered, and even as waves ſwell up to the diſſolution one of another, and breaking one of another, ſo ſhall the ſwellings of people be: and becauſe of the hardſhip and ſorrow of thoſe days, many ſhall ſeek and deſire death rather than life.

'Ah! my heart relents, and is moved within me in the ſenſe of theſe things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will do in the earth, and will alſo make haſte to accompliſh among the ſons of men, that they may know and confeſs, that the Moſt High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and ſetteth up according to his own will: and this ſhall men do before ſeven times paſs over them, and ſhall be content to give their glory unto him that ſits in heaven.

'But, oh friends! while all theſe things are working and bringing to paſs, repoſe ye yourſelves in the munition of that rock that all theſe ſhakings ſhall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping you ſubjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to kill and mortify that which remains in any of you, which is of this world; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and ſorrowful, as things go well or ill in the world: for as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its ſpirit; ſo the world is but one, and many are partakers of the ſpirit of it; and ſo many as do partake of it, ſo many will be ſtraightened and perplexed with it; but they who are ſingle to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, theſe ſhall rejoice in the midſt of adverſity; theſe ſhall not have their hearts moved with fear, nor toſſed with anguiſh becauſe of evil tidings, Pſalm cxii. 7, 8. Becauſe that which fixeth them remains with them: theſe ſhall know their entrance with the bridegroom, and ſo be kept from ſorrow, though his coming be with a noiſe; and when a midnight is come upon man's glory, yet they being ready and prepared, it will be well with them, and having a true ſenſe of the power working in themſelves, they cannot but have unity and fellowſhip with the works of it in the earth, and will not at all murmur againſt what is, nor wiſh nor will what is not to be; theſe will be at reſt till the indignation paſſeth over, and theſe having no deſign to carry on, nor no party to promote in the earth, cannot poſſibly be defeated nor diſappointed in their undertakings.

'And when you ſee diviſions, and parties, and rendings in the bowels of nations, and rumours and tempeſts in the minds of the people, then take heed of being moved to this party or to that party, or giving your ſtrength to this or that, or counſelling this way or that way, but ſtand ſingle to the truth of God, in which neither war, rent, nor diviſion is; and take heed of that part in any of you, which truſts and relies upon any ſort of the men of this world, in the day of their proſperity; for the ſame party will bring you to ſuffer with them in the time of their

adverſity, which will not be long after; for ſtability in that ground there will be none: but when they ſhall ſay, come join with us in this or that, remember you are joined to the Lord by his pure ſpirit, to walk with him in peace and in righteouſneſs, and you feeling this, this gathers out of all buſtlings, and noiſes, and parties, and tumults, and leads you to exalt the ſtandard of truth and righteouſneſs, in an innocent converſation, to ſee who will flow unto that; and this ſhall be a refuge for many of the weary, toſſed, and afflicted ones in thoſe days, and a ſhelter for many whoſe day is not yet over.

'So dearly beloved friends and brethren, who have believed and known the bleſſed appearance of the truth, let not your hearts be troubled at any of theſe things: oh let not the things that are at preſent, nor things that are yet to come, move you from ſtedfaſtneſs, but rather double your diligence, zeal, and faithfulneſs to the cauſe of God: for they that know the work wrought in themſelves, they ſhall reſt in the day of trouble. Yea, though the fig-tree fail, and the vine brings not forth, and the labour of the olive-tree ceaſeth, and the fields yield no meat, and ſheep be cut off from the fold, and there be no bullocks in the ſtall, yet then mayeſt thou rejoice in the Lord, and ſing praiſes to the God of thy ſalvation. Hab. iii. 16, 17.

'And how near theſe days are to this poor nation, few know, and therefore the cry of the Lord is very loud unto its inhabitants, through his ſervants and meſſengers, that they would prize their time while they have it, leſt they be overturned, waſted, and laid deſolate before they are aware; and before deſtruction come upon them, and there be no remedy, as it hath already done upon many.

'Oh, London! London! that thou and thy rulers would have conſidered, and hearkened and heard, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have perſiſted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved againſt thee, to cut off the thouſands and multitudes from thy ſtreets, and the preſſing and thronging of people from thy gates, and then to deſtroy and ruin thy ſtreets alſo, and lay deſolate thy

gates, when thou thoughteſt to have repleniſhed them again.

'And, oh! ſaith my ſoul, that thy inhabitants would yet be warned, and perſuaded to repent and turn to the Lord, by putting away every one the evil that is in their hearts, againſt the truth in yourſelves, and againſt thoſe that walk in it, before a greater deſolation and deſtruction overtake you.

'Oh, what ſhall I ſay to prevail with London, and with its inhabitants! The Lord hath called aloud, he hath roared out of Sion unto them, but many of them have not hearkened at all, nor conſidered at all.

'Well, oh my friends, (and thou, oh my ſoul) return to your reſt, dwell in the pavillion of the houſe of your God, and my God, and ſhelter yourſelves under the ſhadow of his wings, where ye ſhall be witneſſes of his doings, and ſee his ſtrange act brought to paſs, and ſhall not be hurt therewith, nor diſmayed.

'Oh, my friends, in the bowels of dear and tender love have I ſignified theſe things unto you, that ye might ſtand armed with the whole armour of God, clothed in righteouſneſs, and your feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace; and freely given up in all things to the diſpoſing of the Lord, who will deliver us, not by might, nor by ſword, nor ſpear, but by his own eternal, inviſible arm, will he yet ſave us and deliver us, and get himſelf a name by preſerving of us; and we ſhall yet live to praiſe him who is worthy of glory, of honour and renown, from the riſing of the ſun, to the ſetting of the ſame, now and for ever, amen, amen, ſaith my ſoul.'

In the year 1667 a book came forth in print at London, with this title, Perſecution appearing with its open face in William Armorer. This was written by ſome of the priſoners called Quakers, and contained a relation of the impetuous carriage of the ſaid Armorer, who being a knight and juſtice of peace, had made it his buſineſs many years one after another, to perſecute the Quakers, and from time to time to diſturb their religious meetings. From a multitude of caſes I meet with in the ſaid book, I will

pick out but a few. The aforeſaid Armorer came very often to the houſe of Thomas Curtis, at Reading, to diſturb the meeting, taking many perſons priſoners from thence, particularly once thirty-four, both men and women, at a time. And when they were brought to their trial, the oath was tendered them as the moſt ready means to enſnare and to keep them in priſon. Among the priſoners taken out of the meeting was one Henry Pizing, who coming to the bar with his hat in his hand, judge Thomas Holt ſaid, here is a man that hath ſome manners, and aſked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance? to which Pizing anſwered, he had taken it twice already. But ſaid the judge, 'You were no Quaker then.' To which the ſaid Henry replied, 'Neither am I now, but have been many weeks among them, and I never met with any hurt by them, but found them to be an honeſt and civil people.' Upon which William Armorer, who had taken him priſoner, ſaid, 'Why did not you tell me ſo before?' to which Henry returned, your worſhip was ſo wrathful, that you would not hear me. Then the judge ſaid, 'He muſt take the oath again.' The oath being read, he took it, upon which they let him go free without paying any fees. But they required of him, to go out at a back door, and to come no more among the Quakers. But Pizing told them, he hoped now he was freed, he might go out at which door he would.

Thomas Curtis afterwards being called, the judge aſked him, if he would take the oath of allegiance? to which he anſwered, that he did not refuſe the oath upon the account of not bearing allegiance to the king, but becauſe Chriſt had commanded not to ſwear at all: for he was perſuaded that he had manifeſted himſelf to be as good a ſubject to the king as moſt in the county, ſince he came into it, and that if he could take any oath, either to ſave his eſtate or life, he profeſſed he would begin with that oath. Then he deſired, that the court would be pleaſed to let ſome of their miniſters ſhew him by the Scriptures, how he might take it, and not break the command of Chriſt. And the judge called to one Worrel, a prieſt, that was near him, and deſired him to ſatisfy Curtis in that particular. But

the prieſt putting off his hat, and bowing to the court, deſired to be excuſed, ſaying, he had had to do with ſome of them already, but they were an obſtinate people and would not be ſatisfied. 'Aye,' ſaid Curtis, 'this is commonly the anſwer we have from theſe men, when they are deſired to anſwer us a queſtion according to the Scripture; for when we make it appear that they give no ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion, they uſe to ſay, we are obſtinate.' Curtis (whoſe wife Anne was a daughter of a ſheriff of Briſtol, that had been hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king) was releaſed after ſome ſmall time; but quickly taken priſoner again by Armorer, who perceiving that he intended to have gone to Briſtol fair, cauſed him to be brought to an inn, where he told him, 'You are going to Briſtol fair, but I will ſtop your journey.' And then commanding the conſtable to carry him to priſon, he was compelled thither without a *mittimus*.

About this time Curtis's impriſoned friends writ a paper, and it is like he had a hand in it, to ſhew the hurt and miſchief proceeding from ſwearing. This paper being ſent by him to one of the magiſtrates, and leave being given him to read it in the council chamber, at the reading of theſe words, 'Becauſe of ſwearing the land mourns,' Alderman Johnſon ſaid, that was very true.

Sometime after it happened that T. Curtis, his wife, and man-ſervant being all priſoners, Armorer ſent his man to enquire if there were any in the houſe more than the family, to which the maid having anſwered no, a little after Armorer came himſelf, and knocked at the door; but the maid being in fear, did not open it. Armorer then pulling an inſtrument out of his pocket, picked the lock, entered the houſe, and ſearching from room to room, came at length where he found one Joſiah Coale, who dwelt in the houſe, and was not well at that time; and Armorer taking him by the arm, and pulling him down ſtairs, ſaid to him, 'Will you take the oath of allegiance?' Which he refuſing, was ſent to the houſe of correction, whither the day before ſeven women, taken from a meeting, had alſo been brought. This bold act of picking the

lock he did at other times alſo, and once when the maid was gone out to carry ſome victuals to her maſter and miſtreſs in priſon. In the mean-while he ſearched the warehouſe, where was much cloth; and to a woman that was there, and ſpoke againſt his picking of the locks, he ſaid, 'What have you to do with it?' And 'Where's that whore?' meaning the maid ſervant. The woman anſwered him, ſhe had to do with it; for ſhe was to ſee that nobody did ſteal any thing out of the houſe. Beſides Armorer continually made it his buſineſs to diſturb the meeting which commonly was twice a weak; and then he uſed to curſe, and to ſtrike thoſe he found there with a great cane, always ſending ſome to priſon. Having once cauſed three women to be brought before him from the houſe of correction, he would have them pay a fine for having been at a meeting; to which one Anne Harriſon ſaid, 'Thou haſt got our houſe already that we built, and haſt taken away our means; and wouldeſt thou have me pay more money when I have broken no law? We were but four above the age of ſixteen years, and the act ſays, it muſt be above four.' To which Armorer ſaid, his man told him they were ſix: and two of them ran away. 'It is falſe,' ſaid Anne, 'there was Frances Kent, but ſhe being a midwife, was fetched out of town; and as for the ſixth, ſhe was not there.' But Armorer not regarding whatever Anne ſaid, ſpoke in a rude manner, 'I ſhall have Mrs. Kent, and then let the beſt lady in the land want her, ſhe ſhall not go, except the king or court ſend for her.'

If I ſhould mention all the enormities of Armorer's violent behaviour, this relation muſt needs be very large; and therefore I paſs by the moſt caſes, and touch but on ſome few. More than once it happened when the priſoners being brought to their trial, reproved Armorer becauſe of his injuſtice, and put him in mind that once he muſt give an account for his bad deeds; he in a moſt impudent manner ſaid, 'You ſhall ſee at the day of judgment whoſe arſe will be blackeſt, yours or mine.' And when a priſoner told him, it was an uncivil thing for one called a juſtice to ſpeak ſuch words, he replied, 'Why, ſirrah,

what incivility is it? Is not your noſe your noſe, and your arſe your arſe?' Other abſurdities the priſoners met with in the court, I paſs by, as alſo how from time to time, they were treated when they refuſed the oath. From what hath been ſaid already in more than one place concerning the like caſes, one may eaſily gueſs how matters were tranſacted here, which ſometimes was ſo groſsly, that the ſpectators ſhewed their diſlike. When once the jury, for want of good witneſſes, could not agree to find the bill, Armorer roſe off the bench, and appeared as a witneſs. But notwithſtanding the jury returning the ſecond time brought it in *ignoramus*. Upon which the other juſtice ſaid to them, that ſir William Armorer, an honourable gentleman, had taken his oath alſo. To which the jury returned, it was true, ſir William Armorer was an honourable gentleman, but was a man ſubject to paſſion. And they continuing unwilling to bring in the priſoners guilty, the two juſtices Proctor and Armorer, (for there were then no more on the bench) for all that would not diſcharge the priſoners, but ſent them to gaol again, as ſeditious perſons; for Proctor had told the jury the day before, that if they did not bring in the priſoners guilty, they would make William Armorer and the clerk perjured perſons.

Anne the wife of Thomas Curtis, being called to the bar, and aſked if ſhe would take the oath, ſaid, 'I look on it as a very hard thing, that I ſhould be required to take this oath, being under covert, and my huſband being here a preſent ſufferer, for the ſame thing; for there is no other woman in England, that I have heard of, under covert, that is required to take that oath, and kept in priſon on that account.' But Armorer full of paſſion, cried, 'Hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back.' And ſo ſhe, with another woman, that had alſo been required to take the oath, was ſent back to goal, as dangerous and ſuſpected perſons. At length ſome juſtices procured her liberty; and this ſo diſpleaſed Armorer, that he did not reſt before he had her in priſon again: but others it ſeems ſo eagerly deſired her liberty, that ſhe was diſcharged a ſecond time, though her huſband's goods

and money were ſeized. How a priſoner who ſpoke ſomething in his own defence, was threatened to be gagged, how girls were ſent to the houſe of correction, and how Armorer coming in winter-time into the meeting, and having got a bucket of water into the room, he himſelf threw it with a naſty bowl in the faces of ſome young maidens, I curſorily ſkip over. He ſeemed exceedingly offended with Anne Curtis, who being a witty woman, did not omit, when occaſion was offered, to tell of his uncivil behaviour: and therefore he ſoon had her in gaol again; and when it was propoſed in the ſummer time to diſcharge ſome of the priſoners, becauſe of the extreme hot weather, provided they gave ſecurity, 'No,' ſaid Armorer, 'Mrs. Curtis ſhall not go out, though ſhe would give ſecurity; but ſhe ſhall lie in gaol till ſhe rot.' But how wicked ſoever he was, yet he could not prevent, that all his exorbitant carriage againſt the Quakers was publiſhed in print.

But ſuch behaviour was at that time no rare or uncommon thing; for ſince perſecution was continually cloaked with a pretence of rebellion and ſedition all over the country, ſuch were found, who to their utmoſt power did perſecute the Quakers ſo called; as among others, one Henry Marſhall, prieſt at Croſtthwait in Weſtmoreland, who being alſo a brebendary, and having ſeveral benefices, yet how great ſoever his revenues were, kept poor people of that perſuaſion in priſon for not paying tithes to him: and once he ſaid very preſumptuouſly from the pulpit, that not one Quaker ſhould be left alive in England. But this temerity he did not out-live long: for as he was going half-undreſſed to his chamber to bed, he fell down ſtairs, as was concluded from the circumſtances; for he was found lying on the floor, with his ſkull broken, wreſtling with death, without being able to ſpeak one word; and being taken up he died, leaving his wife and children in ſuch a condition, that by reaſon of debts they fell into poverty.

About this time a certain popiſh author, who expreſſed his name no further than with the letters A. S. gave forth a book called, 'The Reconciler of Religions; or, A Decider of all Controverſies in Matters of Faith.' Joſiah Coale,

who was very zealous for religion, and well ſaw what this author aimed at, anſwered him by a book that appeared in print, with the title of, 'The Whore unveiled; or The Myſtery of the Deceit of the Church of Rome revealed.' Now although the ſaid A. S. chiefly ſtruck at the Quakers as the worſt of hereticks, falſely perverting their doctrine, as importing, that the ſame ſpirit that reproved Judas of ſin, did alſo induce him to deſperation, and to hang himſelf; yet he omitted not to encounter the doctrine of other Proteſtant ſocieties; and the Roman church he ſtated as the true church, from which they were unjuſtly departed, and to whom they muſt all return again: for the Roman, ſaid he, was the true church, and not any other; ſhe was the holy Catholick and apoſtolical church, that was infallible, and could not err; and had the power to work miracles. He alſo aſſerted, that ſhe was one in matters of faith, that ſhe was governed by one inviſible head Chriſt, and by a viſible head, the pope; and that therefore ſhe was the true church. Now for as much as he held forth at large theſe and ſeveral other poſitions, ſo Joſiah Coale did not omit to anſwer all theſe pretences diſtinctly and emphatically; for he was an undaunted and zealous diſputant. Beſides the ſuperſtition, idolatry, and cruel perſecution of the Roman church, which had taken away the lives of many thouſands of honeſt and pious people, ſupplied abundant matter to Joſiah Coale, to ſhew the papal errors, and clearly to prove her to be the falſe church. For though he did not deny that the true church was Catholick, or univerſal, yet he denied that the univerſality of the church of Rome was a ſufficient argument to prove her to be the true church, 'What church (thus he queried) is more univerſal than the great whore, the falſe church, who had a name written, Myſtery Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth? Who ſits upon the waters, which are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues? And did not the whole world wonder after the beaſt that carried the whore? Did ſhe not ſit as queen over them all, with her fair profeſſion, or golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthineſs of her fornication? And did not

all the inhabitants of the earth, and the kings of the earth, drink of the wine of her fornication, and commit fornication with her? Mark, how univerſal was this great whore, the falſe church; and how confident ſhe was: for ſhe ſaid in her heart that ſhe ſhould ſee no ſorrow; and ſhe glorified herſelf, and reigned over the kings of the earth. Is not this the very ſtate of the church of Rome at this day? Doth ſhe not reign over the kings of the earth? And hath ſhe not done ſo long, even for many ages? And how ſhe hath exerciſed authority over kings, may appear from the caſe of the emperor Frederick, who was fain to hold the pope's ſtirrup while he got on horſeback. And did not the great whore, which John ſaw, drink the blood of the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſus. Surely the hiſtories of many generations paſt teſtify this. And was ſhe not to have blood given her to drink? as may appear not obſcurely from Rev. xvii. 6. At this rate Joſiah Coale encountered the maſked A. S. but in a more copious way; and thus he anſwered his aſſertions. To that, that the church of Rome ſhould always remain to the end of the world, and that therefore ſhe was infallible, J. Coale ſaid, that the bare affirmation of A. S. was no proof, except he would produce that ſaying of the mother of harlots, 'I ſit as a queen, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.' But indeed that would be a very pitiful argument to prove the church of Rome infallible, unleſs ſhe was firſt proved to be the true church. And as J. Coale anſwered theſe and other objections at large, ſo he ſhewed alſo the vanity of the boaſt of miracles, of which the church of Rome gloried; and he refuted all the falſities which that anonymous author had belched out againſt the Quakers, as a people that might be wronged without incurring any danger. But I omit to recite all J. Coale's anſwers for brevity ſake; yet may make mention of a poem which he writ ſome time before, when he was priſoner at Launceſton in Cornwall, to which the reader is referred, being to be found in Joſiah Coale's works at page 111.

Thus zealouſly J. Coale writ againſt popery; and yet ſuch hath been the malice of many, that they repreſented

the Quakers as favourers of the church of Rome, though on many occaſions they had effectually ſhewn the contrary. But their enemies endeavoured to brand them many ways, and they left no ſtone unturned to blacken them; to which ſometimes falſe brethren gave occaſion: for about this time there were yet many of the adherents of John Perrot, who often ill-treated, and ſpoke evil of thoſe who did not approve their abſurdities. This befel Richard Farnſworth, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers, though he was a man of a notable gift, and on his dying bed he gave evidences of a firm and ſtedfaſt truſt in God; for it was not long before this time that he fell ſick, and deceaſed at London. Among the many expreſſions which ſignified his good frame of mind, and the divine conſolation he felt, were alſo theſe words, that were taken in writing from his mouth:

'Friends,

'God hath been mightily with me, and hath ſtood by me at this time; and his power and preſence hath accompanied me all along, though ſome think that I am under a cloud for ſomething. But God hath appeared for the owning of our teſtimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to expreſs; and God is really appeared for us,' &c.

This he ſpoke but a ſhort time before his departure; and exhorted his friends to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs, and that nothing might be ſuffered to creep in of another nature than the truth they profeſſed, to intermix therewith, ſaying, 'No linſey-woolſey garment muſt be worn.' Some more conſolatory words he ſpoke, and his laſt teſtimony was as a ſeal unto all the former teſtimonies he had given for the Lord. And after having lain yet an hour or two, he ſlept in peace with the Lord, and left a good repute behind, with thoſe who truly were acquainted with him, and knew how zealouſly he laboured in the miniſtry of the goſpel for many years.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who was this year not only in Wales, but in ſeveral other places, without being

impriſoned, though at Shrewſbury, where he had a great meeting, the officers being called together by the mayor, conſulted what to do againſt him, ſince it was ſaid, the great Quaker of England was come to town. But they could not agree among themſelves, ſome being for impriſoning him, and others for letting him alone: and they being thus divided, he eſcaped their hands.

As ſeveral eminent men among thoſe called Quakers, were taken away by death, ſo others came in who filled their places; among theſe, and none of the leaſt, was Robert Barclay, ſon of colonel David Barclay, deſcended of the ancient and famous family of the Barclays, and of Katharine Gordon, from the houſe of the dukes of Gordon. This his ſon Robert being born at Edinburgh, in the year 1648, was educated in France, and trained up in literature, having lived ſome years with his uncle at Paris, where the Papiſts were very active to bring him over to their religion. But though in that tender age he ſeemed a little to hearken to them, yet growing up in years, and ſo advancing in knowledge, he ſoon got a clear ſight of their errors. During his ſtay in France, he not only became maſter of the French, but alſo of the Latin tongue; and after he had been inſtructed in the languages of the learned, and other parts of human literature, he returned to Scotland; but during his abſence, his father had received the doctrine of the Quakers, and ſhewed by his pious behaviour, that he had not therein acted inconſiderately. Robert Barclay having attained the age of nineteen years, and being come to a good maturity of underſtanding, found ſo much ſatisfaction in the religion which his father made profeſſion of, that he alſo embraced it, and openly ſhewed before all the world, that the deſpiſed name of Quakers, could not hinder him from maintaining boldly that which now he apprehended to be truth. Nay, he grew ſo zealous and valiant in the doctrine he now profeſſed, that he became a publick promulgator of it; and often engaged in diſputes with the ſcholars, not only verbally, but alſo by writing; for he was ſo ſkilful in ſchool learning, that he was able to encounter the learned with their own weapons, and of ſuch

quick apprehenſion, as not to be inferior to the refined wits; his meekneſs alſo was eminent; and theſe qualifications were accompanied with ſo taking a carriage, as rendered him very acceptable to others. And though his natural abilities were great enough to have made him ſurpaſs others in human learning, and ſo to have become famous among men, yet he ſo little valued that knowledge, that he in no wiſe endeavoured to be diſtinguiſhed on that account. But his chief aim was to advance in real godlineſs, as the converſation I had with him hath undoubtedly aſſured me: for I was well acquainted with him; as alſo with Roger Haydock of Lancaſhire, a learned and intelligent man, who about this time alſo came to enter into ſociety with thoſe called Quakers, whoſe doctrine his eldeſt brother John Haydock, had received before him. But it ſo happened, that Roger coming once to his father's houſe, was by his mother put on to diſcourſe with his brother John, in hopes that thereby he might have been drawn off from the way of the Quakers. But John gave ſuch weighty reaſons for what he aſſerted to be truth, that he quickly put Roger to ſilence, which ſo diſpleaſed his mother, who was inclined to the Preſbyterian way, that ſhe blamed him for not having held it out longer againſt his brother: but he told her, 'It is truth, I dare not ſay againſt it.' Being thus convinced, he alſo became a publick profeſſor of the doctrine of the Quakers, and in time a zealous preacher of it too. And he being a man of great parts, well read, and full of matter, many times engaged in diſputes with the prieſts, ſometimes making uſe of his pen alſo to that end; for he was an unwearied labourer, and ſuffered the ſpoiling of his goods, and ſeveral impriſonments; and though he was attended with bodily weakneſſes, yet he did not uſe to ſpare himſelf, but travelled much to viſit the churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, &c. And he continued ſtedfaſt to the end of his days; not only for which, but alſo becauſe of a ſpecial affection he bore me, his remembrance is dear to me ſtill.

I muſt now make ſome mention again of Miles Halhead, ſeveral times named in this hiſtory, who this year coming

into Devonſhire, and being brought before the magiſtrates, it was aſked him, what buſineſs he (who dwelt in Weſtmoreland) had in Devonſhire? to which he anſwered, that he was come there to ſee his old friends, whom, formerly, about ten years ago, he had acquaintance with. One of the magiſtrates aſked him, what were the names of thoſe friends he meant? to which he returned, 'One ſir John Copleſtone, who was then high ſheriff of Devonſhire; John Page, who was mayor of Plymouth; one juſtice Howel, who was then the judge of the ſeſſions of Exeter, and one colonel Buffet, who was alſo a juſtice at that time.' One of the magiſtrates then ſaid to the others, 'Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls theſe men his friends, yet they have been his perſecutors.' Another of the magiſtrates then gave him an account, into what pitiful condition thoſe men were fallen, and how they loſt their eſtates; nay, Buffet had been committed to priſon for high treaſon, and was eſcaped out of gaol, and not to be ſeen in his own country. And further he ſaid to Halhead, 'Thus I have given you a true account of your old friends; if theſe men were your perſecutors, you may be ſure they will trouble you no more: for if they that trouble you and perſecute you, have no better fortune than theſe men, I wiſh that neither I, nor any of my friends, may have any hand in perſecuting of you.' And thus theſe diſcreet magiſtrates ſuffered him to go his ways, without meddling with him.

Neither was perſecution now generally ſo hot in England as it had been before, yet the Preſbyterians and ſome others durſt not keep publick meetings, leſt they ſhould be fined; but at times when they have met for worſhip, they have had tobacco pipes, bread and cheeſe, and cold meat on the table, having agreed before-hand, that if the officers came in upon them, they ſhould leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their meat. This made G. Fox ſay to one Pocock, whoſe wife was one of his friends, 'Is not this a ſhame to you, who perſecuted and impriſoned us, and ſpoiled our goods, becauſe we would not follow you, and be of your religion, and called us houſe-creepers?' 'Why,' ſaid Pocock, 'we muſt be wiſe

as ſerpents.' To which G. Fox returned, 'This is the ſerpent's wiſdom indeed. Who would ever have thought, that you Preſbyterians and Independents, who perſecuted and impriſoned others, for not following your religion, now ſhould flinch away yourſelves, and not ſtand to, and own your own religion.'

G. Fox travelled this year through England, and viſited his friends in their meetings. But I paſs by his occurrences.

This year alſo came forth the perpetual edict ſo called, in Holland, made as the title recites, for the maintenance of liberty, and for preſervation of the unity, and the common quiet of the country of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland. By this edict, the chief command of the military forces of the ſtates, and the ſtadtholderſhip (or deputy-ſhip) were ſeparated. This was on purpoſe to prevent the prince of Orange's becoming too potent, for hereupon followed the ſuppreſſion of the ſtadtholderſhip. But how ſtrong ſoever this law was made, and confirmed by oaths, yet afterwards it was broke by the inſtigation of the rabble, as will be ſeen in its due time. This year alſo a peace was concluded between England and Holland, not long after the Dutch had burnt ſome of the king's ſhips in the Thames.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

## CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

## THE NINTH BOOK.

IN the beginning of the year 1668, William Penn, ſon of admiral ſir William Penn, began to ſhew himſelf openly an adherer to, and aſſertor of the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers. He had been trained up in the univerſity of Oxford, and was afterwards by his father ſent into France, where for ſome time he lived (as himſelf once told me) with the famous preacher Moyſes Amyraut. After a conſiderable ſtay in that kingdom, being returned and come into Ireland, he once went to a meeting of thoſe called Quakers, which being diſturbed, he, though finely clothed as a young gentleman, and wearing a great perriwig, was with others carried from thence to priſon, where by his fellow-priſoners he was more confirmed in that doctrine which he already apprehended to be truth. But when it came to be known that he was the ſon of admiral Penn, he was ſoon releaſed. This change did not a little grieve his father, who intended to have trained him up for the court; but now ſaw his eldeſt ſon in the early part (being about the twenty-ſecond year) of his age, entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers. Several means were uſed, nay even his neceſſaries were withheld from

him, to draw him off, if poſſible, and bring him to other reſolutions. But all devices and wiles proved in vain: for he continued ſtedfaſt, and converſed much with Joſiah Coale, who likewiſe in his young years came over to the Quakers.

This ſummer Stephen Criſp was priſoner at Ipſwich, where the number of friends was conſiderably increaſed by his miniſtry. I, with ſome other friends of Holland, viſited him there in priſon, and we found him in a cheerful condition, as well contented as if he had been at liberty: for he ſuffered for the miniſtry of the goſpel, and continued to preach in priſon when his friends came to viſit him.

The journey which G. Fox made this year through England and Wales I paſs by. The latter part of the ſummer he returned to London, where with great ſatisfaction I heard him preach ſeveral times before a numerous auditory: for about that time, the meetings of diſſenters were not diſturbed at London, but all was ſo quiet, that the Quakers ſo called, were ſuffered to build a large meeting place in Gracechurch-ſtreet, where the firſt time a meeting was kept, I was preſent, and ſaw G. Fox, and heard him preach there, beſides ſome others.

Whilſt he was at London, he gave a viſit to eſquire Marſh, who now was a juſtice of the peace in Middleſex, and it ſo happened that he was at dinner when G. Fox came to his houſe, which ſo pleaſed him, that he kindly invited him to ſit down with him to dinner, but G. Fox courteouſly excuſed himſelf. There were at that time ſeveral great perſons at table with juſtice Marſh, who ſaid to one of them (a Papiſt), 'Here is a Quaker you have not ſeen before.' From this the ſaid Papiſt took occaſion to aſk G. Fox, whether he did own the chriſtening of children? To which G. Fox anſwered, there was no Scripture for any ſuch practice, 'What!' ſaid he, 'not for chriſtening children?' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox, 'the one baptiſm by the one Spirit into one body, we own; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and to call that baptizing and chriſtening it, there is no Scripture for that.' Then the Roman Catholick aſked him, whether

he did not own the Catholick Faith? 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox, but he added, that neither the pope nor the Papiſts were in that Catholick Faith; ſince the true faith worked by love, and purified the heart; and if they were in that faith which gives victory, by which they might have acceſs to God, they would not talk to the people of a purgatory after death; neither would they ever uſe priſons, racks, or fines, to force others to their religion; becauſe that was not the practice of the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians; but it was the practice of the faithleſs Jews and heathens, to uſe ſuch forcing means. 'But,' continued G. Fox, 'ſeeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papiſts, and ſayeſt, there is no ſalvation but in your church, I deſire to know of thee, what it is that bringeth ſalvation in your church.' To this the Roman Catholick anſwered, 'A good life:' 'And nothing elſe?' ſaid G. Fox. 'Yes,' replied the other, 'good works.' 'Is this your doctrine and principle,' ſaid G. Fox. 'Yes,' ſaid he. Then G. Fox replied, 'Neither thou nor the pope, nor any of the Papiſts know, what it is that brings ſalvation.' Then the Roman Catholick aſked him, what brings ſalvation into your church? G. Fox anſwered, 'That which brought ſalvation to the church in the apoſtle's days, namely, the grace of God, which the Scripture ſays brings ſalvation, and hath appeared to all men; and teaches us to deny ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, and to live godly, righteouſly, and ſoberly in this preſent world. By this it appears, it is not the good works, nor the good life, that brings the ſalvation, but the grace.' 'What!' ſaid the Roman Catholick, 'doth this grace, that brings ſalvation, appear unto all men?' 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox. 'I deny that,' returned the other. 'All that deny that,' replied G. Fox, 'are ſect-makers, and are not in the univerſal faith, grace, and truth, which the apoſtles were in.' Then the Roman Catholick began to ſpeak about the mother-church, which gave occaſion to much diſcourſe, and G. Fox aſſerted, that if any outward place had claim to be the mother-church, above all other churches, then Jeruſalem had much more right to it than Rome. But in concluſion he ſaid, that there was no other mother-church

but Jeruſalem, which is above, and is free, and which is the mother of us all, as ſaith the apoſtle. Upon this ſubject G. Fox did ſo paraphraſe, that eſquire Marſh ſaid at length to the Roman Catholick, 'O you do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.'

After ſome other diſcourſe together, G. Fox got an opportunity to go aſide with the ſaid Marſh into another room, and to deſire that he who had much of the management of affairs, would prevent the perſecution of his friends as much as poſſibly he could. Marſh ſhewed himſelf not averſe to this, but ſaid, he was in a ſtreight how to act between the Quakers and ſome other diſſenters. 'For,' ſaid he, 'you ſay ye cannot ſwear, and the Independents, Baptiſts, and Fifth-monarcy people, ſay alſo, they cannot ſwear.' To this G. Fox ſaid, 'I will ſhew thee how to diſtinguiſh: the members of thoſe ſocieties thou ſpeakeſt of, do ſwear in ſome caſes, but we cannot ſwear in any caſe. If any one ſhould ſteal their cows or horſes, and thou ſhouldeſt aſk them whether they would ſwear they were theirs? Many of them would readily do it. But if thou trieſt our friends, they cannot ſwear for their own goods. Therefore when thou putteſt the oath of allegiance to any of them, aſk them whether they can ſwear in any other caſe; as for their cow or horſe? Which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witneſs to the truth.' Then G. Fox gave him a relation of a trial in Berkſhire, viz. 'A thief having ſtolen two beaſts from one of thoſe called Quakers, was impriſoned; but ſomebody having informed the judge, that the man that proſecuted was a Quaker, and he (the judge) perceiving that he would not ſwear, would not hear what the man could ſay, but tendered him the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, which the ſaid Quaker refuſing, the judge premunired him, and let the thief go free.'

Eſquire Marſh having heard this relation, ſaid, that judge was a wicked man. And by what G. Fox had told him, he ſufficiently perceived how he might diſtinguiſh between the Quakers and other people. True it is, the Baptiſts in thoſe days made ſome profeſſion of the unlawful-

neſs of ſwearing, but when they came to be tried on that account, they ſoon deſiſted from that part of their profeſſion, as will be ſhewn more at large in the ſequel. But they and the Independents, &c. were very loath to take the oath of allegiance, becauſe of a grudge they had to the government; and this was well known to thoſe that were at the helm. But the innocent Quakers were continually expoſed to the malice of their perſecutors, and bore the hardeſt ſhock of the laws made againſt diſſenters. But now juſtice Marſh did not omit to free the Quakers from perſecution as much as was in his power; for he kept ſeveral from being premunired in thoſe parts where he was a juſtice. And when ſometimes he could not avoid ſending thoſe that were brought before him to priſon, he ſent ſome only for a few hours, or for a night. And even this was ſuch hard work to him, that at length he told the king, he had ſent ſome of the Quakers to priſon contrary to his conſcience, and that he could not do ſo any more. He alſo adviſed the king to give liberty of conſcience; and he was ſo ſerviceable to ſtop the violence of perſecution, that about this time little was heard about diſturbing of meetings.

About the forepart of this year (if I miſtake not) there happened a caſe at Edmondſbury, which I cannot well paſs by in ſilence, viz. A certain young woman being delivered of a baſtard child, deſtroyed it, and was therefore committed to priſon: whilſt ſhe was in gaol, it is ſaid William Bennit, a priſoner for conſcience-ſake, came to her, and in diſcourſe aſked her, whether during the courſe of her life, ſhe had not many times tranſgreſſed againſt her conſcience? And whether ſhe had not often thereupon felt ſecret checks and inward reproofs, and been troubled in her mind becauſe of the evil committed; and this he did in ſuch a convincing way, that ſhe not only aſſented to what he laid before her, but his diſcourſe ſo reached her heart, that ſhe came clearly to ſee, that if ſhe had not been ſo ſtubborn and diſobedient to thoſe inward reproofs, in all probability ſhe would not have come to ſuch a miſerable fall as now ſhe had: for man not deſiring the knowledge of God's ways, and departing from him, is

left helpleſs, and cannot keep himſelf from evil, though it may be ſuch as formerly he would have abhorred in the higheſt degree, and have ſaid with Hazael, 'What, is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?' W. Bennit thus opening matters to her, did by his wholeſome admonition ſo work upon her mind, that ſhe who never had converſed with the Quakers, and was altogether ignorant of their doctrine, now came to apprehend that it was the grace of God that brings ſalvation, which ſhe ſo often had withſtood; and that this grace had not yet quite forſaken her, but now made her ſenſible of the greatneſs of her tranſgreſſion. This conſideration wrought ſo powerfully, that from a moſt grievous ſinner, ſhe became a true penitent, and with hearty ſorrow ſhe cried to the Lord, that it might pleaſe him not to hide his countenance. And continuing in this ſtate of humiliation, and ſincere repentance, and perſevering in ſupplication, ſhe felt in time ſome eaſe; and giving heed to the exhortations of the ſaid Bennit, ſhe attained at length to a ſure hope of forgiveneſs by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb, who died for the ſins of the world.

Of this ſhe gave manifeſt proofs at her trial before judge Matthew Hale, who having heard how penitent ſhe was, would fain have ſpared her, having on purpoſe cauſed to be inſerted in the indictment, that ſhe had committed the fact wilfully and deſignedly. But ſhe being aſked according to the form, 'Guilty, or not guilty?' Readily anſwered, 'Guilty.' This aſtoniſhed the judge, who purpoſely had got the words wilfully and deſignedly, inſerted in the indictment, that from thence ſhe might find occaſion to deny the charge, and ſo to quaſh the indictment; and therefore he told her, that ſhe ſeemed not duly to conſider what ſhe ſaid; ſince it could not well be believed that ſuch a one as ſhe, who it may be inconſiderately had roughly handled her child, ſhould have killed it wilfully and deſignedly. Here the judge opened a back door for her to avoid the penalty of death. But now the fear of God had got ſo much room in her heart, that no tampering would do; no fig leaves could ſerve her for a cover; for ſhe knew now that this would have been adding ſin

to ſin, and to cover herſelf with a covering, but not of God's Spirit; and therefore ſhe plainly ſignified to the court, that indeed ſhe had committed the miſchievous fact intendedly, thereby to hide her ſhame; and that ſhe having ſinned thus grievouſly, and being affected now with true repentance, ſhe could by no means excuſe herſelf, but was willing to undergo the puniſhment the law required; and therefore ſhe could not but acknowledge herſelf guilty, ſince otherwiſe how could ſhe expect forgiveneſs from the Lord? This undiſguiſed and free confeſſion, being ſpoken with a ſerious countenance, did ſo affect the judge, that tears trickling down his face, he ſorrowfully ſaid, 'Woman, ſuch a caſe as this I never met with before; perhaps you, who are but young, and ſpeak ſo piouſly, as being ſtruck to the heart with repentance, might yet do much good in the world; but now you force me, that *ex officio* I muſt pronounce ſentence of death againſt you, ſince you will admit of no excuſe.' Standing to what ſhe had ſaid, the judge pronounced ſentence of death. And when afterward ſhe came to the place of execution, ſhe made a pathetical ſpeech to the people, exhorting the ſpectators, eſpecially thoſe that were young, 'To have the fear of God before their eyes, to give heed to his ſecret reproofs for evil, and ſo not to grieve and reſiſt the good ſpirit of the Lord; which ſhe herſelf not having timely minded, it had made her run on in evil, and thus proceeding from wickedneſs to wickedneſs, it had brought her to this diſmal exit. But ſince ſhe firmly truſted to God's infinite mercy, nay ſurely believed her ſins, though of a bloody dye, to be waſhed off by the pure blood of Chriſt, ſhe could contentedly depart this life.' Thus ſhe preached at the gallows the doctrine of the Quakers ſo called, and gave heart-melting proofs that her immortal ſoul was to enter into paradiſe, as well as anciently that of the thief on the croſs. I have been credibly informed by a perſon who had it from the mouths of ſuch as were preſent at the execution, that in her requeſt to God ſhe prayed, that it might pleaſe him to give a viſible ſign, that ſhe was received into his favour. And that though it was then a cloudy day, yet immediately after ſhe was turned off, the clouds brok

a little, and the ſun for a few moments ſhined upon her face, and preſently after ceaſed ſhining, and the ſky continued overcaſt. She thus in a ſerious frame of mind, ſuffered death, which her crime juſtly deſerved.

This year at London died Thomas Loe, a man of an excellent gift, who zealouſly had laboured in the miniſtry of the goſpel in Ireland, and by his preaching had brought many over into the ſociety of his friends, and among others alſo William Penn, to whom on his death-bed he ſpoke thus, 'Bear thy croſs, and ſtand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlaſting crown of glory, that ſhall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which ſhall proſper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him, for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over: glory be to his name for ever.' No wonder that this ſpeech of one that was at the point of entering into eternity, confirmed William Penn exceedingly in that doctrine, which he had now embraced as truth. At another time Thomas Loe ſaid to his friends that ſtood at his bed-ſide, 'Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart.' And to George Whitehead and others he ſaid, 'The Lord is good to me; this day he hath covered me with his glory. I am weak, but am refreſhed to ſee you. The Lord is good to me.' Another friend aſking him how it was with him, he anſwered, 'I am near leaving you, I think; but am as well in my ſpirit, as I can deſire: I bleſs the Lord: I never ſaw more of the glory of God than I have done this day.' And when it was thought that he was departing, he began to ſing praiſes to the Lord, ſaying, 'Glory, glory to thee for ever!' Which did not a little affect the ſtanders by, thus to hear a dying man ſing. And in this glorious ſtate he departed this life the 5th of October.

Now ſince perſecution was at a ſtand this year at London, thoſe of other perſuaſions ſometimes bitterly inveighed from the pulpit againſt the Quakers, and would challenge them alſo to a diſpute. William Burnet and Jeremy Ives, eminent Baptiſt teachers, had encountered George Whitehead this ſummer at Chertſey and Horn, in Surry, about the reſur-

rection, and Chriſt's body in heaven, endeavouring to blacken the Quakers in reſpect of thoſe points, becauſe they kept to Scripture words, from which the others departing, advanced very groſs abſurdities.

One Thomas Vincent, a Preſbyterian teacher, was much diſturbed becauſe ſome of his auditory were gone over to the ſociety of the Quakers; and to render them odious, he and his fellow teachers accuſed them of erroneous doctrine concerning the Trinity; and this was chiefly becauſe they did not approve of ſuch expreſſions as were not to be found in the holy Scriptures as that of Three perſons. On this ſubject a diſpute was held in the Preſbyterian meeting-houſe at London, between the ſaid Vincent on one ſide, and George Whitehead on the other. That which Vincent and his brethren advanced firſt, was an accuſation, that the Quakers held damnable doctrine. George Whitehead denying this, would have given the people an information of the principles of his friends; but Vincent inſtead thereof, ſtated this queſtion, 'Do you own one Godhead, ſubſiſting in three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons?' Whitehead and thoſe with him denying this as an unſcriptural doctrine, Vincent framed this ſyllogiſm.

'There are Three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt: and theſe three are one.

'Theſe are either three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, or three ſomethings elſe beſides ſubſtances.

'But they are not three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, not three any things elſe beſides ſubſtances.

Ergo, 'Three ſubſtances.'

G. Whitehead rejected theſe terms, as not to be found in Scripture, not deduceable from the 1 John, v. 7. the place Vincent inſtanced. And therefore he deſired an explanation of thoſe terms, inſomuch as God did not uſe to wrap up his truths in heatheniſh metaphyſicks, but in plain language. But whatever was ſaid, no better explanation could be obtained, than perſon, or the mode of a ſubſtance. G. Whitehead and William Penn, who alſo was there, alledged ſeveral places from Scripture, proving God's

complete unity: and they queried how God was to be underſtood, if in an abſtracted ſenſe from his ſubſtance? But inſtead of anſwering the queſtion, they concluded it a point more fit for admiration than diſputation. Then W. Penn denied the minor propoſition of Vincent's ſyllogiſm; 'For,' ſaid he, 'no one ſubſtance can have three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, and preſerve its own unity: for every ſubſiſtence will have its own ſubſtance; ſo that three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, or manners of beings, will require three diſtinct ſubſtances or beings; conſequently three Gods: for if the infinite godhead ſubſiſts in three ſeparate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete ſubſiſtence without the other two: ſo parts, and ſomething finite is in God; or if infinite, then three diſtinct infinite ſubſiſtences; and what is this, but to aſſert three Gods, ſince none is infinite but God? On the contrary, there being an inſeparability betwixt the ſubſtance and its ſubſiſtence, the unity of ſubſtance will not admit a Trinity of incommunicable or diſtinct ſubſiſtences.'

After ſeveral words on both ſides, G. Whitehead, to bring this ſtrange doctrine nearer to the capacity of the people, comparing their three perſons to three apoſtles, ſaid, he did not underſtand, how Paul, Peter, and John could be three perſons and one apoſtle. At which one Maddocks, one of Vincent's aſſiſtants, framed this odd ſyllogiſm; 'He that ſcornfully and reproachfully compares our doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit, one in eſſence, but three in perſons, to three finite men, as Paul, Peter, and John, is a blaſphemer. But you, G. Whitehead, have done ſo. Ergo. A raſh concluſion; but how firm, let the judicious reader determine. I have no mind to enter farther into this quarrel, ſince the parties on both ſides went away unſatisfied: for Vincent had not been able to prove the doctrine of the Quakers damnable, as he had aſſerted. But his paſſion had tranſported him, as well as when he ſaid from the pulpit to thoſe of his ſociety, that he had as lief they ſhould go to a bawdy-houſe, as to frequent the Quaker's meetings, becauſe of their erroneous and damnable doctrines. And pointing to the window he farther ſaid, 'If there ſhould ſtand a cup

of poiſon, I would rather drink it, than ſuck in their damnable doctrines.' But this untimely zeal did not profit him; for it gave occaſion to ſome of his hearers to inquire into the doctrines of the Quakers; and thus ſome came to be convinced of the truth thereof.

Now ſince the aforeſaid diſpute made a great noiſe at London, William Penn publiſhed a book with this title, the Sandy Foundation ſhaken, in which he explained the points controverted, and defended his poſitions with good reaſon and the Holy Scripture. But yet this book, which he himſelf ſpread, cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that it was evil ſpoken of, and not long after he was committed to the Tower, and ſome thought it was not without his father's being acquainted with it, perhaps to prevent a worſe treatment.

This was at the latter end of the year, about which time Joſiah Coale fell into a ſickneſs, which took him off the ſtage of this life; he had languiſhed long, and yet did not at all ſpare his voice, but was uſed both in preaching and praying ſo to raiſe it, that he ſpent his natural ſtrength exceedingly, though he was yet as in a flouriſhing age; nay, it was his life and joy to declare the goſpel, and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability: and when he ſpoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a ſharp ſword. But though he was as a ſon of thunder, yet his agreeable ſpeech flowed from his mouth like a pleaſant ſtream, to the conſolation and comfort of pious ſouls. Oh! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as tranſported and raviſhed, humbly beſeeched God, that it might pleaſe him to reach to the hard-hearted, to ſupport the godly, and to preſerve them ſtedfaſt: nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he ſound forth the praiſes of the Moſt High in his publick prayers! but his work was now done, he had finiſhed his courſe, and a time of reſt from his labours was come. Although he grew weak, yet his manly ſpirit and great courage bore him up for ſome time; but his diſeaſe, which ſeemed to be a kind of conſumption, at length ſo increaſed, that he was fain to keep within doors for ſeveral weeks; then mending a little, he went abroad again, and

came into a meeting in London, where I beheld his countenance much unlike what it uſed to be, for it clearly manifeſted his bodily indiſpoſition: nevertheleſs he preached with a godly zeal, and his ſalutary exhortations flowed like a ſtream from his lips, which ſeemed to be touched with a coal from the altar of heaven, whilſt he was preaching the goſpel to the edification of his hearers. Now he began to lift up his voice again to that degree, that judging from thence, one would have ſuppoſed him to have been pretty well reſtored: but the ground of his diſtemper not being taken away, he was ſoon neceſſitated to keep at home again; and his natural ſtrength waſted away ſo faſt, and he ſo declined, that his death began to be expected, which not very long after fell out accordingly. A little before he died, G. Fox being come to ſee him, aſked him, whether any thing lay upon him to write to the friends in England? but he ſignified that he had nothing to write, only deſired that his love might be remembered to them, and deſired G. Fox to pray to God, that he might have an eaſy paſſage, for he felt his end approaching. He having complied with his deſire, and ſeeing him begin to be heavy, bid him go and lie on the bed; which J. Coale did; but finding this, as it ſeems, more uneaſy, with the help of his friends he roſe again, and ſat on the ſide of the bed; and his friends ſitting about him, he felt himſelf ſo lively and powerfully raiſed, that he ſpoke to them after this manner:

'Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a ſingle eye to his glory, and ſeek nothing for ſelf, or your own glory; and if any thing of that ariſe, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that ſo ye may be clear in his ſight, and anſwer his witneſs in all people; then will ye have the reward of life. For my part, I have walked in faithfulneſs with the Lord; and I have thus far finiſhed my teſtimony, and have peace with the Lord: his majeſty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So mind my love to all friends.' Then he ceaſed ſpeaking; and a little time after he ſaid to Stephen Criſp, 'Dear heart, keep low in the holy ſeed of God, and that will be thy

crown for ever.' After a ſhort pauſe, he ſaid, 'a miniſter of Chriſt, muſt walk as he walked.'

A little afterwards fainting, and being ſtayed by his friends, he departed in their arms, without the leaſt ſigh or groan, but as one falling into a ſweet ſleep; and being filled with heavenly conſolations, he paſſed from this mortal life to that which is immortal, having attained the age of thirty-five years and two months, and preached the goſpel about twelve years. He had travelled much in the Weſt-Indies, ſuſtained great hardſhips, and laboured in the miniſtry at his own charge, being freely given up to ſpend his ſubſtance in the ſervice of the Lord. And though he went through many perſecutions, impriſonments, and other adverſities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but always valiant; and continued in an unmarried ſtate, that ſo he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harveſt, and many were converted by his miniſtry. He lived to ſee the deſire of his heart accompliſhed; for when firſt he was raiſed up to true godlineſs, being under the ſenſe of his former tranſgreſſions, he cried to the Lord for deliverance, and ſaid with David, 'If thou, O God, wilt help me throughly, then will I teach tranſgreſſors thy ways, and ſinners ſhall be converted unto thee.' He had been long in a mournful ſtate, though naturally of a cheerful temper; and having himſelf paſſed through a path of ſorrow, he was the more able to comfort the mourners of Zion. The church was very ſenſible of this great loſs; and I have reaſon to think his corpſe was attended to the grave by more than a thouſand of his friends, among whom I was then one; and his burial being very publick and well known, drew the eyes of many ſpectators towards it. Let none think it ſtrange, that I have here expatiated ſomewhat largely, ſeeing he was indeed dear to me, and I have his kind uſage yet in freſh remembrance; for the piety of my mother, whom he had ſeen in England, cauſed him to give me marks of the eſteem he bore to her memory: and his excellent endowments ſo affected me, that I was eager to go to that meeting where I heard he was likely to be; nay, I imagined I ſaw ſomething in him ſo extraordinary valuable, that I bore a very reverent reſpect to him, and

the more, becauſe difference of age deprived me of a familiar converſation with him.

On the 20th of the Firſt month called January, 166$\frac{8}{9}$, Francis Howgil, after a ſickneſs of nine days, died in the priſon at Appleby, where he had been kept about five years. During his ſickneſs he was in perfect good underſtanding, and often very fervent in prayer, uttering many comfortable expreſſions, to the great refreſhment of thoſe about him. He was often heard to ſay, 'That he was content to die, and praiſed God for the many ſweet enjoyments and refreſhments he had received in that his priſon-houſe-bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his reſtraint.' And ſaid he, 'This was the place of my firſt impriſonment for the truth, here at this town; and if it be the place of my laying down the body, I am content.' Several perſons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor, and others, came to viſit him; and ſome of theſe praying that God might ſpeak peace to his ſoul, he returned, he hath done it. About two days before his departure, being attended by his wife, and ſeveral of his friends, he ſaid to them:' 'Friends, as to matter of words ye muſt not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it, or to ſpeak of matters of faith to you who are ſatisfied: only that ye remember my dear love to all friends who inquire of me; for I ever loved friends well, or any in whom truth appeared. Truly God will own his people, as he hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witneſſed; for no ſooner had they made that act of baniſhment, to the great ſuffering of many good friends, but the Lord ſtirred up enemies againſt them, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off. I ſay again, God will own his people, even all thoſe that are faithful. And as for me, I am well, and content to die. I am not at all afraid of death; but one thing was of late in my heart, and that I intended to have written to George Fox and others, even that which I have obſerved, viz. that this generation paſſeth faſt away: we ſee many good and precious friends within theſe few years have been taken from us; and therefore friends had need to watch, and be very faithful, ſo that we may leave a good, and not a bad

ſavour, to the next ſucceeding generation; for we ſee that it is but a little time that any of us have to ſtay here.' A few hours before he departed, ſome friends from other places being come to viſit him, he inquired about their welfare, and prayed fervently, with many heavenly expreſſions, that the Lord by his mighty power, might preſerve them out of all ſuch things as would ſpot and defile. His voice then by reaſon of his great weakneſs failed him, and a little after he recovering ſome ſtrength, ſaid, 'I have ſought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith in which I lived, and ſuffered for.' After theſe words, he ſpoke ſome others in prayer to God, and ſo ſweetly finiſhed his days in peace with the Lord, in the fiftieth year of his age.

He left a good name behind him amongſt all who knew him.—Sometime before his ſickneſs, conſidering this mutable ſtate, and finding in himſelf ſome decay of nature, he made his will, in which, as his love was very dear to his brethren, with whom he had laboured in the miniſtry, ſo he gave to each of them a remembrance of his love; he left alſo a legacy to his poor friends in thoſe parts where he lived.

For although his moveable goods were forfeited to the king for ever, yet the confiſcation of his real eſtate was only for life; ſo that from thence having ſomething left, he could diſpoſe of it by his will.

During his impriſonment, he neglected not to comfort and ſtrengthen his brethren by writing, effecting that by his pen, which he could not by word of mouth: he alſo defended his doctrine againſt thoſe who oppoſed the ſame; and among others, he writ a large treatiſe againſt oaths, contradicting the opinion of thoſe who account it lawful to ſwear under the goſpel.

About two years before his deceaſe, he writ an epiſtle of advice and counſel as his laſt will and teſtament to his daughter Abigail, a child whom he much loved, who was born in a time of deep exerciſes and trouble, which nevertheleſs by the Lord's goodneſs he was patiently brought

through; wherefore he named this child Abigail, ſignifying, the father's joy. In this teſtament he gave her inſtructions for the future conduct of her life, the beginning whereof is thus:

'Daughter Abigail, this is for thee to obſerve and keep, and take heed unto all the days of thy life, for the regulating thy life and converſation in this world, that thy life may be happy, and thy end bleſſed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. I was not born to great poſſeſſions, or did inherit great matters in this world; but the Lord hath always endowed me with ſufficiency and enough, and hath been as a tender father unto me, becauſe my heart truſted in him, and did love the way of righteouſneſs from a child. My counſel unto thee is, that thou remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, and fear the Lord in thy youth, and learn to know him and ſerve him all thy days: firſt ſeek the kingdom of God and the righteouſneſs thereof; it is not far from thee, it is within thee; it conſiſts in life and power, and it ſtands in righteouſneſs, truth, and equity, juſtice, mercy, long-ſuffering, patience, love, light, and holineſs, this is the being and centre thereof; therefore ſeek not lo here, or lo there without thee, in this or that outward obſervation, for many ſeek there and never find it; but ſeek and thou ſhalt find, wait and thou ſhalt receive. If thou inquire, in what muſt I ſeek? and what muſt I wait in? and how muſt I ſeek? I inform thee, that thou muſt ſilence all thy own thoughts, and thou muſt turn thy mind to that which is pure, and holy, and good within thyſelf, and ſeek and wait in that in the light of Jeſus Chriſt, wherewith thou art enlightened, which ſhews thee when thou doſt evil, and checks and reproves; take heed unto that, and it will ſhew the evil motions and thoughts; and as thou loveſt it, it will ſubdue them, and preſerve thee for the time to come out of evil: for though thou be born into the world a reaſonable creature, yet thou muſt be born again, and be made a new creature, or elſe thou canſt not enter into God's kingdom; thou muſt know the ſeed of the kingdom in thyſelf, of which thou muſt be born and formed

again into God's image. I have told thee God hath ſown it in thee, a grain of it, a meaſure of it, a portion of it, a meaſure of light and truth, of righteouſneſs and holineſs; keep in thy mind to that, and love it, and thou wilt feel the heavenly Father working in thee, and begetting thee to life through Jeſus Chriſt that hath enlightened thee, and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord ſtrengthening thee, in thy little, and making thee to grow in the immortal ſeed of his kingdom, and outgrow and overgrow all evil, ſo that thou wilt daily die to that, and have no pleaſure in it, but in the Lord, and in his goodneſs and virtue ſhed abroad in thy heart, which thou wilt taſte and feel within, and have joy and comfort therein: love the Lord with thy heart and ſoul, even him that made thee, and gave thee a being, and all things in heaven and earth; and ſtill wait for the knowledge of him in thyſelf, he is not far from thee, but near unto thee, and unto all that call upon him in an upright heart; and do thou inquire of thy dear mother, ſhe will inform thee, ſhe knows him, and the way to life and peace, and hearken to her inſtructions: God is a ſpirit, of light, and life, and power: he that ſearcheth the heart, and ſhews thee when thou doſt, or thinkeſt, or ſpeakeſt evil, and ſhews unto man or woman their thoughts: that which ſhews the evil is good, and that which ſhews a lie is truth; this is within, take heed to it, this is called God's ſpirit in the Scripture, believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will ſubject the evil: here is thy teacher near thee, love it, and if thou act contrary, it will condemn thee; therefore take heed unto this ſpirit of truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee, and will open thy underſtanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his ſight; this ſpirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth. Be ſober minded in thy youth, and wait on the Lord within, hearken unto him, God is light immortal, life immortal, truth immortal, an everlaſting eternal Spirit: he ſpeaks ſpiritually and inviſibly within the hearts and conſciences of men and women; hear what he ſpeaks, and obey his voice, and thy ſoul ſhall live; fear to offend him, or ſin againſt him, for

the wages of ſin are death; therefore prize his love in thy young and tender years, and do thou read the Scriptures and Friends' books, and take heed to what thou readeſt to obey it, as far as thou underſtandeſt; and pray often unto the Lord, that he will give thee his knowledge, and open thy underſtanding in the things of his kingdom; ſearch thy heart often with the light of Chriſt in thee, manifeſt and bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried; and examine thyſelf, how the caſe ſtands betwixt the Lord and thee; and if thou ſeeſt thyſelf wrong, humble thyſelf, and be ſorry, and turn unto him, and he will ſhew thee mercy; and take heed for the time to come, that thou run not into the ſame evil again; keep thy heart clean, watch againſt the evil in thyſelf, in that which ſhews it; therein there is power, and thereby thou haſt power to overcome all evil. And, dear child, mind not the pleaſures of ſin, which are but for a moment, and the end is miſery; but keep under and croſs thy will and affection, ſo thy mind will have no pleaſure in the evil, but in good; and thou wilt feel the immortal ſeed ſpringing up in thee, which God's peace and love is to. Oh child! theſe are great and weighty things, not to be ſlighted. Accompany thyſelf always with them that fear the Lord, and fear and worſhip him in ſpirit and truth, and lead a holy and blameleſs life and converſation; deny them not, but love them, and ſuffer with them. Take heed that thou follow not the hireling teachers, who preach for gain and lucre, and abide not in Chriſt's doctrine; believe them not, heed them not, they do people no good; but thou wilt ſee them thyſelf, they have an outſide ſhew of godlineſs ſometimes, but deny the power of God and true holineſs: remember I have told thee, who have had perfect knowledge of them. But be ſure that thou let nothing ſeparate thy love from God and his people; thoſe are his people that keep his law, and obey Chriſt's voice, and lead a holy life, and they were ever hated and belied, and perſecuted, and evil-ſpoken of, always by bad and evil looſe people; theſe are God's people, and his love, and peace, and bleſſing is with them; do thou grow as a natural branch (up among them) of the living vine, and continue

all thy days in obedience unto God's will, and thou wilt feel joy and love in thy heart, which above all things covet after, and thou ſhalt attain and obtain everlaſting peace, which the Lord grant unto thee, according to the riches of his mercy and love, which endure for ever and ever. Amen.

'And now Abigail, concerning thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counſel unto thee; love thy dear mother, and ever obey her and honour her, and ſee thou grieve her not; be not ſtubborn nor wilful, but ſubmit unto her, and be as an obedient child unto her, whoſe love and care hath been too great over thee and thy ſiſters, which hath brought too much trouble upon herſelf; learn in thy youth to read and write, and ſew and knit, and all points of good labour that belong to a maid, and flee idleneſs and ſloth, that nouriſheth ſin; and as thou groweſt up in years, labour in the affairs of the country, and beware of pride, and riotouſneſs, and curioſity, but be well content with ſuch apparel as thy mother will permit thee, and as thou mayeſt be a good example unto others. Be not wanton, nor wild, nor light, but temperate, moderate, and chaſte, and not forward in words nor ſpeech, but ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak; and do thou always live with thy mother, and be a help unto her, and cheriſh her in her old age and latter years, that ſhe may be comforted in thee, and her ſoul may bleſs thee. Love thy ſiſters, and be always courteous to them and thy brother, encourage one another in good: and if thou live to be a woman of perfect years, keep thyſelf unſpotted, and let not thy mind out after ſports nor paſtimes, the end of all thoſe is ſorrow, neither of young men; if thou have a deſire to marry, do not thou ſeek a huſband, but let a huſband ſeek thee; and if thou live in God's fear, and an honeſt life and virtuous, them that fear God will ſeek unto thee; let not thy affections out unto every one that proffers love, but be conſiderate, and above all things, chooſe one (if thou doſt marry) that loves and fears the Lord, whoſe converſation thou knoweſt, and manner and courſe of life well before thou give conſent; be diſcreet and wiſe, hide nothing from thy mother, and ſhe will adviſe thee no doubt, for

thy good; and if ſhe be living, marry not without her conſent: and if thou join to a huſband, be ſure thou love him in thy heart, and be obedient unto him, and honour him among all, ſo will his heart be more to thee, and his love increaſe; grieve him not, but be gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, and mind thy own buſineſs; and if the Lord give thee children, bring them up in God's fear, and good exerciſe, and keep them in ſubjection unto thee, and be an example of virtue and holineſs unto them, that the Lord's bleſſing thou mayeſt feel in youth and in age, and all thy life long. O Abigail! remember theſe things, keep in mind theſe things, read often this writing over, get it copied over, and lay up my words in thy heart, and do them, ſo wilt thou be happy in this life, and in the life to come: theſe things I give thee in charge to obſerve, as my mind and will, and counſel unalterable unto thee, as witneſs hereof I have ſet my hand,

Thy dear father,

'Francis Howgil.'

The 26th of the 5th Month, 1666.

In the beginning of this year the members of this ſociety, held a general Yearly-Meeting at London, which ſince that time, hath been uſed to be held there annually, in the week called Whitſun-week,* becauſe at that time of the year it is commonly beſt travelling, &c. Several are deputed from all places to this meeting, and what concerns the church in general, is there treated on.

Perſecution for religion ſeemed now to be at a ſtand, which diſpleaſed ſome of the moſt rigid ſort of churchmen, which we not only have already, but may again in due place demonſtrate.

About this time (as I take it) a certain biſhop ſaid occaſionally, that the Quakers, by their unlimited freedom, increaſed much, and therefore it was very needful to take care of them, ſeeing they often had much greater aſſemblies than the national church; 'For,' ſaid he, 'at ſuch a time I preached myſelf, and there were but a few hearers,

* It hath ſince been fixed to be held on the Second-day immediately following the third Firſt-day in the 5th Month.

when at the ſame time the Quakers' meeting juſt by was crouded full; and thereupon he deſired them to conſider whether it was not high time to ſtop theſe ſectaries? After he had ſet forth his matter at large, another lord then preſent among others, ſaid, that indeed it ſeemed that the lord biſhop had ſpoken what was very reaſonable, that the ſectaries had often more hearers than the national church-preachers, and that it was not ſtrange to him that it diſpleaſed him, ſince he took ſo much upon himſelf; 'For,' ſaid he, 'his lordſhip obſerved, that he preached himſelf; and the profeſſed Quakers, who had ſuch great aſſemblies, preached Chriſt Jeſus, and therefore no wonder that they had the more hearers.' This was ſuch a witty turn upon the biſhop, as no doubt made him ſo ſenſible as not to think fit to enter upon the debate in a doubtful diſpute, for it is obſerveable, this lord's turn upon the biſhop was chiefly to ſtop him from promoting perſecution.

This ſpring G. Fox travelling to York, went through ſeveral other places in the North of England; and although he came near to his old enemy, colonel Kirby, who had a fit of the gout, and had threatened him, yet he paſſed on unmoleſted. So he went to Liverpool, whence he, with ſome of his friends, paſſed over for Ireland: among others, were Thomas Briggs and John Stubs; and being arrived at Dublin, he was kindly received by his friends; and journeying into the country, he met with no ſmall oppoſition from the Papiſts (of whom there are many there). Being come to a certain place, he challenged the jeſuits, prieſts, and monks, to try whether their god, which they make of a wafer, be an immortal god, but they could not be brought to it; wherefore he ſaid, they were worſe than Baal's prieſts, for Baal's prieſts tried their god. Then he went to Cork, where they had knowledge of his coming, and intended to take him priſoner; for the Quakers in Ireland were many years ſharply perſecuted, as their brethren were in England, of which to mention all circumſtances, it would make a very large treatiſe. At this time there were many priſoners at Cork, among whom was Samuel Thornton, with whom I was well acquainted, who being met with his friends in a

chamber one Firſt-day, the officer Quinnal came and ſhut the door of the room, and locked them in, to the number of eighty perſons, and carried the key to the mayor, Matthew Dean, who gave order that there ſhould neither victuals nor drink be carried to them, and they could only get what was pulled up with ropes through the grate, or thrown in through a hole: under this chamber the ſoldiers were ordered to keep guard, that none might get away, and they made ſo great a ſmoke, that many of the priſoners were ſick, among whom were ſome weakly old people, and ſome women with child, and nurſes, who were almoſt ſtifled; and complaint thereof being made to the mayor, he anſwered in a ſcoffing manner, 'They are all brethren and ſiſters, let them lie upon one another; and if they are ſtifled it is their own fault.' Thus they were kept twenty-four hours, and afterwards ſome of them made priſoners.

Solomon Eccles, whom I alſo knew very well, was this year in priſon at Galloway in Ireland, where he was put, by a ſtrange accident. He was an extraordinary zealous man, and what he judged evil he warmly oppoſed, even to the hazard of his life. This zeal led him to perform a ſtrange action in a chapel of the Papiſts without the town; for he went naked above his waiſt, with a chafing-diſh of coals and burning brimſtone on his head, and entered the chapel when all the people were on their knees to pray to their idol, and ſpoke as followeth: 'Woe to theſe idolatrous worſhippers! God hath ſent me this day to warn you, and to ſhew you what will be your portion except you repent.' Which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was preſently made a priſoner. What the benefit of this ſtrange action might be, I leave.

Amongſt the martyrs of the reformed, we find ſome inſtances of perſons zealous to a ſtrange degree, as of William Gardiner at Liſbon, and Bertrand le Blas at Tournay, whoſe actions were not leſs remarkable; for this laſt his ſnatching the hoſt from the prieſt in their church as they were at maſs, was certainly a bold attempt, and not praiſe-worthy, if it was only an act of human contrivance; but I ſhall leave the judgment thereof unto God, as I account it ſafeſt,

and the rather, becauſe under the ſharpeſt puniſhment they could inflict, they ſeemed not to ſhrink, but rather to be ſtrengthened. However ſo ſharp a trial did not fall to Eccles's portion, and I think it ſafer not to judge haſtily of this uncommon performance. He was, to my knowledge a bold and undaunted man, and before this action in the chapel, as above, he did ſomething of a like nature at London at the fair-time, amongſt the plays, where he ſuffered much by the coachmen whipping him grievouſly on his naked back; but that could not lay his fervent zeal, which was kindled not only againſt the immodeſt and ungodly carriage of the pretended fools, but alſo againſt thoſe other vanities there uſed. To what heighth his zeal carried him, the following inſtance will ſhew: he who had been a member of the church of England, and then went to the Preſbyterians, and afterwards among the Independents, and after that was a Baptiſt, had been an eminent muſician, ſo that by his art he could get near 150l. a year; but at laſt being a Quaker, he could not follow for conſcience-ſake, what he now called his Babyloniſh trade of muſick: wherefore he learned to make clothes to get his living by, and ſold his muſical books and inſtruments: but (as he declared) he had no peace in his conſcience; for obſerving them to be inſtruments of vanity, he judged they ought to be deſtroyed, and therefore bought them again, although they were worth above 20l. and carried them, viz. virginals, fiddles, &c. to Tower-hill, where laying them together, he ſet fire to them; but when ſome who were by endeavoured to hinder him, and to get one of the virginals away, he ſtamped upon it with his foot, and would not reſt until he had deſtroyed it; and after that he ſaid, he found peace in his conſcience, having made an offering of that which he once entirely loved, and in the uſe of which he was educated; for not only his father and grandfather, but his grandfather's father had been muſicians, and he himſelf had the name of an eminent muſick-maſter.

Another account we have of his ſtrange zeal: when he ſaw how the Quakers were belied by William Burnet, Jeremy Ives, and Matthew Kiffin, teachers amongſt the

Baptiſts, as if they believed not in Chriſt nor the reſurrection, he challenged all the teachers, and prieſts, and jeſuits, openly in a book which he printed, to come to a proof with him who were the true worſhippers; firſt, to faſt ſeven days and ſeven nights, and neither to eat nor drink; and then the next ſeven days not to ſleep day nor night; but we may well think that none were to be found to enter the liſts with him, nor to put themſelves on ſuch a teſt; and although ſome reckoned him out of his wits, yet he was not, for I remember the time very well, and had many an opportunity both to ſee and to hear him ſpeak.

I now return to G. Fox at Cork in Ireland, where they intended to take him, nevertheleſs they let him go unmoleſted, although he rid through the market, by the mayor's door, who not only ſaw him, but ſaid, 'There goes G. Fox,' and yet let him paſs quietly. After he had travelled through many places in Ireland, he came again to Dublin, from whence he returned to England, and coming into Glouceſterſhire, he heard at Nailſworth of a report which had been ſpread abroad in the country, that he was turned Preſbyterian, and they had prepared a pulpit for him in an open yard, where he was to preach. G. Fox hearing this thought it very ſtrange, whereupon he went to the place ſpoken of, where he indeed found a pulpit; but the caſe was this: a certain Preſbyterian preacher, named John Fox, who went preaching about the country, was to preach there, and it ſeems ſome had changed his name from John to George, whereupon it was reported that he was turned from being a Quaker, to be a Preſbyterian: this begat ſo great a curioſity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Preſbyterian; ſo this John Fox came to have a great auditory of ſeveral hundreds, who would not have went a foot to have heard him, had they known it. Now ſome hundreds of them hearing afterwards that the real G. Fox was not far off at a meeting, they went thither and were ſober and attentive; where they were by him directed to the grace of God in themſelves, which would teach them and bring them ſalvation. And when the meeting was over, ſome of the people ſaid they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than

G. F. the Preſbyterian. Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the houſe of commons, for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treaſonable words were ſpoken. This John Fox had formerly been prieſt of Marſhfield in Glouceſterſhire, and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a common-prayer prieſt to preach ſometimes in his ſteeple-houſe; at length this Preſbyterian prieſt, preſuming too far upon the pariſh prieſt's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and would have preached there whether the pariſh prieſt would or not; which cauſed a great buſtle and conteſt between the two prieſts, and their hearers on either ſides, in which the common-prayer book was cut to pieces, and it is ſaid ſome treaſonable words were then ſpoken, by ſome of the followers of this John Fox; which caſe was quickly put into the newſpapers, and ſome malicious Preſbyterians cauſed it to be ſo worded as if it had proceeded from G. F. the Quaker, but ſome members of the houſe of commons certified it under their hands, that it was John Fox, formerly prieſt of Marſhfield, who was complained of to be the ringleader of that unlawful aſſembly.

After this G. F. travelled to Briſtol, where he met with Margaret Fell, then a widow, who came thither to viſit her daughter Yeomans. He had before this intimated to her his affection, and propoſed taking her in marriage at a ſuitable time; but though he had a ſenſe in himſelf, it was of the Lord, yet he did not at firſt find a freedom to accompliſh the ſame, but all obſtructions being now removed, he ſo propoſed the matter, that if ſhe was willing to give her conſent, that the ſame ſhould be accompliſhed, ſhe might firſt ſend for her children; who being come, he aſked both her daughters and their huſbands, whether they had any thing againſt his taking their mother to be his wife? And they all ſeverally expreſſed their ſatisfaction therein. Then he aſked Margaret, whether ſhe had performed her huſband's will? And the children, whether, if their mother married, they ſhould loſe by it? The children ſaid, ſhe had anſwered it to them, and deſired him to ſpeak no more of that. So obſerving they were

all well ſatisfied, he proceeded in his marriage, and took Margaret Fell to wife in a publick meeting of friends in Briſtol. She was a woman of a noble endowment, and this I know not only by her writings, but I have alſo heard her preach an hour together, delivering her matter compactly and orderly.

G. F. being married, he ſtayed with his wife about a week in Briſtol, and then they went together to Oldſtone, and there taking leave of each other, they parted, ſhe went homeward into the north, and he travelled through Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, Oxfordſhire, Bucks, and ſo to London: for although now he had a wife, yet he did not neglect his care towards the churches, all the nation over, in the gift which he had received of God, both in word and writing to their edification, and among the reſt he had a ſpecial regard, that the poor might be taken care of, to which end he writ an epiſtle in London, to this effect, that poor children ſhould be put forth apprentices to trades, whereby in time, they might help their aged parents, and enable them to bring up their families, and maintain themſelves handſomely.

G. Fox ſtayed not long in London; but the year 1670 being now come, he travelled through Hertfordſhire, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, where he expected to have met with his wife; for he had writ her word (if ſhe found it convenient) to meet him there; but inſtead thereof he underſtood ſhe was haled out of her houſe, and carried to Lancaſter priſon, upon the old premunire, which was executed upon her five years before, from which ſhe was diſcharged by order of the king and council the laſt year. Wherefore, after he had viſited friends in thoſe counties, he returned to London, where he found two of his wife's daughters, whom he haſtened to go to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, which they did, but met with much difficulty; yet they diligently attended the ſame, as it behoved them for their mother, who was a mother or overſeer of the church alſo, and therefore of the greater concern; but at laſt through aſſiduous application, they got to the ſpeech of the king, to whom one of them ſaid,

that inſtead of their waiting upon him to return him thanks for the diſcharge of their mother, they were now neceſſitated to make complaint of their mother's being caſt into priſon a ſecond time. Whereupon the king gave command to ſir John Otway, to write to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, to ſet her at liberty, which letter G. F. accordingly haſtened his daughters with into the country.

The parliament now ſitting, made a law, entitled, An Act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles, which is as follows:

'For providing further and more ſpeedy remedies againſt the growing and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries, and other diſloyal perſons, who under pretence of tender conſciences, have or may at their meetings contrive inſurrections (as late experience hath ſhewn), (2) Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that if any perſon of the age of ſixteen years or upwards, being a ſubject of this realm, at any time after the tenth day of May next, ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, at which conventicle, meeting or aſſembly there ſhall be five perſons or more aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame houſehold, if it be in a houſe where there is a family inhabiting; or if it be in a houſe, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting; then where any five perſons or more, are ſo aſſembled, as aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any one or more juſtices of the peace of the county, limit, diviſion, corporation or liberty wherein the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, or for the chief magiſtrate of the place where the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed; and he and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to him or them reſpectively made of ſuch offence, either by con-

ſeſſion of the party, or oath of two witneſſes; (3) (which oath the ſaid juſtice and juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby empowered and required to adminiſter) or by notorious evidence and circumſtance of the fact, to make a record of every ſuch offence under his or their hands and ſeals reſpectively: which record ſo made, as aforeſaid, ſhall to all intents and purpoſes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every ſuch offender for ſuch offence: and thereupon the ſaid juſtice, juſtices and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall impoſe on every ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, a fine of five ſhillings for ſuch firſt offence; which record and conviction ſhall be certified by the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate, at the next quarter-ſeſſions of the peace, for the county or place where the offence was committed.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence or offences, contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforeſaid convicted, then ſuch offender ſo convict of ſuch like offence or offences, ſhall for every ſuch offence incur the penalty of ten ſhillings; (2) which fine and fines, for the firſt and every other offence, ſhall be levied by diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods and chattels; or in caſe of the poverty of ſuch offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other perſon or perſons who ſhall be then convicted in manner aforeſaid of the like offence at the ſame conventicle, at the diſcretion of the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſo as the ſum to be levied on any one perſon in caſe of the poverty of other offenders, amount not in the whole to above the ſum of ten pounds, upon occaſion of any one meeting, as aforeſaid; (3) and every conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwardens, and overſeers of the poor reſpectively, are hereby authorized and required to levy the ſame accordingly, having firſt received a warrant under the hands and ſeals of the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively ſo to do; (4) the ſaid monies ſo to be levied, to be forthwith delivered the ſame juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate, and

by him or them to be diſtributed, the one third part thereof to the uſe of the king's majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to be paid to the high ſheriff of the county for the time being, in manner following; that is to ſay, the juſtice or juſtices of peace ſhall pay the ſame into the court of the reſpective quarter-ſeſſions, which ſaid court ſhall deliver the ſame to the ſheriff, and make a memorial on record of the payment and delivery thereof, which ſaid memorial ſhall be a ſufficient and final diſcharge to the ſaid juſtice and juſtices, and a charge to the ſheriff, which ſaid diſcharge and charge ſhall be certified into the exchequer together, and not one without the other: and no juſtice ſhall or may be queſtioned or accountable for the ſame in the exchequer or elſewhere, than in quarter-ſeſſions; another third part thereof to and for the uſe of the poor of the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall be committed; and the other third part thereof to the informer and informers, and to ſuch perſon and perſons as the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively ſhall appoint, having regard to their diligence and induſtry in the diſcovery, diſperſing and puniſhing of the ſaid conventicles.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall take upon him to preach or teach in any ſuch meeting, aſſembly or conventicle, and ſhall thereof be convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit for every ſuch firſt offence the ſum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforeſaid, upon his goods and chattels; (2) and if the ſaid preacher or teacher ſo convicted, be a ſtranger, and his name and habitation not known, or is fled, and cannot be found, or in the judgment of the juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby empowered and required to levy the ſame by warrant, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of any ſuch perſons who ſhall be preſent at the ſame conventicle; any thing in this or any other act, law or ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding; and the money ſo levied, to be diſpoſed of in manner aforeſaid: (3) and if ſuch offender ſo convicted as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence or offences contrary to this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforeſaid, then ſuch offender ſo convicted

of ſuch like offence or offences, ſhall for every ſuch offence, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and diſpoſed, as aforeſaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall wittingly and willingly ſuffer any ſuch conventicle, meeting, or unlawful aſſembly aforeſaid, to be held in his or her houſe, outhouſe, barn, yard, or backſide, and be convicted thereof in manner aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit the ſum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforeſaid, upon his or her goods and chattels; or in caſe of his or her poverty or inability, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of ſuch perſons who ſhall be convicted in manner aforeſaid, of being preſent at the ſame conventicle; and the money ſo levied, to be diſpoſed of in manner aforeſaid.

V. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon ſhall by any clauſe of this act be liable to pay above ten pounds for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other perſon or perſons.

VI. Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that in all caſes of this act, where the penalty or ſum charged upon any offender exceeds the ſum of ten ſhillings, and ſuch offender ſhall find himſelf aggrieved, it ſhall and may be lawful for him within one week after the ſaid penalty or money charged ſhall be paid or levied, to appeal in writing from the perſon or perſons convicting, to the judgment of the juſtices of the peace in their next quarter-ſeſſions, (2) to whom the juſtice or juſtices of the peace, chief magiſtrate or alderman, that firſt convicted ſuch offender, ſhall return the money levied upon the appellant, and ſhall certify under his and their hands and ſeals, the evidence upon which the conviction paſt, with the whole record thereof, and the ſaid appeal: (3) Whereupon ſuch offender may plead and make defence, and have his trial by a jury thereupon: (4) and in caſe ſuch appellant ſhall not proſecute with effect, or if upon ſuch trial he ſhall not be acquitted, or judgment paſs not for him upon his ſaid appeal, the ſaid juſtices at the ſeſſions ſhall give treble coſts againſt ſuch offender for his unjuſt appeal: (5) And no other court whatſoever ſhall intermeddle with any

cauſe or cauſes of appeal upon this act, but they ſhall be finally determined in the quarter-ſeſſions only.

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that upon the delivery of ſuch appeal, as aforeſaid, the perſon or perſons appellant ſhall enter before the perſon or perſons convicting, into a recognizance, to proſecute the ſaid appeal with effect: (2) which ſaid recognizance the perſon or perſons ſo convicting is hereby empowered to take, and required to certify the ſame to the next quarter-ſeſſions: (3) and in caſe no ſuch recognizance be entered into, the ſaid appeal to be null and void.

VIII. Provided always, that every ſuch appeal ſhall be left with the perſon or perſons ſo convicting, as aforeſaid, at the time of the making thereof.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the juſtice, juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, or the reſpective conſtables, headboroughs, and tithingmen, by warrant from the ſaid juſtice, juſtices, or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall and may with what aid, force and aſſiſtance they ſhall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refuſal or denial to enter, break open, and enter into any houſe or other place, where they ſhall be informed any ſuch conventicle, as aforeſaid, is or ſhall be held, as well within liberties as without; (2) and take into their cuſtody the perſons there unlawfully aſſembled, to the intent they may be proceeded againſt according to this act: (3) and that the lieutenants or deputy-lieutenants, or any commiſſionated officer of the militia, or other of his majeſty's forces, with ſuch troops or companies of horſe and foot; and alſo the ſheriffs, and other magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, or any of them, jointly or ſeverally, within any of the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, with ſuch other aſſiſtance as they ſhall think meet, or can get in readineſs with the ſooneſt, on certificate made to them reſpectively under the hand and ſeal of any one juſtice of the peace or chief magiſtrate, of his particular information or knowledge of ſuch unlawful meeting or conventicle held, or to be held in their reſpective counties or

places, and that he with ſuch aſſiſtance as he can get together, is not able to ſuppreſs and diſſolve the ſame, ſhall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are ſo held, or to be held, and by the beſt means they can to diſſolve, diſſipate or prevent all ſuch unlawful meetings, and take into their cuſtody ſuch and ſo many of the ſaid perſons ſo unlawfully aſſembled as they ſhall think fit, to the intent that they may be proceeded againſt according to this act.

X. Provided always, that no dwelling-houſe of any peer of this realm, where he or his wife ſhall then be reſident, ſhall be ſearched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majeſty, under his ſign manual, or in the preſence of the lieutenant, or one deputy-lieutenant, or two juſtices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, of the ſame county or riding.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden, or overſeer of the poor, who ſhall know, or be credibly informed of any ſuch meetings or conventicles held within his precincts, pariſhes-limits, and ſhall not give information thereof to ſome juſtice of the peace, or the chief magiſtrate, and endeavour the conviction of the parties according to his duty; but ſuch conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden, overſeers of the poor, or any perſon lawfully called in aid of the conſtable, headborough, or tithingman, ſhall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty, in the execution of this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforeſaid, he ſhall forfeit for every ſuch offence, the ſum of five pounds, to be levied upon his goods and chattels, and diſpoſed in manner aforeſaid: (2) and that if any juſtice of the peace, or chief magiſtrate, ſhall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty in the execution of this act, he ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds, the one moiety to the uſe of the informer, to be recovered by action, ſuit, bill, or plaint, in any of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, wherein no eſſoign, protection, or wager of law ſhall lie.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon be at any time ſued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, otherwiſe than upon appeal allowed by this act, ſuch perſon ſhall and may plead the general iſſue, and give the ſpecial matter in evidence; (2) and if the plaintiff be nonſuit, or a verdict paſs for the defendant, or if the plaintiff diſcontinue his action, or if upon demurrer judgment be given for the defendant, every ſuch defendant ſhall have his full treble coſts.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act, and all clauſes therein contained, ſhall be conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for the ſuppreſſing of conventicles, and for the juſtification and encouragement of all perſons to be employed in the execution thereof; (2) and that no record, warrant or mittimus to be made by virtue of this act, or any proceedings thereupon, ſhall be reverſed, avoided, or any way impeached by reaſon of any default in form. (3) And in caſe any perſon offending againſt this act, ſhall be an inhabitant in any other county or corporation, or fly into any other county or corporation after the offence committed, the juſtice of peace or chief magiſtrate before whom he ſhall be convicted as aforeſaid, ſhall certify the ſame under his hand and ſeal, to any juſtice of peace or chief magiſtrate of ſuch other county or corporation wherein the ſaid perſon or perſons are inhabitants, or are fled into; (4) which ſaid juſtice or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, is hereby authorized and required to levy the penalty or penalties in this act mentioned, upon the goods and chattels of ſuch perſon or perſons, as fully as the ſaid other juſtice of peace might have done, in caſe he or they had been inhabitants in the place where the offence was committed.

XIV. Provided alſo, that no perſon ſhall be puniſhed for any offence againſt this act, unleſs ſuch offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the offence committed. (2) And that no perſon who ſhall be puniſhed for any offence by virtue of this act, ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame offence by virtue of any other act or law whatſoever.

XV. Provided, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every alderman of London for the time being, within the city of London, and the liberties thereof, ſhall have (and they and every of them are hereby empowered and required to execute) the ſame power and authority within London, and the liberties thereof, for the examining, convicting, and puniſhing of all offences within this act committed within London, and the liberties thereof, which any juſtice of peace hath by this act in any county of England, and ſhall be ſubject to the ſame penalties and puniſhments, for not doing that which by this act is directed to be done by any juſtice of peace in any county of England.

XVI. Provided, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if the perſon offending, and convicted as aforeſaid be a feme-covert, cohabiting with her huſband, the penalties of five ſhillings, and ten ſhillings, ſo as aforeſaid incurred, ſhall be levied by warrant, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of the huſband of ſuch feme-covert.

XVII. Provided alſo, that no peer of this realm ſhall be attached or impriſoned by virtue or force of this act; any thing, matter or clauſe, therein to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XVIII. Provided alſo, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, ſhall extend to invalidate or make void his majeſty's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs: (2) but that his majeſty, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, exerciſe and enjoy all powers and authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs, as fully and as amply as himſelf or any of his predeceſſors have or might have done the ſame: any thing in this act notwithſtanding.

By this very law many an honeſt family was impoveriſhed; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publickly, but the moſt ſincere amongſt them were the more zealous, and they were the more winnowed from the chaff, which in time of eaſe gets in amongſt religious profeſſors; and none need wonder at it, ſince the Quakers

having gained the repute of an upright hearted people, ſome for by-ends might creep in amongſt them.

At London, as well as at other places, many were ſpoiled of their goods very unmercifully, and many times people of good ſubſtance brought to mere poverty, ſeeing not only the ſhop goods of ſome, but alſo their houſehold goods have been ſeized, inſomuch that the very ſick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themſelves laid upon the floor; nay, they have been ſo cruel, as to leave them nothing; inſomuch that when the child's pap hath ſtood in a pannikin, they have thrown out the pap to take the pannikin away.

Should I ſum up all the particulars I have received, and the account I could give, it would make a volume of itſelf; for the informers were generally poor, and ſometimes alſo the juſtices, ſo that they knew how to part their booty belonging to the king, as well as to the poor; and thus the king and the poor got but little of their plunder. Nevertheleſs it ſo happened ſometimes, that thoſe who were finable, were freed by the juſtices; for they knew very well, that thoſe informers, who were alſo witneſſes, were cunning ſharkers, who were alſo concerned to get their thirds of the booty, and therefore found out a way by which they ſhewed that they were knaviſh and unjuſt in their office, therefore not fit to give evidence; ſo that it hath ſometimes fallen out, that an honeſt juſtice hath cleared thoſe informed againſt, when the informer miſſed in his evidence, either in the day of the month, or the like, in the complaint.

At London there once appeared before the lord mayor, ſitting at a court of aldermen, an impudent informer having ſuch a quantity of informations for fines as would have wronged the parties to the value of 1500l. but the mayor abominating ſuch a practice, adjourned the court, and went away. But this hardy informer was not content to let the matter fall thus, but appeared before the court from time to time, to make a booty of honeſt peoples goods; but they ſtill put him off, until at laſt he was himſelf arreſted for debt, and carried to priſon, where he ended his days.

Although now the law againſt ſeditious conventicles had paſſed, upon a ſuppoſition that the Preſbyterians were ready to riſe, conſidering the buſtle and tumult occaſioned by John Fox in Glouceſterſhire, which was much taken notice of, as I have mentioned before, yet nevertheleſs the Quakers' meetings became the chief object in the execution of this law. Whereupon G. Fox being in London, ſet forth in print the injuſtice of this law, in order, if poſſible, to moderate the government not to put the ſame in execution. Nevertheleſs being alſo ſenſible that a great ſtorm hung over the heads of friends, he alſo writ an epiſtle to them, to exhort them to faithfulneſs, and to encourage them to ſtand faſt in their teſtimony, and bear with Chriſtian patience the ſuffering that was come upon them. Now the firſt Firſt-day that this law took place, he went to the meeting of friends at Gracechurch ſtreet in London; but being come to the place, he found the ſtreet full of people, and a guard to keep them out of their meeting-houſe; whereupon he went to Lombard ſtreet (out of which there was alſo a paſſage to the meeting houſe) and there he alſo found a guard; but there being a court before the door, which was full of people, one of the Quaker miniſters was there preaching to the people, and when he had ended, G. Fox ſtood up and ſaid, "Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me; it is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks." Which words he thus explained: that it was Saul's nature that perſecuted; and that they perſecuting Chriſt in his members, were kicking againſt the pricks; and that it was the birth of the fleſh that perſecuted the birth of the Spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the ſheep, but that they ſuffered like ſheep, who did not bite again; but were a peaceable people, who loved even their perſecutors. While G. Fox was thus preaching, there came a conſtable and an informer, with ſoldiers, who pulled him down from the place he ſtood on. Then, ſaid he, "Bleſſed are the peace-makers," but the commander of the ſoldiers ordered them to ſecure him: 'For,' ſaid he, you are the man I looked for.' Wherefore he, with two more of his friends, John Burnet and another, were had

before the lord mayor; and as they were going, the informer ſaid, 'It will never be a good world, until all people come to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago.' G. Fox hearing this, ſaid, 'Art thou a Papiſt? What! a Papiſt informer? For two hundred years ago there was no other publick profeſſion of religion but that of the Papiſts in this nation.' It vexed the informer that G. Fox heard him ſpeak thus: for he now ſaw he was inſnared in his own talk. When he came into the court before the lord mayor's houſe, ſome people who were there aſked G. Fox, why he was brought thither priſoner? 'Pray,' ſaid he, 'aſk that informer, and aſk him his name;' but he would not tell his name. Then one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, he ſhould tell his name before he went away: 'For,' ſaid he, 'the lord mayor will know by what authority you have intruded yourſelf with ſoldiers in the execution of thoſe laws which it belongs to the civil magiſtrate to execute, and not the military. The informer underſtanding this, got away, but not without ſome difficulty, becauſe they would not then let him out of the court; but he forcibly pulling open the door, and being got into the ſtreet, the people gave a great ſhout, crying out, 'A Papiſt informer! a Papiſt informer!' and he would have come off but badly, had not G. Fox adviſed the conſtable and ſoldiers to keep him out of the hands of the common people. Whereupon he went into the houſe and changed his perriwig, and ſo got away.

When the lord mayor came home, and G. Fox was brought before him, he ſaid, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among thoſe of your own profeſſion, pray will you be inſtrumental to perſuade them from meeting in ſuch great numbers: for,' ſaid he, 'ſeeing Chriſt hath promiſed, where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midſt of them; and the king and parliament are graciouſly pleaſed to allow of four to meet together to worſhip God, why will not you be content to partake both of Chriſt's promiſe to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?' To which G. Fox anſwered, that Chriſt's promiſe was not to diſcourage many from meeting

together in his name; but to encourage the few, that the feweſt might not forbear to meet, becauſe of their fewneſs. But if Chriſt hath promiſed to manifeſt his preſence in the midſt of ſo ſmall an aſſembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name; how much more would his preſence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name. I wiſhed him to conſider, whether this act would not have taken hold of Chriſt, with his twelve apoſtles and ſeventy diſciples, (if it had been in their time) who uſed to meet often together; and that with great numbers? However, I told him, this act did not concern us; for it was made againſt ſeditious meetings, of ſuch as met under pretence and colour of religion, to contrive inſurrections, as (the act ſays) late experience had ſhewn; but we had been ſufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable: and therefore he ſhould do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. He ſaid the act was made againſt meetings, and a worſhip not according to the liturgy. I told him, [according to] was not the very ſame thing; and I aſked him, whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures? And whether we might not read Scriptures, and ſpeak Scriptures? he ſaid, Yes. I told him, that this act took hold only of ſuch as meet to plot and contrive inſurrections, as late experience had ſhewn; but they had never experienced that by us. Becauſe thieves are ſometimes on the road, muſt not honeſt men travel therefore? And becauſe plotters and contrivers have met to do miſchief, muſt not an honeſt, peaceable people, meet to do good? If we had been a people that did meet to plot and contrive inſurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourſelves into fours: for four might do more miſchief in plotting, than if there were four hundred; becauſe four might ſpeak out their minds more freely one to another, than four hundred could: therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we uſed to do; and I ſaid, I believed that he knew in his conſcience we were innocent.

After this and more diſcourſe, the lord mayor, whoſe name was Samuel Starling, let them go, ſeeing the in-

former was gone before, and now nobody accuſed them. The treatment this informer met with, made others ſcrupulous, yet ſeveral of their meetings in London were diſturbed, and ſome of their preachers caſt into priſon; but though the Baptiſts and other diſſenters ceaſed their publick meetings, yet the Quakers continued to keep theirs, as they uſed to do, whereby it happened that ſome of their meeting-houſes were pulled down, and amongſt others that at Ratcliffe, which was a ſubſtantial building, almoſt new.

After ſome time, the heat of perſecution in the city began to abate, but in other places it raged more fiercely; this engaged G. Fox to leave the city, and travel about the country in divers places to viſit his friends.

This year G. Fox had a very great fit of ſickneſs, to ſuch a degree that he became both blind and deaf, inſomuch that his recovery was deſpaired of by ſome; but after a time he grew better.

In the mean-while perſecution in many places grew very diſmal; for many of the friends were beaten with ſwords, and pikes, and muſkets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground, and the informers were ſo very eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings when there was none. Amongſt others, this following was an inſtance. At Droitwich, John Cartwright came to a friend's houſe there, who ſitting down to ſupper, he prayed before they ate, which being heard by an informer, the room being next to the ſtreet, he thereupon went immediately and informed that there was a meeting in the houſe, and ſo got a warrant to diſtrain the goods; and when he came riding with them in the evening, he fell from his horſe, and brake his neck, thereby getting his death inſtead of his prey, which he hunted after.

Now, although perſecution was not ſo hot in London, as in other places in the country, yet ſometimes even there it was very ſevere, as may be ſeen by the inſtance of William Penn, and William Mead, who were taken from a meeting and impriſoned, and tried for the ſame in the month of September.

The indictment contained, 'That William Penn, and William Mead, with divers other perſons, to the number of three hundred, at Gracechurch-ſtreet, in London, on the 15th of Auguſt, with force and arms, and tumultuouſly aſſembled together, and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, had preached there in the publick ſtreet, whereby was cauſed a great concourſe and tumult of people,' &c. That there was a publick meeting in the ſtreet, proceeded from neceſſity; becauſe a guard was placed in the paſſage to hinder friends from going into their meeting-houſe; but it was a great untruth, that they met with force and arms, which was never uſed by the Quakers. This indictment being read before the court, the priſoners were demanded, according to cuſtom, whether they were guilty, or not guilty? Whereupon W. Penn ſaid, 'It is impoſſible that we ſhould be able to remember the indictment verbatim, and therefore we deſire a copy of it, as is cuſtomary on the like occaſions.' The recorder, John Howel, ſaid hereupon, 'You muſt firſt plead to the indictment, before you can have a copy of it.' Then W. Penn ſaid, that he firſt deſired that no advantage might be taken againſt him, nor be deprived of any benefit, which he might otherwiſe receive, and that the court would promiſe him a fair hearing, and liberty of making his defence. Upon which the court ſaid, that no advantage ſhould be taken againſt him, and that he ſhould have liberty, and ſhould be heard. W. Penn then ſaid, that he pleaded not guilty in manner and form. Then W. Mead was demanded, whether he was guilty, or not guilty, and he anſwered the ſame as W. Penn. The court then proceeded with the buſineſs of trying thieves and murderers, making the priſoners ſtay waiting five hours, and then returned them to priſon; and after two days brought them again before the court. And then the officers of the court having taken off the priſoners hats, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed with it, and ordered the officers to put on their hats again, which being done, the recorder, John Howel, who upon all occaſions ſhewed his fierceneſs, accuſed him that they ſhewed no reſpect to the court, and

condemned them for it, in a fine of forty marks each, becauſe they had not taken off their hats. Thereupon W. Penn ſaid, that he deſired it might be obſerved, that they came into court with their hats off, (that is, taken off) and if they had been put on ſince, it is by order from the bench, and therefore not the priſoners, but the bench ſhould be fined. The jury then being ſworn, and the indictment read again, the witneſſes were called, who declared, that they ſaw W. Penn ſpeaking to the people, who were aſſembled in a great number in Gracechurch-ſtreet, but they could not hear what he ſaid.

The recorder then aſked William Mead, whether he was there? Who anſwered, that 'It is a maxim in your own law, *nemo tenetur accuſare ſeipſum*, which if it be not true Latin, I am ſure it is good Engliſh. That no man is bound to accuſe himſelf; why then doſt thou offer to enſnare me with ſuch a queſtion?' Hereupon the recorder ſhewed himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſaid, 'Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to enſnare you.' Then William Penn ſaid, 'We confeſs ourſelves to be ſo far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the aſſembling of ourſelves, to preach, pray, or worſhip the Eternal, Holy, Juſt God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indiſpenſable duty, to meet inceſſantly upon ſo good an account; nor ſhall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us.' The ſheriff, Richard Brown, ſaid, 'You are not here for worſhipping of God, but for breaking the law. You do yourſelves a great deal of wrong in going on in that diſcourſe.' Hereupon W. Penn anſwered, 'I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end, the bench, the jury, and myſelf, with theſe that hear us, may have a more direct underſtanding of this procedure, I deſire you would let me know by what law it is you proſecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment?' The recorder anſwered, 'Upon the common law.' 'Where is,' aſked W. Penn, 'that common law?' 'You muſt not think,' ſaid the recorder, 'that I am able to run up ſo many years, and over ſo many

adjudged caſes, which we call common law, to anſwer your curioſity.' 'This anſwer,' replied W. Penn, 'I am ſure is very ſhort of my queſtion, for if it be common, it ſhould not be ſo hard to produce.' The recorder replied, 'Sir, will you plead to your indictment?' 'Shall I,' anſwered W. Penn, 'plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you ſay I have broken, why ſhould you decline to produce that law, ſince it will be impoſſible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they ſhould meaſure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt, or contrary of my fact.' The recorder being angry, ſaid, 'You are a ſaucy fellow, ſpeak to the indictment.' W. Penn replied, 'I ſay, it is my place to ſpeak to matter of law; I am arraigned a priſoner, my liberty, which is next to life itſelf, is now concerned,' &c.

At this time ſeveral upon the bench urged hard upon the priſoner to bear him down. W. Penn ſaid, 'You are many mouths and ears againſt me, and if I muſt not be allowed to make the beſt of my cauſe, it is hard; I ſay again, unleſs you ſhew me and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I ſhall take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary.' The recorder then replying, ſaid, 'The queſtion is, whether you are guilty of this indictment. 'The queſtion,' ſaid W. Penn, 'is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal: it is too general and imperfect an anſwer, to ſay it is the common law, unleſs we know both where, and what it is: for where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion; and that law which is not in being, is ſo far from being common, that it is no law at all.' The recorder ſnapped him hereupon, with, 'You are an impertinent fellow, will you teach the court what law is? It is *lex non ſcripta*, that which many have ſtudied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment.' 'Certainly,' replied W. Penn, 'if the common law be ſo hard to be underſtood, it is far from being very common; but if the lord Coke in his inſtitutes, be of any conſideration, he tells us, that common

law is common right; and that common right is the great charter privileges confirmed, 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Coke's Inſtitutes, 2. p. 56.' The recorder taking no pleaſure in that ſpeech, ſaid, 'Sir, you are a troubleſome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to ſuffer you to go on.' 'I have,' replied W. Penn, 'aſked but one queſtion, and you have not anſwered me; though the rights and privileges of every Engliſhman be concerned in it.' 'Well,' ſaid the recorder, 'if I ſhould ſuffer you to aſk queſtions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiſer.' 'That is,' ſaid W. Penn, 'according as the anſwers are.' 'But,' ſays the recorder, 'we muſt not ſtand to hear you talk all night.' Whereupon W. Penn replied, 'I deſire no affront to the court, but to be heard in my juſt plea; and I muſt plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you ſuggeſt I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your reſolution to ſacrifice the privileges of Engliſhmen, to your ſiniſter and arbitrary deſigns.' This ſo enraged the recorder, that he called out to the officers, 'Take him away.' And to the lord mayor he ſaid, 'My lord, if you take not ſome courſe with this peſtilent fellow, to ſtop his mouth, we ſhall not be able to do any thing to night.' Then the lord mayor cried, 'Take him away; take him away; turn him into the bail-dock.'

W. Penn ſeeing how force and violence prevailed, ſaid, 'Theſe are but ſo many vain exclamations; is this juſtice or true judgment? Muſt I therefore be taken away becauſe I plead for the fundamental laws of England?' Then addreſſing himſelf to the jury, he ſaid, 'However, this I leave upon your conſciences, who are of the jury, and my ſole judges, that if theſe ancient fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular perſuaſions in matters of religion, muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained and obſerved, who can ſay he hath right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be raviſhed, our children enſlaved, our families ruined, and our eſtates led away in triumph, by every ſturdy beggar and malicious

informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeits for conſcience-ſake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.' The hearing of this emphatical ſpeech was ſo troubleſome to the recorder, that he cried, 'Be ſilent there.' At which W. Penn returned, 'I am not to be ſilent in a cauſe wherein I am ſo much concerned, and not only myſelf, but many ten thouſand families beſides.'

He being now haled into the bail-dock, it was W. Mead's turn to plead, who ſpoke thus, 'Ye men of the jury, I now ſtand here to anſwer to an indictment againſt me, which is a bundle of ſtuff full of lies and falſehoods: for therein I am accuſed, that I met *vi & armis*, *illicitè & tumultuosè*. Time was when I had freedom to uſe a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man: but now I fear the living God, and dare not make uſe thereof, nor hurt any man, nor do I know I demeaned myſelf as a tumultuous perſon. I ſay, I am a peaceable man; therefore it was a very proper queſtion that W. Penn demanded in this caſe, an oyer of the law, on which our indictment is grounded.' To this the recorder ſaid, 'I have made an anſwer to that already.' W. Mead then turning his face to the jury, ſaid, 'Ye men of the jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful aſſembly, Cook, he that once they called the lord Cook, tells us what makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful aſſembly. A riot is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his graſs, his wood, or break down his pales.' The recorder interrupting him, and ſcornfully pulling off his hat, ſaid, 'I thank you, ſir, that you will tell me what the law is:' and Richard Brown, that inveterate enemy of the Quakers, ſaid, 'He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while of ſome other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papiſt.' Mead, not being minded openly to affront this alderman, told him this well-known Latin verſe,

*Turpa eſt doctori cum culpa redarguit ipſum*,

for Brown himſelf formerly had been an Independent, though now he belonged to the church of England, and

was of the court party. But the lord mayor, who it ſeems was a great friend of Brown's, ſaid to Mead, 'You deſerve to have your tongue cut out.' 'And,' added the recorder, 'if you diſcourſe on this manner, I ſhall take occaſion againſt you.' To which Mead returned, 'Thou didſt promiſe me I ſhould have fair liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privilege of an Engliſhman, and you might be aſhamed of this dealing.' At this the envious recorder ſaid, 'I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be obſerved and kept; nor are you worthy of ſuch privileges as others have.' Mead well ſeeing that force and violence prevailed, and that his ſpeaking could not avail him, ſaid with a compoſed mind, 'The Lord be judge between me and thee in this matter.'

Upon which he was taken away into the bail-dock, and the recorder gave the jury the following charge; 'You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was ſpeaking. If they ſhould not be diſturbed, you ſee they will go on; there are three or four witneſſes that have proved this, that he did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this, you have heard by ſubſtantial witneſſes what is ſaid againſt them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to, and obſerve, as what hath been fully ſworn, at your peril.' That the recorder ſpoke this to the jury in the abſence of the priſoners, was indeed irregular; wherefore W. Penn, who heard this from afar, ſpoke with a very raiſed voice, that ſo he might be heard by thoſe on the bench, after this manner, 'I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and to this great aſſembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not moſt arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the abſence of the priſoners. I ſay it is directly oppoſite to, and deſtructive of the undoubted right of every Engliſh priſoner, as Cook in the 2 Inſt. on the chap. of Magna Charta, ſpeaks.' The recorder being thus unexpectedly laſhed for his extra-judicial procedure, ſaid with a diſdainful ſmile, 'Why, ye are preſent; you do hear, do you not?'

To which Penn returned, 'No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bail-dock: and you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard, having at leaſt ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment.' This plain ſpeaking of W. Penn, ſo enraged the recorder, that he cried, 'Pull that fellow down; pull him down.' For Penn it ſeems to be heard the better, was clambering up a little by the rails of the bail-dock. Then W. Mead ſaid, 'Are theſe according to the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen, that we ſhould not be heard, but turned into the bail-dock for making our defence; and the jury to have their charge given them in our abſence? I ſay, theſe are barbarous and unjuſt proceedings.' The recorder yet more incenſed, cried, 'Take them away into the hole: to hear them talk all night as they would, that I think doth not become the honour of the court.'

The priſoners being kept in a ſtinking hole, the jury were commanded up, to agree upon their verdict; and after an hour and half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above: the court then ſent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down; but the court uſed many indecent threats to the four that diſſented, and after much menacing language, and a very imperious behaviour againſt the jury, the priſoners being brought to the bar, the foreman was aſked, 'How ſay you; is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?' Foreman: 'Guilty of ſpeaking in Gracechurch-ſtreet.' The next queſtion was, 'Is that all?' Foreman: 'That is all I have in commiſſion.' This anſwer ſo diſpleaſed the recorder, that he ſaid, 'You had as good ſay nothing.' And the lord mayor, Starling, ſaid, 'Was it not an unlawful aſſembly? You mean he was ſpeaking to a tumult of people there?' To which the foreman returned, 'My lord, this was all I had in commiſſion.' Some of the jury ſeemed now to buckle to the queſtions of the court; but others oppoſed themſelves, and ſaid they allowed of no ſuch word as an unlawful aſſembly in their verdict: at

which ſome of the bench took occaſion to vilify them with opprobrious language. And becauſe the court would not diſmiſs the jury before they gave a more ſatisfactory verdict, they called for pen, ink, and paper, and ſo went up again: and after half an hour returning, delivered the following verdict in writing.

'We the jurors hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of ſpeaking or preaching to an aſſembly, met together in Gracechurch-ſtreet, the 14th of Auguſt laſt, 1670, and that William Mead is not guilty of the ſaid indictment.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Foreman. | Thomas Veer, | Charles Milſon, |
| | Edward Buſhel, | Gregory Walklet, |
| | John Hammond, | John Baily, |
| | Henry Henly, | William Lever, |
| | Henry Michel, | James Damaſk, |
| | John Brightman, | William Plumſted. |

This verdict the mayor and recorder reſented at ſo high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all moderation and civility; and the recorder ſaid, 'Gentlemen, you ſhall not be diſmiſſed till we have a verdict, that the court will accept; and you ſhall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco: you ſhall not think thus to abuſe the court; we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.

Now, though the jury had given in their verdict, and ſignified that they could give no other, yet all was in vain; and W. Penn ſeeing how they were treated againſt all reaſon, ſaid, 'My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict ſhould be free, and not compelled; the bench ought to wait upon them, but not foreſtal them. I do deſire that juſtice may be done me, and that the arbitrary reſolves of the bench may not be made the meaſure of my jury's verdict.' This modeſt ſpeech ſo incenſed the recorder, that he cried, 'Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.' And the lord mayor ſaid to the jury, 'You have heard that he

preached, that he gathered a company of tumultuous people, and that they do not only diſobey the martial power, but the civil alſo.' To which W. Penn returned, 'That is a great miſtake; we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be ſo ignorant, as to think, that we met there with a deſign to diſturb the civil peace, ſince (firſt) we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful houſe, and met as near it in the ſtreet as the ſoldiers would give leave. And (ſecondly) becauſe it was no new thing, nor with the circumſtances expreſſed in the indictment, but what was uſual and cuſtomary with us. It is very well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.'

The court now being reſolved to ſend the priſoners to their gaol, and the jury to their chamber, Penn ſpoke as followeth: the agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and ſuch an one being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will anſwer it at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law.' And looking upon the jury, ſaid, 'You are Engliſhmen, mind your privilege; give not away your right.' To which E. Buſhel, one of them returned, 'Nor will we ever do it.' Another of the jurymen pleaded indiſpoſition of body, and therefore deſired to be diſmiſſed; but the lord mayor ſaid, 'You are as ſtrong as any of them; ſtarve then, and hold your principles.' To which the recorder added, 'Gentlemen, you muſt be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is reſolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be diſmiſſed.' And though the jurymen ſaid, we are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed, yet the court ſwore ſeveral perſons, to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation; nay, they had not ſo much as a chamber-pot, though deſired. Thus force and violence prevailed. The next day, though it was the firſt of the week, vulgarly called Sunday, the court ſat again; and the priſoners being brought to the bar, the jury were called in, and their foreman was aſked, 'Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands

indicted, in manner and form aforeſaid, or not guilty?' To which he anſwered as before, 'William Penn is guilty of ſpeaking in Gracechurch-ſtreet.' The lord mayor then aſking, 'to an unlawful aſſembly?' Edward Buſhel anſwered 'No, my lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave laſt night; we have no other verdict to give.' 'You are,' returned the lord mayor, 'a factious fellow: I will take a courſe with you.' 'I have,' ſaid Buſhel, 'done according to my conſcience.' This ſo diſpleaſed the mayor, that he ſaid, 'That conſcience of yours would cut my throat; but I will cut yours ſo ſoon as I can.' To which the recorder added, 'He has inſpired the jury; he has the ſpirit of divination; methinks I feel him: I will have a poſitive verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.'

Then W. Penn ſaid, 'I deſire to aſk the recorder one queſtion: do you allow of the verdict given of W. Mead?' to which the recorder anſwered, 'It cannot be a verdict, becauſe you are indicted for a conſpiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it cannot be a verdict.' This made Penn ſay, 'If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and Magna Charta but a mere noſe-of-wax.' How!' aſked W. Mead then, 'Is not guilty no verdict?' 'No,' ſaid the recorder, 'it is no verdict.' To which Penn replied, 'I affirm that the conſent of a jury is a verdict in law; and if W. Mead be not guilty, it conſequently follows, that I am clear, ſince you have indicted us of conſpiracy, and I could not poſſibly conſpire alone.' After this, the court ſpoke to the jury, and cauſed them to go up again, if poſſible to extort another verdict from them. Then the jury being called, and aſked by the clerk, 'What ſay you? is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted, in manner and form aforeſaid, or not guilty?' The foreman anſwered, 'Guilty of ſpeaking in Gracechurch-ſtreet.' To which the recorder returned, 'What is this to the purpoſe? I ſay I will have a verdict,' And ſpeaking to E. Buſhel, ſaid, 'You are a factious fellow, I will ſet a mark upon you; and whilſt I have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.' To this the mayor added, 'Have you no more wit than to be led by ſuch a pitiful fellow? I will cut his noſe.'

Thus the court endeavoured to baffle the jury; and therefore it was not without very good reaſon that W. Penn ſaid, 'It is intolerable that my jury ſhould be thus menaced: is this according to the fundamental laws? are not they my proper judges by the great charter of England? what hope is there of ever having juſtice done, when juries are threatened, and their verdict is rejected? I am concerned to ſpeak, and grieved to ſee ſuch arbitrary proceedings. Did not the lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worſe than a felon. And do you not plainly ſeek to condemn ſuch for factious fellows, who anſwer not your ends? unhappy are thoſe juries, who are threatened to be fined, ſtarved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their conſciences.' Theſe plain expreſſions ſo troubled the recorder, that he ſaid to the lord mayor, 'My lord, you muſt take a courſe with this fellow.' And then the mayor cried, 'Stop his mouth; gaoler, bring fetters, and ſtake him to the ground.' To which W. Penn ſaid, 'Do your pleaſure; I matter not your fetters.' The recorder then ventured to ſay, 'Till now I never underſtood the reaſon of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in ſuffering the inquiſition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till ſomething like the Spaniſh inquiſition be in England.' The jury being required to find another verdict, and they ſaying they could give no other, the recorder grew ſo angry, that he ſaid 'Gentlemen, we ſhall not be at this paſs always with you; you will find the next ſeſſion of parliament there will be a law made, that thoſe that will not conform, ſhall not have the protection of the law. Your verdict is nothing, you play upon the court. I ſay, you ſhall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve, and I will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the third's time.'

The jury refuſing to give in another verdict, ſince they had all agreed to that which they had given, and ſhewing themſelves unwilling to go up again, the lord mayor bid the ſheriff to make them go. The ſheriff then coming off his ſeat, ſaid 'Come, gentlemen, you muſt go up; you ſee I am commanded to make you go.' Upon which the

jury went up, and ſeveral were ſworn to keep them without any accommodation as aforeſaid, till they brought in their verdict: and the priſoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remaining till next morning were then brought to the court again: and being ſet to the bar, and the jury called, and aſked, 'Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted in manner and form, &c. or not guilty?' the foreman anſwered, 'You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands ſubſcribed.' Now the clerk, who had that paper, was by the recorder ſtopped from reading it; and it was ſaid by the court, that paper was no verdict. Then the clerk aſked, 'How ſay you? Is William Penn guilty, &c. or not guilty?' to which the foreman anſwered, 'Not guilty.' The ſame queſtion being put concerning W. Mead, the foreman anſwered likewiſe, 'Not guilty.' The jury then being aſked by the clerk, whether they ſaid ſo all, they anſwered, 'We do ſo.' The bench ſtill unſatisfied, commanded that every perſon ſhould diſtinctly anſwer to their names, and give in their verdict, which they unanimouſly did, in ſaying, not guilty. The recorder, who could not bear this, ſaid, 'I am ſorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholeſome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands: but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and impriſonment till paid.'

W. Penn then ſtepping up towards the bench, ſaid, 'I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.' 'No,' ſaid the lord mayor, 'you are in for your fines.' 'Fines!' returned Penn, 'for what?' 'for contempt of the court,' ſaid the lord mayor. 'I aſk,' replied Penn, 'if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Engliſhman ſhould be fined or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers or jury? ſince it expreſsly contradicts the 14th and 29th chapters of the great charter of England, which ſay, no freeman ought to be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.' Inſtead of anſwering to this queſtion, the recorder cried, 'take him away, take him away; take him out of the court.' On which W. Penn ſaid, 'I can never urge the fun-

damental laws of England, but you cry, take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, ſince the Spaniſh inquiſition hath ſo great a place in the recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is juſt, will judge you for all theſe things.' W. Penn was not ſuffered to ſpeak any more, but he and W. Mead were haled to the bail-dock, and from thence ſent to Newgate, and ſo were their jury. How they came at length to be freed, I do not know.

The trial was afterwards publiſhed in print more at large than is ſet down here, and an appendix ſubjoined to it; in which are ſhewed not only the invalidity of the evidence, but alſo of the abſurdity of the indictment, and the illegal proceedings of the court; and from the great charter, that they had been dealt with contrary to law. The caſe of the lord chief juſtice Keeling is alſo mentioned, who having put reſtraints upon juries, a committee of parliament, the 11th of December, 1667, came to this reſolution, 'That his proceedings were innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he had uſed an arbitrary and illegal power, which was of dangerous conſequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tended to the introducing an arbitrary government. Moreover, that in the place of judicature he had undervalued, vilified and condemned Magna Charta. And therefore, that he ſhould be brought to trial, in order to condign puniſhment, in ſuch manner as the houſe ſhall judge moſt fit and requiſite. Two days after, viz. *Die veneris*, the 13th of December, it was reſolved, that the precedents and practice of fining or impriſoning jurors for verdicts is illegal. The book containing the fore-mentioned trial of W. Penn and W. Mead was reprinted I think more than once; for it came to be much in requeſt, becauſe the liberties of the people were therein well defended, and arbitrary power controuled. The title of it was, The People's Ancient and Juſt Liberties aſſerted; and underneath was added this well known verſe of Juvenal,

*Sic volo, ſic jubeo; ſtat pro ratione voluntas.*

This matter was more circumſtantially treated of in a

book in print, by Thomas Rudyard a lawyer, who ſhewed therein at large the right of juries, and the unlawfulneſs of the proceedings then in vogue; which he made appear plainly, both from law, and by citations from the books of eminent lawyers. And having ſometimes vigorouſly pleaded the cauſe of the oppreſſed, he alſo became the object of perſecuting fury, which could not endure his faithful defending of the innocent. And therefore this ſummer the magiſtrates of London iſſued out a warrant to break open his houſe in the dead of the night, in order to apprehend him; and this warrant was executed by the ſoldiers of one captain Holford; and the next day he was ſent to Newgate by a mittimus under the hands and ſeals of the lord mayor Samuel Starling, William Peak, Robert Hanſon, and ſeveral others, under pretence, that he ſtirred up perſons to diſobedience of the laws, and abetted and encouraged ſuch as met in unlawful and ſeditious conventicles, contrary to the late act. But his caſe being brought before the juſtices of the court of Common Pleas, at Weſtminſter, by an *habeas corpus*, that court, after ſolemn debate, gave their judgment, that Thomas Rudyard was unjuſtly impriſoned, and unlawfully detained. And ſo he was ſet at liberty. But the lord mayor Samuel Starling fretting at this diſcharge, found out new ſtratagems to compaſs his ends upon him. For an indictment was formed againſt him for having hindered due courſe of law againſt one Samuel Allingbridge. But Rudyard ſo well defended himſelf, that he was acquitted; which ſo incenſed the lord mayor, that not long after he was again committed to Newgate, on a religious account, viz. for having been in the meeting at Whitehart-court in Gracechurch-ſtreet. The proceedings againſt him and others on that account were no leſs arbitrary than thoſe againſt W. Penn and W. Mead already mentioned, and therefore Rudyard expoſed his and their trials in print; and ſeeing he underſtood the law, he was the more able to ſhew the unjuſtneſs of theſe proceedings, and how inconſiſtent ſuch proſecutions were with the laws of the land.

But to avoid prolixity, I ſhall relate but little of them, ſince many things occur therein, which have been men-

tioned already in other caſes. How the recorder Howel was inclined in reſpect to religion, may be deduced from what hath been ſaid already of his panegyrick upon the Spaniſh inquiſition. And to Rudyard and his fellow-priſoners he gave no obſcure evidence what religion he preferred; for they ſaying, that they were always quiet and peaceable in their aſſemblies, and that the laws againſt riots were never intended againſt them, but popiſh, or ſuch like diſturbers of the peace. The recorder returned, that the Papiſts were better ſubjects to the king, than they were; and that they were a ſtubborn and dangerous people, and muſt either be brought under, or there was no ſafe living by them. The priſoners offering to vindicate themſelves from theſe odious and foul aſperſions, were not ſuffered to ſay any thing in their own defence; but inſtead of hearing them, they were by order of the lord mayor and the recorder thruſt into the bail-dock, and treated almoſt at the ſame rate as W. Penn and W. Mead had been before.

But violence prevailed now; and the recorder, becauſe of his outrageous behaviour againſt the Quakers, was ſo much in favour of the court of juſtice, that alderman Jo. Robinſon did not ſtick to tell them, that the recorder deſerved an hundred pounds for his ſervice done at the Old Bailey the laſt ſeſſions. And his propoſal ſo took, that the court conſented to pay him for the ſaid ſervice an hundred pounds by the chamberlain of London. And ſince this was ſo well known to T. Rudyard, that in a book he publiſhed, he named the date of the ſaid order, viz. the 8th of October, 1670: and that other orders had been given for two hundred pounds more to him, within eight months laſt paſt; he, to reprehend ſuch doings in a ſatirical way, called them, 'an excellent way to eaſe the treaſury of being over-burthened with orphans' money,' by which ſiniſter ends, and diſpoſitions of its caſh, the chamber was ſo deeply in debt, that it was almoſt incredible.

Now, ſince Rudyard as a lawyer, had a more full knowledge of theſe unlawful proceedings againſt him and his friends, than many others, he compoſed a treatiſe of thoſe proſecutions, which he called the Second Part of the

peoples' ancient and juſt liberties aſſerted. And true lovers of their country were pleaſed with it: for that party which countenanced popery, and therefore endeavoured to violate the people's rights, ſtrove to get the upper hand.

Perſecution was now very hot and fierce all over the country, becauſe a door was opened for all baſe and wicked fellows to get booty by informing; for by the act againſt meetings, (which, though religious, were branded with the name of ſeditious), the informer was to have a third part of the impoſed fine. This ſet on many vile perſons, and among theſe ſometimes thieves and infamous fellows, to render any comings together of Quakers, though it was but a viſit or a burial, the name of a meeting, and to ſwear that a meeting had been kept there. Nay, ſometimes they ſwore only by gueſs, that in ſuch a place a meeting had been kept, though the witneſſes had not ſeen it, as was requiſite by law. And this informing came ſo much in vouge, that ſome magiſtrates themſelves turned informers.

*——Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*
*Auri ſacra fames!* *

I might write a large volume of theſe abominable deeds, if I could find leiſure for it; yet now and then I will mention a few inſtances, by which the reader may make a conjecture of the reſt.

This year at Alford in Somerſetſhire, in the month called Auguſt, the corpſe of one Samuel Clothier was buried, and though in the burying-place all were ſilent, yet the juſtice, Robert Hunt, fined ſome that had been at the burial, for having aſſiſted at this pretended meeting.

In Nottingham it happened in the latter end of this year, that the juſtice, Penniſton Whaley, who had fined many of thoſe called Quakers, for frequenting their religious meetings, encouraged the people at the ſeſſions to perſecute the Quakers without any pity, ſaying to them, 'Harden your hearts againſt them; for the act of the 35th of queen Elizabeth, is not made againſt the Papiſts,

* What will not the curſed craving after gain induce the human mind to undertake.

ſince the church of Rome is a true church, as well as any other church; but theſe Quakers are erroneous and ſeditious perſons.' By theſe words one may eaſily judge to what religion this juſtice of peace was inclined; but ſuch diſſemblers feigned to be Proteſtants, that ſo they might bear honourable offices. I paſs by unmentioned many perſons, who by beating, puſhing, and trampling, were grievouſly abuſed in their meetings, to that degree, that ſome not long ſurvived the violence committed on them, and felt the painfulneſs or ſmart of it till death.

This year about midſummer, Thomas Bud deceaſed at Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, after having been priſoner about eight years and a half, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear. Some hours before his death, he was heard to ſay, that he had renewed his covenant with God, and was well ſatisfied in it; and that he believed God would ſuſtain him by the right hand of his juſtice; and that he rejoiced and thanked God that all his children walked in the way of the Lord.

At Warborough in Oxfordſhire, thoſe called Quakers were alſo moſt grievouſly abuſed in their religious meetings, and even aged women not ſpared; which often cauſed the cry of innocent children to go up to heaven, when they ſaw their mothers thus ill treated. For magiſtrates themſelves to break their canes to pieces on thoſe that were met together, was but an ordinary thing; and then ſemetimes other ſticks were made uſe of: often alſo women were ſtripped of their upper garments; and this accompanied with the ſpoil of goods. That the perſecutors were thus enraged was not ſtrange, when we conſider that ſome were ſtirred up to it by their teachers; an inſtance of which was given by Robert Prieſt of the ſame place, who once ſaid in his ſermon, that the king's laws, though they were contrary to the law of God, yet ought to be obeyed. Quite otherwiſe was the doctrine of the apoſtle Peter and John, when they ſaid to the Jewiſh council, 'Judge ye whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God.'

In Northamptonſhire, where perſecution was alſo very hot, the biſhop of Peterborough ſaid publickly in the

ſteeple-houſe, after he had commanded the officers to put in execution the laſt act againſt ſeditious meetings, 'Againſt all fanaticks it hath done its buſineſs, except the Quakers; but when the parliament ſits again, a ſtronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but alſo to ſell them for bond ſlaves.' Thus the churchmen blew the fire of perſecution.

At York alſo, the ſpoiling of goods was fiercely driven on by alderman Richardſon; and even boys and girls, that were under ſixteen years of age, and therefore not ſubject to the penalty of the law, were fined; and when the conſtables ſhewed themſelves unwilling to aſſiſt in the roberry, they were ſnarled at, and one perſecuted for not performing his duty, becauſe he had refuſed to take away a man's cloak. But if I ſhould mention the ill uſage committed in all counties and places, when ſhould I come to a concluſion!

Thomas Green, a grave man, with whom I have been very familiarly acquainted, being in prayer at a meeting at Sabridgworth in Hertfordſhire, was pulled off his knees, and dragged out; and being brought before the juſtices Robert Joſlin and Humphrey Gore, they fined him twenty pounds, for ſpeaking or preaching at the ſaid meeting; and granted a warrant to John Smith and Paul Tomſon, conſtables, to diſtrain; upon which they went into the ſaid Thomas Green's ſhop in Royſton, and took away as much goods as were worth fifty pounds. But this did not quench his zeal; for like a true and faithful paſtor he continued to feed the flock, and to edify the church with his gift: in which he was very ſerviceable.

At another time, the juſtices Peter Soames and Thomas Mead, gave a warrant to diſtrain twenty pounds worth of goods from the ſaid Thomas Green, for preaching at a meeting at Upper Chiſſel in Eſſex. And the officers going to Thomas Green's ſhop, took all they could get, leaving nothing in the ſhop but a ſkein of thread, which was fallen on the ground, and not obſerved by them.

Theophilus Green ſuffered alſo great ſpoil of goods: for having preached in a meeting at Kingſton-upon-Thames, he was put into the ſtocks for ſome hours, and fined

twenty pounds. And having preached the three next firſt-days of the week at Wandſworth, was for each fined at the ſame rate.

The week following, being at Uxbridge, and viſiting ſome poor children of his friends, whoſe father and mother died ſhortly one after another, he took two of them as his own, and looked after the diſpoſing of the reſt. And ſtaying there till the Firſt-day of the week, he went to the meeting, and exhorted his friends to keep their meetings in the name of Jeſus: at the ſpeaking of which words the conſtable and informer came in, and carried him away to juſtice Ralph Hawtrey, who fined him twenty pounds, and ſent him priſoner to Newgate in London, with a mittimus; wherein he charged him, that he had exhorted the people to keep their meetings in the name of Jeſus, notwithſtanding the laws of men to the contrary. Warrants being iſſued forth to make diſtreſs for the above mentioned fines, which amounted to one hundred pounds, five ſhillings, they came and opened his doors, and took away all his goods they found, leaving him neither bed nor ſtool. And after he had been kept priſoner three months, he with ſeven more was brought to the ſeſſions-houſe at Hicks's-hall, and the oaths of allegance and ſupremacy were tendered to them. To which his plea was, 'As an Engliſhman, I ought either to be acquitted or condemned, for the cauſe for which I was committed, before I ſhould anſwer to any other matter or cauſe. Beſides, I look upon myſelf to be illegally committed, as being fined and committed for the ſame fact.' But they told him, he muſt anſwer whether he would ſwear or no, and then he ſhould be heard. But continuing to refuſe ſwearing, he was remanded to priſon with the reſt; and afterwards being ſent for again, and ſtill unwilling to break Chriſt's command, not to ſwear at all, the ſentence of premunire was read againſt him and his fellow-priſoners, and ſo they continued in gaol above two years, till they were diſcharged by an act of grace from the king.

The meetings of thoſe called Quakers were miſerably diſturbed in Horſlydown in the county of Surry. On the 25th of September ſeveral muſketeers came into the meet-

ing-houſe, and haling thoſe that were met together in the ſtreet, the troopers came riding amongſt them, and beat and abuſed them violently, puſhing them with their carbines, which the others did with their but-ends of their muſkets, to that degree, that above twenty perſons were wounded and ſorely bruiſed; nay, ſo deſperately wicked were theſe miſchievous fellows, that a party of horſe ſought to ride over theſe harmleſs people; but the horſes, more merciful than their riders, and not going forward, they turned them, and by curbing and reigning them backward, ſtrove to do what miſchief they could. On the 2d of October theſe peaceable people being kept out of their meeting-place, there came a party of foot, and a party of horſe, and abuſed them no leſs violently than the week before; inſomuch that with beating and knocking they broke ſeveral of their muſkets and pikes, and one carbine, and above thirty perſons were ſo ſorely wounded and bruiſed, that their blood was ſpilt in the ſtreets.

On the 9th of the ſaid month the ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, came again to the meeting at the aforeſaid place, and one of them having a ſhovel, threw the dirt and mire from the channels, on both men and women; and after him the horſe and foot came, and fell upon them, ſtriking and knocking down, without reſpect to age or ſex, until they drew blood from many; and when ſome of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houſes, and ſaved their lives, the ſoldiers forced open the door, and haled them into the ſtreet again, and plucked off their hats, that they might ſtrike on their bare heads; inſomuch that many had their heads grievouſly broken. Some troopers alſo tore the women's clothes off their backs, and haled them through the mire by their horſe ſides; and ſome of the foot ſoldiers put their hands in a moſt ſhameful manner under the women's coats: nay, a ſoldier twice ſtruck a woman, that was big with child, with his muſket on the belly, and once on the breaſt, whilſt another flung dirt in her face: ſo that ſhe miſcarried. And above fifty perſons were this day ſorely wounded and bruiſed. The 16th of the ſaid month theſe conſcientious people meeting again to perform their worſhip to God, a

great party of horſe and foot came, and fell to beating them ſo violently, as if they would have killed all on the ſpot; ſo that the blood ran down about the ears of many; and one of the conſtables endeavouring to ſtop the wicked crew from ſhedding more blood, they fell upon him alſo and broke his head; and when they were rebuked for their cruel dealing, ſome ſaid, 'If you knew what orders we have, you would ſay we dealt mercifully with you.' And being aſked, 'How can you deal thus with a people that make no reſiſtance nor oppoſition;' they anſwered, 'We had rather, and it would be better for us, if you did reſiſt and oppoſe.' For which it appeared plainly, that this miſchief was done to provoke oppoſition, that ſo they might have imbrued their hands in the blood of theſe ſufferers, and ſo have had their lives and goods for a prey. It was therefore thought convenient, to acquaint the king and his council with this barbarous cruelty; which had ſuch effect, that ſome ſtop was made to theſe exceſſive cruelties, though their abuſes did not altogether ceaſe.

About this time it happened that Solomon Eccles came to Cork in Ireland, and went into the cathedral, where the prieſt, Benjamin Croſs, preached in a ſurplice; and having formerly been a Preſbyterian preacher in Dorſetſhire in England, had there ſaid, that he had rather go to a ſtake and be burned, than to put on a ſurplice. This prieſt (now become a turn-coat for gain), having finiſhed his ſermon, and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles ſaid, that the prayer of the wicked was an abomination to the Lord. And knowing the deceitfulneſs of the ſaid prieſt, and his being an apoſtate, he added, 'What ſhall be done to the man that makes ſhipwreck of a good conſcience?' For this he was taken, and by the mayor committed to priſon, where being kept ten days, he was accuſed as a vagabond, and without any examination, whipped along the ſtreets of Cork, from North-Gate to South-Gate, and received about ninety ſtripes, and then was expelled. We have ſeen heretofore inſtances of his great zeal; and though in ſome reſpect he might by it have been tranſported a little too far, yet he gave proofs of a ſincere heart; for having ſaid ſome years after to one John Story (who launched out into

great haughtineſs and arrogancy) that it was the word of the Lord that he ſhould die that year, (which by ſomebody to ſet a gloſs upon it, was interpreted to be meant of the ſpiritual death), yet Eccles himſelf ſaid afterwards, both at London and Briſtol, and elſewhere, that he had not ſpoken this according to the counſel of the Lord; but that it had been in his own will, and from a forward mind; and that he had felt the anger of the Lord, becauſe he had called theſe his own words the word of the Lord; which he really repented of.

In the beginning of the year 1671, G. Fox was at London, and though by reaſon of a heavy ſickneſs, of which he began to recover, he continued ſtill weak, yet he did not omit preaching; and about this time he made the following prayer to the Lord, which he put in writing:

'O Lord God Almighty! proſper Truth, and preſerve juſtice and equity in the land, and bring down all injuſtice and iniquity, oppreſſion and falſehood, and cruelty, and unmercifulneſs in the land, that mercy and righteouſneſs may flouriſh.

'And, O Lord God! eſtabliſh and ſet up verity, and preſerve it in the land: and bring down in the land all debauchery, and vice, and whoredoms, and fornication; and this raping ſpirit, which cauſeth and leadeth people to have no eſteem of thee, O God! nor their ſouls or bodies, nor of Chriſtianity, modeſty, or humanity.

'And, O Lord! put it in the magiſtrates hearts, to bring down all this ungodlineſs, and violence, and cruelty, profaneneſs, curſing and ſwearing: and to put down all theſe whore-houſes and play-houſes, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither ſhall come; but ſuch works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all theſe things in the nation to ſtop thy wrath, O God, from coming on the land.

This Prayer was writ the 17th Day, at Night, of the 2d Month, 1671.

'G. Fox.'

G. Fox thinking his wife now at liberty, underſtood that her enemies, notwithſtanding the king's order to releaſe her, had found means to hold her ſtill in priſon. Therefore he did not give himſelf reſt, till by the help of others he obtained from the king a diſcharge under the great ſeal, to clear both her and her eſtate, after ſhe had been ten years a priſoner, and premunired. This royal order he ſent forthwith down to her, and thus ſhe was ſet at liberty.

Now ſince the heat of perſecution began to cool, he felt himſelf inclined to make a voyage to America, to viſit his friends there. Of this his intention he gave notice to his wife by a letter, and deſired her to come up to London; which ſhe did accordingly. And he having taken leave of her, ſet ſail in the latter part of the ſummer towards America, with ſeveral of his friends that accompanied him.

Now whilſt I leave him on ſhip-board, I cannot forbear to mention, that this year at London came forth a witty pamphlet with this title, An eaſy Way to get Money *cum Privilegio*, without fear or cumber, printed for the ſociety of informers. This book contained a ſatirical rebuke to the informers, and began thus: 'To all you that can work, and will not; and to all thoſe that through other ways of extravagancy have brought yourſelves into debt, neceſſity, or other wants, (for your ſpeedy ſupply and future ſupport,) there is an opportunity put into your hands, that is both ſafe, profitable, and honourable. It is to be informers.'

Next the author ſaid, 'That it was an eaſy way, ſince it was no more than to ſeek out where there were in any houſe, barn, ſtable, or backſide, five perſons beſides thoſe of the family; though they ſpoke never a word. If you do but ſwear it (thus he continued) to be a conventicle, then it is a conventicle. It is no matter if there were never a thought in their hearts as to plotting or contriving inſurrections; (for which the law was made) they being there, it is ſufficient to have them fined five ſhillings a piece the firſt time, and twenty pounds for the houſe: and for the ſecond time ten ſhillings a piece; and if the juſtices be not well adviſed, it may be for the ſecond time for the houſe you may get

twenty pounds more, although the act doth not grant it. And of all this it is ſaid, the thirds is yours: this you may eaſily have; for the juſtices are afraid of your power, ſince you have them under your lee; ſo they will not much queſtion you, leſt they be counted fanaticks; and they know that if they do not pleaſe your wills, your power is ſuch, that you may recover fifty pounds for your parts, by action, ſuit, bill, or plea, in any of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, wherein no eſſoine, protection, or wager of law ſhall lie. Can your hearts deſire more? who will not be informers? that muſt have all clauſes conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially to their juſtification and encouragement.!'

As to the profitableneſs, the author ſaid, 'Beſides the twenty pounds and ten ſhillings a piece for meeting, if you can but tempt any by your queſtions, or other provocations, to ſpeak but a word to anſwer you, it will ſerve to make him a preacher, and then for the firſt time there is twenty pounds, and for the ſecond forty pounds. It is no matter what is ſpoke, or to what concern; if you ſwear you did hear ſuch an one ſpeak, it is enough to make him a preacher. And as to the inability, there is no danger that you ſhould fall ſhort of your ſalary; for you can by your power make void that old proverb, Where it is not to be had, the king muſt loſe his right. But your prerogative is ſuch, that if the offender hath it not, you can command your ſervants to levy it on any other that is not an offender in that nature, provided he be there, otherwiſe an appeal will be granted.'

At this rate the author treated the matter, taking out of the way all difficulties and ſcruples which any might have objected; and though he did this moſtly in a burleſque way, yet what he ſaid was ſo firm and ſtrenuous, that he gave proofs of being a man of underſtanding, and of a great wit; for though in an ingenious way he ſhewed the abominableneſs of this informing trade, yet he propoſed it ſafe every way: and if any might tell them they were knights of the poſt; yet however the thing fell out, it was never attended with loſs, but always with a certain gain; ſince in the proſecution nothing could be objected, but

what might eaſily be quaſhed, and the oppoſers thus fruſtrated. 'And when to all theſe infallible profits was added the honourableneſs of the office, what could one deſire more? for was it not honourable indeed to command both magiſtrates and military officers, to follow the informers where they will? and to obtain this office, one needed not to be at great coſt to purchaſe it, nor to break his pate with ſtudying; ſince at the very firſt conventicle they entered, they might commence doctors.' But of what religion or profeſſion theſe informers ſhould be, the author himſelf ſeemed not to know: 'They muſt be no jews,' ſaid he, 'for theſe were not to covet their neighbours' ox, nor aſs, nor any thing that was their neighbours; neither ſhould they be gentiles, for they had conſcience accuſing, and did by nature the things contained in the law, having the law writ in their hearts. And Chriſtians they could be by no means; for they ſay they forſake the devil and all his works, and all the luſts of the fleſh, and not to hurt any by word nor deed, which is leſs than by ſwearing,' [the common fact of the informers.] To conclude, the author ſaid: 'for any into whoſe hands this may come, if they fear any danger in it, they ought not to conceal it, but to bring it before ſome juſtice, or the chief magiſtrate of the place, with an account how they came by it, and then they are innocent: then if it cannot clear itſelf, let it lie in priſon till it periſh.'

Now I return to George Fox, whom we left in the ſhip going to America. During his voyage he ſuffered much in his body; for the many hurts and bruiſes he had formerly received, and the griefs and infirmities he had contracted in England by cold, and hardſhips, and long impriſonments, returned upon him now he came to ſea, and cauſed great pain. And after having been ſeven weeks and ſome odd days at ſea, he, with his fellow-travellers, came ſafe to the iſland of Barbadoes. His occurrences there he hath deſcribed at large in his journal. Many of the great ones, eſpecially the governor, ſhewed him much kindneſs. And after he had edified his friends there on many occaſions; and exhorted them to the maintaining of good order, both in things relating to the church, and in

the governing of their blacks; he now, being reſtored to health again, departed the iſland after a ſtay of three months, and ſet ſail for Jamaica, where he had not been long, but Elizabeth Hooton, ſeveral times mentioned in this work, departed this life, having been well the day before ſhe died; and thus ſhe finiſhed her days in a good frame of mind. After he had been there about ſeven weeks, he performed his ſervice to his ſatisfaction.

In the beginning of the year 1672 he took ſhipping for Maryland, where being come, he with thoſe with him travelled through woods and wilderneſſes, over bogs and great rivers, to New-England. By the way he had ſometimes opportunity to ſpeak to the Indians and their kings; and at other times he met with ſingular caſes, all which, for brevity's ſake, I paſs by in ſilence. He went alſo to the town formerly called New Amſterdam, which name now is changed into that of New York. Here he lodged at the governor's houſe, and had alſo a meeting there. From thence he returned again to Maryland, and came alſo into Virginia, and Carolina, and thus ſpent above a year travelling to and fro in America.

Whilſt he was there, England and France were entered into war againſt Holland. Now though I have yet in freſh remembrance thoſe ſad times; and in what a wonderful manner it pleaſed the Lord to ſave our country from being quite overrun and ſubdued, yet I ſhall not mention thoſe things, ſince they are at large ſet down by other writers. Yet tranſiently I will give a touch of the remarkable exaltation of William III. prince of Orange, and afterwards king of Great Britain.

I have already ſaid in its due place, how it was endeavoured to exclude him by the perpetual edict from ever being ſtadtholder or deputy. But how ſtrong ſoever this edict was ſworn to, yet heaven brought it to nought, and broke the ties of it by the refuſe of the nation: for women, and many others of the mob, forced the magiſtrates, when the French were come into the province of Utrecht, and all ſeemed to run into confuſion, to break their oaths, and to reſtore that young and magnanimous prince to the honour and dignity of his renowned anceſtors. The miſerable fate

of the two brethren, John and Cornelius de Wit, who had been chief inſtruments in making the ſaid perpetual edict, and were killed and butchered in a moſt abominable manner by the inhabitants of the Hague, was not without good reaſon diſapproved by many grave and ſerious people. It is true, it was a great miſtake that they acted ſo, that they ſeemed to ſet limits to the Almighty; though I do not believe their intent was ſuch, but rather that what they did in making void the ſtadtholderſhip, they judged conducive to the benefit of their country. After they were murdered, the widow of Cornelius de Wit ſeemed to have a firm belief that they were entered into everlaſting glory: for though for ſome time after their death ſhe was under a great concern, conſidering how on a ſudden, and at unawares, they were hurried out of this life; yet at length, early in the morning, either in a dream or in a viſion, ſhe beheld them both in a cloud in a glorious form, with hands lifted up, and clothed with pure white raiment. By this ſight all her former ſolicitude and fear was taken from her, and ſhe was fully ſatisfied concerning their eternal well-being. I have this relation from ſeveral credible perſons, who ſaid they had it from her own mouth; and they all agreed in the material circumſtances.

In England, where it was obſerved that perſecution for religion, during the war, could not but be prejudicial to the publick, the king publiſhed a declaration, whereby the execution of the penal laws was ſuſpended. But ſince the Papiſts, againſt whom the moſt of theſe laws had been made, thus got liberty to enter into offices of truſt, many of the people grew jealous on this account; inſomuch that the parliament in the year 1673, ſhewed their diſlike to the king, telling him, that the penal ſtatutes about eccleſiaſtical matters could not be ſuſpended but by an act of parliament. The king wanting money to continue the war, yielded ſomewhat to parliament, in reſpect to the popiſh prieſts and jeſuits, conſenting that the laws againſt them ſhould continue in force.

This ſummer G. Fox returned to England, and arrived at Briſtol, of which he gave notice to his wife by a letter; and ſhe delayed not to go to him; with her came alſo her

ſon-in-law Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters: her other ſon-in-law John Rouſe, accompanied by William Penn, &c. came alſo from London; and ſince at that time there was a fair at Briſtol, many of his friends came thither from other parts of the country, and ſo were at a great meeting he had there, in which he preached concerning the three chief teachers, viz. 'That God was the firſt teacher of man and woman in paradiſe; and that as long as they kept to God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in righteouſneſs, holineſs, and dominion over all that God hath made: but when they hearkened to the falſe teaching of the ſerpent, who was out of truth, and ſo diſobeyed God, they loſt the image of God, to wit, righteouſneſs and holineſs; and ſo coming under the power of ſatan, were turned out of paradiſe. That this ſerpent was the ſecond teacher, and that man following his teaching, came into miſery, and into the fall. And that Chriſt Jeſus was the third teacher, of whom God ſaid, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him:" and that this ſon himſelf ſaid, "Learn of me:" that he was the true goſpel teacher, that never fell, and therefore was to be heard in all things, ſince he was the Saviour and the Redeemer, and having laid down his life, had bought his ſheep with his precious blood. Of this he treated at large in the ſaid meeting. After ſome ſtay at Briſtol, he went to Glouceſterſhire; and going from thence to Oxfordſhire, he came at length to London, where perſecution being not ſo hot now as formerly, the Baptiſts and Socinians were very active in blackening the Quakers, by publiſhing ſeveral books againſt them, in which they averred that the Quakers were no Chriſtians. But theſe malicious books were not left unanſwered, nor the falſehoods contained in them.

After G. Fox had been ſome time at London, he went with his wife and Thomas Lower to Worceſter; and when he ſignified to her that it was like a priſon would be his ſhare, ſhe ſeemed not without reaſon grieved at it. And not long after had a meeting at Armſcot in Tredington pariſh, after the meeting was ended, he, with Thomas Lower ſitting in the parlour, and diſcourſing with ſome

friends, they both were under pretence of having kept great meetings that might be prejudicial to the publick peace, taken by Henry Parker, juſtice, and ſent to Worceſter gaol, on the 17th of December, and his wife with her daughter returned into the north; and by that time he thought ſhe could be got home, he writ a ſhort letter to her, and exhorted her to be content with the will of the Lord. He alſo writ a letter to the lord Windſor, who was lieutenant of Worceſterſhire, and other magiſtrates, wherein he informed them of his impriſonment, and that he had not been taken in a meeting, but in a houſe where he had ſome buſineſs. He alſo ſignified, that he intended to have viſited his mother, from which he had now been ſtopped. But he could not thus obtain his liberty; yet Thomas Lower might have got free if he would; for his brother Dr. Lower, being one of the king's phyſicians, had procured Henry Savil a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, to write to the ſaid lord Windſor to releaſe Thomas Lower: but his love to his father-in-law, G. Fox, was ſuch, that he kept the ſaid letter by him unſent; and ſo they were both continued priſoners.

Now whilſt I leave them in priſon, I return once more to Miles Halhead, of whom mention hath been often made already. He being at Plymouth in this year, felt himſelf ſtirred up to go ſee John Lambert, who having formerly been a general, was now, as hath been ſaid in due place, confined to perpetual impriſonment, in a little iſland not far from Plymouth. To this iſland Halhead paſſed over, and though he found there a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, yet he got leave to ſee Lambert; and being come to him, he ſaid, 'Friend, is thy name John Lambert?' To which Lambert anſwered, 'Yea:' which made Miles ſay, 'Then I pray thee, friend, hear what the ſervant of the Lord hath to ſay to thee:' and he continued thus: 'Friend, the Lord God made uſe of thee and others for the deliverance of his people, and when you cried to him, he delivered you in your diſtreſſes, as at Dunbar, and other places, and gave an opportunity into your hands to do good: and you promiſed what great things you would do for the Lord's people: but truly John Lambert, ye

ſoon forgot your promiſes ye made to the Lord in that day and time of your great diſtreſs, and turned the edge of your ſword againſt the Lord's ſervants and handmaids, whom he ſent forth to declare his eternal truth; and made laws, and conſented to laws, and ſuffered and permitted laws to be made againſt God's people.' To this Lambert ſaid, 'Friend, I would have you know, that ſome of us never made laws, nor conſented to laws to perſecute you, or any of your friends; for perſecution we ever were againſt.' To which Miles returned, 'It may be ſo; but the Scripture of truth is fulfilled by the beſt of you: for although thou and ſome others have not given your conſent to make laws againſt the Lord's people, yet ye ſuffered and permitted it to be made and done; and when power and authority was in your hands, ye might have ſpoken the word, and the ſervants and handmaids of the Lord might have been delivered out of the devourers hands; but none was found amongſt you that would be ſeen to plead the cauſe of the innocent; ſo the Lord God of life was grieved with you, becauſe ye ſlighted the Lord and his ſervants, and began to ſet up your ſelf-intereſt, and to lay field to field, and houſe to houſe, and make your names great in the earth. Then the Lord took away your power and authority, your manhood and your boldneſs, and cauſed you to flee before your enemies, and your hearts fainted with fear, and ſome ended their days in grief and ſorrow, and ſome lay in holes and caves to this day. So the Lord God of heaven and earth will give a juſt reward to every one according to his works. So my dear friend, prize the great love of God to thee, who hath not given thy life into the hands of the devourers, but hath given thee thy life for a prey, and time to prepare thyſelf, that thou mayeſt end thy days in peace. And truly the Lord is good to all them that fear him, and believe in his name: for though all the powers of the earth riſe up againſt a poor innocent people, yet the Lord God of life and love was with them, and pleaded their cauſe, although all men ſlighted them: and truly, the beſt was but as a briar, and the moſt upright among them as a thorn hedge. If the Lord had not pleaded our

innocency, we had not had a being in the land of our nativity, glory to his name for ever, who hath not ſuffered or permitted more of the wrath of man, nor laws, nor decrees of men, to come againſt his people, that believe in his name, than hath been for his honour, and for his glory, and for the eternal good of all his ſons and daughters, and ſervants; and the remainder of the Lord God of life and love hath reſtrained to this day: glory, and honour, and living eternal praiſes be given and returned to the Lord God, and the Lamb for ever!'

Thus Halhead ended his ſpeech, and Lambert, who had heard him with good ſatisfaction, deſired him to ſit down, which Halhead did; and then Lambert called for beer, and gave him to drink; after which he ſaid to him, 'Friend, I do believe thou ſpeakeſt to me in love, and ſo I take it.' And then he aſked him, if he was at Dunbar fight? To which Halhead having anſwered 'No;' he further aſked, 'How do you know what great danger we were in at that time?' Upon which Halhead gave him to underſtand, that he coming that way a little time after the fight, and having viewed the town of Dunbar, and the ground about it where the Engliſh army lay, how the ſea was on the one hand of them, and hills and mountains on the other, and the great Scotch army before and behind them, he then took into ſerious conſideration, the great danger the Engliſh had been in, and thought how greatly the Engliſhmen were engaged to the Lord for their deliverance, to ſerve him in truth and uprightneſs of heart all the days of their life. 'Truly John,' ſaid Halhead, then to Lambert, 'I never ſaw thy face before to know thee, although I have been brought before many of our Engliſh commanders in the time of Oliver Cromwell.' Lambert then aſking, who they were, Halhead named the generals Fleetwood and Deſborough, major Blackmore, and colonel Fenwick, before whom he had been when he was governor of Edinburgh. Lambert then ſaid, he knew the moſt of thoſe men to have been very moderate, and that they ever were againſt perſecution. To which Miles replied, 'Indeed they were very moderate, and would

not be much ſeen to perſecute, or be ſevere with the Lord's people; but truly they permitted others to do it, and took little notice of the ſufferings of the people of God; ſo that none were found to plead our cauſe, but the Lord God.' To this Lambert ſaid, 'Although you and your friends ſuffered perſecution, and ſome hardſhips in that time, your cauſe therein is never the worſe for that.' 'That is very true,' returned Miles, 'but let me tell thee in the plainneſs of my heart, that is no thanks to you, but glory to the Lord for ever.' About two hours Miles diſcourſed with Lambert, and his wife and two daughters, and after he had cleared himſelf, he took leave of them, and ſo parted in love.

Now before I leave Halhead, I will inſert here a copy of a letter he writ in the year 1674, to G. Fox, who was then priſoner in Worceſter gaol: the ſaid letter was thus.

'George Fox,

'Thou dear and well beloved of the Lord, whom he ſent, out of his eternal love to me, and many more, who were in darkneſs and in blindneſs, ſeeking the living among the dead, to ſhew and direct us the way that leads out of ſin and evil, up to God eternal, bleſſed for evermore. The living, eternal God of life and love, that ſent thee into the north, keep and preſerve me by his eternal arm and power and all my dear friends and brethren, truly ſenſible of his eternal love, which I bear record hath been exceeding great, ſince the day the Lord made his precious truth known amongſt us. Therefore, dear George Fox, pray for me, for I am old, and infirm of body, and the ſight of my eyes grows exceeding weak, that I may be kept faithful and upright to the Lord, in my meaſure I have received of the Lord, in this day of his eternal love; that I may give my account with joy and rejoicing, and gladneſs of heart, and be preſented with thee, and all my brethren, blameleſs to the Lord, that I may go to my grave in peace, and reſt for evermore. Amen.

'My dear love to my good old friends, Margaret Fox, and Thomas Lower; their dear and tender love and care of me in months paſt, by me cannot be forgotten, as I

dwell and abide faithful to him, who is my light and life, my joy and peace, God over all, bleſſed for evermore. Amen. 'Miles Halhead.'

In the month called January, 167$\frac{3}{4}$, G. Fox, and Thomas Lower, were brought to their trial in the court at Worceſter, it being the laſt day of the ſeſſions; and when they came in, thoſe on the bench were ſtruck with paleneſs in their faces, and continued awhile ſpeechleſs, inſomuch that a butcher in the hall ſaid, 'What! are they afraid? Dare not the juſtices ſpeak to them?' At length juſtice Parker, by whoſe order G. Fox and T. Lower had been committed, made a long ſpeech, much to the ſame effect as the contents of the mittimus, and added, that he thought it a milder courſe to ſend them two to gaol, than to put his neighbours to the loſs of two hundred pounds, which they muſt have ſuffered, if he had put the law in execution againſt conventicles. But this was a very poor ſhift, and ſilly evaſion; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict them, or his neighbours by. When Parker had ended his ſpeech, the juſtices ſpoke to the priſoners, and began with Lower, whom they examined why he came into that country. And when they had done with him, they aſked of G. Fox an account of his travel, which he gave them, and ſhewed them clearly, that he and his friends, of whom ſo great a noiſe had been made by juſtice Parker, as if many had come together from ſeveral parts, were in a manner all but one family. When he had ended ſpeaking, the chairman Simpſon ſaid, 'Your relation or account is very innocent.' Then he and Parker having whiſpered awhile together, the ſaid chairman ſtood up, and ſaid, 'You Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have ſaid; but that we may be the better ſatisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy?' Now, though G. Fox anſwered to this, that they had ſaid they would not enſnare him, and that this was a plain ſnare, ſince they knew he and his friends would not take any oath; all was in vain, and they cauſed the oath to be read, which being done, he told them,

'I never took oath in my life, but I have always been true to the government. I was caſt into the dungeon at Darby, and kept priſoner ſix months there, becauſe I would not take up arms againſt king Charles, at Worceſter fight; and for going to meetings, I was carried out of Leiceſter, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles; and ye know in your own conſciences, that we, the people called Quakers, cannot take an oath, or ſwear in any caſe, becauſe Chriſt hath forbidden it; but as to the matter or ſubſtance contained in the oaths, this I can and do ſay, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be lawful heir and ſucceſſor to the realm of England; and do abhor all plots and plotters, and contrivances againſt him; and I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to him and all men, and deſire his and their proſperity; the Lord knows it, before whom I ſtand an innocent man. And as to the oath of ſupremacy, I deny the pope and his power, and abhor it with my heart.' Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, they cried, 'Give him the book,' viz. the Bible. 'The book,' ſaith G. Fox, 'ſaith "Swear not at all:" and he going on to declare his mind farther, they cried, 'Take him away gaoler:' who not ſhewing himſelf very forward, they cried again, 'Take him away: we ſhall have a meeting here; why do you not take him away?' And one of the bench ſaid, 'That fellow,' meaning the gaoler, 'loves to hear him preach.' The gaoler then taking him away, as he was turning from them, he ſaid, 'The Lord forgive you, who caſt me into priſon for obeying the doctrine of Chriſt.' After G. Fox was led away, the juſtices told T. Lower, he was at liberty; for they did not think it ſafe to deal with him at the ſame rate as they did with G. Fox, becauſe they thought he had ſome protection at court. Lower aſked then, why his father-in-law might no be ſet at liberty, as well as he, ſince they were both taken together, and their caſe was alike? But they telling him they would not hear him, ſaid, you may be gone about your buſineſs, for we have nothing more to ſay to you, ſeeing you are diſcharged.

This was all he could get from them; therefore after

the court was riſen, he went to ſpeak with them at their chamber, deſiring to know, what cauſe they had to detain his father, ſeeing they had diſcharged him; and wiſhing them to conſider, whether this was not partiality. Upon this Simpſon ſaid, 'If you be not content, we will tender you the oath alſo, and ſend you to your father.' To which Lower replied, 'Ye may do that, if ye think fit; but whether ye ſend me or no, I intend to go, and wait upon my father in priſon; for that is now my buſineſs in this country.' Then juſtice Parker ſaid to him, 'Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had no cauſe to ſend your father and you to priſon, when you had ſuch a great meeting, inſomuch that the parſon of the pariſh complained to me, that he had loſt the greateſt part of his pariſhoners; ſo that when he comes amongſt them, he hath ſcarce any auditors left.' To this Lower returned, 'I have heard that the prieſt of that pariſh comes ſo ſeldom to viſit his flock, but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes, that it was but charity in my father, to viſit ſuch a forlorn and forſaken flock: and therefore thou hadſt no cauſe to ſend my father to priſon for viſiting them, or for teaching, inſtructing, and directing them to Chriſt their true teacher, who had ſo little comfort or benefit from their pretended paſtor, who comes amongſt them only to ſeek for his gain from his quarter.' Upon this the juſtices fell a laughing; for Dr. Crowder, the prieſt ſpoken of, was then in the room, ſitting among them; though Lower did not know him, and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not to vindicate himſelf. But after Lower was gone away, the juſtices ſo jeſted on Crowder, that he grew aſhamed; and was ſo nettled with it, that he threatened to ſue T. Lower in the biſhop's court, upon an action of defamation: which Lower having heard of, ſent him word that he might begin if he would; and that he would anſwer him, and bring his whole pariſh in evidence againſt him. And he told him the ſame afterwards to his face; which ſo cooled the prieſt's eagerneſs, that he thought it more ſafe for him to let him alone.

Soon after the ſeſſions were over, an *habeas corpus* was ſent down to Worceſter, for the ſheriff to bring up G. Fox

to the king's bench bar; whereupon his ſon-in-law, Lower, conducted him: for the under ſheriff had made Lower his deputy, to convey G. Fox to London, who being arrived there, appeared before the court of king's bench, where he found the judges moderate, and they patiently heard him, when he gave them an account how he had been ſtopped in his journey, and committed to gaol; and how at his trial, the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy had been tendered to him; and alſo what he had offered to the juſtices as a declaration, that he was willing to ſign, inſtead of the ſaid oaths. To this it was told him, by the chief juſtice, that they would conſider farther of it. Being then delivered to the keeper of the king's bench, he was ſuffered to go and lodge at the houſe of one of his friends; for though he continued a priſoner, yet they were ſufficiently perſuaded that he would not run away. But after this, juſtice Parker, as it was ſaid, moved the court that G. Fox might be ſent back to Worceſter, that his cauſe might be tried there; for Parker ſaw clearly, that if G. Fox had been acquitted here, this would have tended to his ſhame, for having committed him unjuſtly.

A day then being appointed for another hearing, and G. Fox appearing again at the king's bench, and hearing that it was under deliberation to ſend him back to Worceſter, ſignified, that this was only to enſnare him, by putting the oath to him, that ſo they might premunire him, who never took oath in his life. And he farther told them, if he broke his yea, or nay, he was content to ſuffer the ſame penalty as thoſe that break their oaths. Now ſeeing Parker had ſpread a report at London, and it had been ſaid in the parliament-houſe, that when he took G. Fox, there were many ſubſtantial men with him, out of ſeveral parts of the nation, and that they had a deſign or plot in hand, G. Fox did not omit to ſhew the falacy of that malicious ſtory: and ſince he thus laid open Parker's ſhame, it was not ſtrange, that by his friends at court, he procured that the king's judges complied with his deſire that G. Fox ſhould be remanded to Worceſter gaol; inſomuch that whatever he ſaid, he could not prevent it; only this favour was granted him, that he might go his own way,

and at his leiſure, provided he would be there without fail by the aſſizes, which were to begin on the 2d day of the month called April.

G. Fox then after ſome ſtay, went down leiſurely, and being come to Worceſter, he was on the 2d day of the aforeſaid month, brought from the gaol, to an inn near the ſeſſions hall; but not being called that day, the gaoler came to him at night, and told him he might go home, meaning to the gaol; whereupon he walked thither, being accompanied by one of his friends. Next day being brought up again, a boy of about eleven years old was ſet to be his keeper. Having in my relation of the proceedings before the king's bench, paſſed by moſt part of the pleading, ſo I ſhall do here likewiſe, to avoid repetitions of what hath been ſeveral times related already, concerning ſuch kind of trials; yet I cannot paſs by in ſilence, that after he had given an account of his journey before he was taken, he added, that ſince his impriſonment, he had underſtood that his mother, who was an ancient and weak woman, and had deſired to ſee him before ſhe died, hearing that he was ſtopped and impriſoned in his journey, ſo that he was not likely to come and ſee her, it ſtruck her ſo, that ſhe died ſoon after; which had been very hard to him. Judge Turner, who formerly had been very ſevere to him, ſeemed now (as ſome thought) inclined to have him ſet at liberty, ſince he ſaw they had nothing juſtly againſt him; but Parker who had committed him, endeavoured to incenſe the judge againſt him; for if he had been releaſed, then he himſelf muſt have borne the blame of having committed G. Fox unjuſtly; and therefore he told the judge that G. Fox was a ringleader, that many of the nation followed him; and one knew not what it might come to. Yet the judge gave but little ear to all this, being willing to be eaſy; but he could not reſolve to do this, by ſetting G. Fox at liberty, leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe others; and thus in concluſion, G. Fox and his cauſe were referred to the ſeſſions again, and he continued priſoner, but with this proviſo, that he ſhould have the liberty of the town; which accordingly he had.

By this he got opportunity to ſpeak with many perſons,

and ſometimes with prieſts too, one of which aſked him, whether he was grown up to perfection? To which he anſwered, what he was, he was by the grace of God. 'This is,' replied the prieſt, 'a modeſt and civil anſwer.' 'But,' continued he, in the words of the apoſtle John, "If we ſay that we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us." And aſking what he ſaid to that? G. Fox returned with the words of the ſame apoſtle, "if we ſay that we have not ſinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." Moreover he ſaid, 'Chriſt came to deſtroy ſin, and to take away ſin. There is a time for people to ſee that they have ſinned, and there is a time for them to confeſs their ſin, and to forſake it, and to know the blood of Chriſt to cleanſe from all ſin.' After ſome more reaſoning, the prieſt ſaid, 'We muſt always be ſtriving;' to which G. Fox returned, that it was a ſad and comfortleſs ſort of ſtriving, to ſtrive with a belief that we ſhould never overcome: and he told him alſo, that Paul, who once cried out becauſe of the body of death, did alſo thank God, who gave him the victory; and that he ſaid there is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus: ſo that there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praiſing God for the victory. 'But' ſaid the prieſt, 'Job was not perfect.' To which G. Fox returned that God hath ſignified in Scripture, that Job was perfect and upright, and that he eſchewed evil: and that the devil himſelf was forced to confeſs, that God had ſet an hedge about him; which was not an outward hedge, but the inviſible heavenly power. Yet ſaid Job, replied the prieſt, 'he charged his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his ſight.' 'That is a miſtake,' ſaid G. Fox, 'for it was not Job ſaid ſo, but Eliphaz, who contended againſt Job.' 'Well but,' ſaid the prieſt, 'what ſay you to that Scripture, the juſteſt man that is, ſinneth ſeven times a day?' 'There is,' anſwered G. Fox, 'no ſuch ſcripture. So the prieſt was ſilent, and this conference broken off, of which I have related thus much, to ſhew that G. Fox was not ſuch a ſimple perſon, as ſome from mere envy have repreſented him; for he was never at a loſs for an anſwer, but had it always in readineſs.

Now the time of the ſeſſions being come again, where the juſtice, who was chairman, was one Street, G. Fox was called there before the juſtices, and then the ſaid juſtice exceedingly miſrepreſented the caſe, by telling the people, that G. Fox had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's ſubjects; for which he had been committed, and that for the trial of his fidelity, the oaths had been tendered to him. And then turning to G. Fox, he aſked him, ſince he had time to conſider of it, whether he would now take the oaths? G. Fox having obtained liberty to ſpeak for himſelf, gave a relation of his journey, and ſhewed that he and his friends had in no wiſe kept a meeting that occaſioned terror to any of the king's ſubjects; and as to the oaths, he ſhewed why he could not take them, and what he could declare inſtead thereof. But notwithſtanding all this, the oaths were read to him again; and he perſiſting in his refuſal to take them, the indictment was read alſo; and afterwards the chairman aſked him 'if he was guilty?' G. Fox anſwered, 'No, ſince the indictment was a bundle of lies,' which he proved in ſeveral particulars, aſking him, if he did not know in his conſcience that they were lies? To which he ſaid, it was their form. Whereupon G. Fox returned, it was not a true form. Then the chairman told the jury what they ſhould do in this caſe: and before they gave in their verdict, G. Fox ſaid to them, that it was for Chriſt's ſake, and in obedience to his and his apoſtle's command that he could not ſwear: 'and therefore (ſaid he) take heed what ye do; for before his judgment ſeat ye ſhall all be brought.' The chairman then ſaid, 'This is canting.' 'Why,' ſaid G. Fox, 'If to confeſs Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpoſe for me to ſay more among you. Yet ye ſhall ſee that I am a Chriſtian, and ſhall ſhew forth Chriſtianity; and my innocency ſhall be manifeſt.' By this his ſpeaking, the people generally were affected; but the jury however found the bill againſt him; which G. Fox nevertheleſs traverſed. Thus the matter could not be finiſhed now, and therefore he was aſked, to put in bail, till

the next ſeſſions; this he refuſed and warned his friends, that ſeemed willing to be bound for him, not to meddle with that, ſince there was a ſnare in it. Yet he told the juſtices, that he would promiſe to appear, if the Lord gave him health and ſtrength, and he were at liberty. Some of the juſtices ſhewed themſelves loving, and endeavoured to ſtop the reſt from indicting him, or putting the oath to him. But the chairman ſaid he muſt go according to law. Yet liberty was given G. Fox to go at large, till next quarter-ſeſſions.

He then went up to London; where the time of the yearly-meeting approached; but at the inſtance of ſome of his friends, he appeared again before the judges of the king's bench, and delivered to them the following declaration, ſetting forth what he was ready to promiſe inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

'This I do in the truth, and in the preſence of God declare, that king Charles the ſecond is lawful king of this realm, and of all others his dominions; and that he was brought in, and ſet up king over this realm by the power of God: and I have nothing, but love and good-will to him and all his ſubjects, and deſire his proſperity and eternal good. And I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and ſupremacy, and all his ſuperſtitious and idolatrous inventions; and do affirm, that he hath no power to abſolve ſin: and I do abhor and deteſt his murderings of princes, or other people, by plots and contrivances. And likewiſe I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers againſt the king and his ſubjects; knowing them to be works of darkneſs, and the fruits of an evil ſpirit, and againſt the peace of the kingdom, and not from the ſpirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, becauſe it is forbidden by Chriſt and the apoſtle; but if I break my yea or nay, then let me ſuffer the ſame penalty, as they that break their oaths.

'George Fox.'

This declaration, being the ſubſtance of what oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy contain, G. Fox preſented to

the judges of the king's bench; but the proceedings having gone on at Worceſter, they were unwilling to meddle with the buſineſs, but referred it to the next quarter-ſeſſions at Worceſter.

The yearly-meeting at London, at which he was, being over, he returned again to Worceſter, where the ſeſſions being held in the month called July, and he called to the bar, and the indictment read, juſtice Street cauſed the oaths to be read alſo, and tendered to him again. G. Fox then ſaid, that he was come to traverſe his indictment. But when he began to ſhew the errors that were in the indictment, viz. ſuch as were ſufficient to quaſh it, he was ſoon ſtopped, and the oath required of him; and he perſiſting in the refuſal, was by the jury found guilty. The chairman, how active ſoever he had been againſt G. Fox, yet was now troubled, and told him of a ſad ſentence he had to ſpeak againſt him. To which G. Fox returned, that he had many and more errors to aſſign in the indictment, beſides thoſe he had already mentioned. Whereupon the chairman told him, he was going to ſhew him the danger of a premunire, which was the loſs of his liberty, and all his goods and chattels, and to endure impriſonment during life. 'But,' added he, 'I do not deliver this as the ſentence of the court, but as an admonition to you.' Then the gaoler was bid to take him away; and G. Fox afterwards underſtood concerning this pretended admonition, that the chairman had ſaid to the clerk of the peace, that what he had ſpoken ſhould ſtand for ſentence.

Now whilſt G. Fox was in priſon, there came to him, amongſt others, the earl of Saliſbury's ſon, who was very loving, and much concerned that they had dealt ſo with him; and he himſelf took a copy in writing of the errors that were in the indictment. And G. Fox afterwards got the ſtate of his caſe drawn up in writing delivered to judge Wild. He alſo writ a letter to the king, wherein he gave an account of the ſentiments of thoſe called Quakers concerning ſwearing; and how they abhorred all plottings and contrivances againſt the king. Not long after he fell into ſuch a ſickneſs, that ſome began to doubt of his recovery;

and then one of his friends went to juſtice Parker, by whoſe order he had been firſt committed to priſon, and deſired him to give order to the gaoler, that he might have liberty to go out of the gaol into the city. Whereupon Parker wrote the following letter to the gaoler.

'Mr. Harris,

'I have been much importuned by ſome friends to George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indiſpoſed. What lawful favour you can do for the benefit of the air, for his health, pray ſhew him. I ſuppoſe the next term they will make application to the king. I am,

'Sir, your loving friend,

'Henry Parker.'

Eveſham, the 8th of October, 1674.

This letter was ſufficient warrant for the gaoler to permit G. Fox to be brought from priſon to the houſe of one of his friends. His wife was come to him before that time, and after having been with him about ſeventeen weeks, and no diſcharge like to be obtained for him, ſhe went up to London, and being come to Whitehall, and meeting with the king there, ſhe gave him an account of her huſband's long impriſonment, and how weak he was, and not without danger of his life. To which the king ſaid, he could do nothing in it, but ſhe muſt go to the chancellor. And ſo ſhe went to the lord Finch, who was then chancellor; and having given him an account of the matter, ſhe told him that the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not ſhew pity, and releaſe her huſband out of priſon, ſhe feared he would end his days there. But the chancellor ſaid to her, that the king could not releaſe him, otherwiſe than by a pardon. Now G. Fox could not reſolve to be freed thus, as well knowing he had done no evil; and therefore he would rather have lain in priſon all his days, than to be thus ſet at liberty; otherwiſe he needed not to have lain ſo long, ſince the king had been willing long before to have given him a pardon; and alſo had ſaid to one Thomas More, that G. Fox needed not

ſcruple being releaſed by a pardon; for many a man, that was as innocent as a child, had had a pardon granted him. G. Fox unwilling to have a pardon, but deſiring to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, the lord chancellor, who ſhewed himſelf a diſcreet man, procured that an *habeas corpus* was granted to bring G. Fox to London once more to appear before the king's bench. The *habeas corpus* was with the firſt opportunity ſent down by his wife to Worceſter; but there they would not part with him at firſt, (being now recovered a little of his ſickneſs) under a pretence that he was premunired, and was not to go out in that manner. Thus it became neceſſary to ſend to London again; and another order was got and ſent down, to bring up G. Fox before the king's bench. Being ſtill weak, he was carried up to London in a coach, the under-ſheriff and the clerk of the peace accompanying him.

Being come to town, he was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where counſellor Thomas Corbet pleaded his cauſe, and acquitted himſelf exceeding well; for he ſtarted a new plea, and told the judges, that by law they could not impriſon any man upon a premunire. The judges then ſaying they muſt have time to look in their books, and to conſult the ſtatutes, the hearing was put off till the next day. And ſince it appeared that Corbet was in the right, they choſe to let their plea fall, perhaps for fear of worſe conſequences. And thus they began to examine the errors of the indictment, which proved to be ſo many and ſo groſs, that all the judges were of opinion, that the indictment was quaſhed and void, and that G. Fox ought to have his liberty. The ſame day ſeveral lords, and other great men, had the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy tendered to them in open court; and ſome of G. Fox's adverſaries moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him again, ſaying, he was a dangerous man to be at liberty. But judge Matthew Hale, who was then lord chief juſtice of England, and really an excellent and pious man, as hath been hinted already here before, ſaid, he had indeed heard ſome ſuch reports of G. Fox, but he had alſo heard

more good reports of him. This ſaying was ſerviceable; and Hale and the other judges ordered G. Fox to be freed by proclamation. Thus he was ſet at liberty in an honourable way, and his counſellor Corbet, who had pleaded for him, got great fame by it; for many other lawyers told him, he had brought that to light, which had not been known before. And after the trial, one of the judges ſaid to him, 'You have obtained a great deal of honour by your way of pleading G. Fox's cauſe in court.'

The year was now come to an end. But before I go over to the next, I am to mention that the Baptiſts in England, loſing from time to time ſome of their beſt members, writ therefore very fiercely againſt the Quakers, endeavouring thereby to render them no Chriſtians. But thoſe writings were continually anſwered, and that with ſo many convincing reaſons, that the Quakers got more adherents by it. The conſequence of this was, that a publick diſpute was appointed to be held between the Baptiſts and the Quakers, in the meeting-houſe of the Baptiſts at London. For the Quakers, there ſpoke by turns, George Whitehead, Stephen Criſp, William Penn, and George Keith; and the opponents were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Plant, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Ferguſon, a Preſbyterian, afterwards eminently known in Holland, by the fierce declaration drawn up by him in the name of the duke of Monmouth, when that unhappy prince went over to England with forces, to diſpute the throne againſt king James.

Jeremy Ives was an eminent teacher among the Baptiſts, that had been in priſon at London fourteen years before on a religious account, and chiefly becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to take the oath.

Not long after he writ a ſmart letter from the priſon, to two of his ſociety (who having been impriſoned with him for the ſame cauſe, had taken the oath, thereby to obtain their liberty) wherein he reproved them for their falling away, and ſignified that thus they had increaſed the burthen of their faithful brethren, from the bearing of which they had withdrawn themſelves. But what a changeable creature is man, if he doth not continue

watchful, and keep close to the divine grace, continually laying hold thereon! For scarce five days passed, but this inconstant Jeremy grew weary of imprisonment, and took the oath also to get out of prison. Neither did he stop here; for it is plain that he was now departed from his profession. To temporize therefore, and to find out excuses for what he had done, he put forth a book in print, wherein he asserted the lawfulness of swearing. It was asked of him, whether he was that same Jeremy Ives, that once had been of such a tender conscience, that he durst not take an oath, and had afterwards publickly defended swearing as lawful? And he did not deny the fact, for it was notoriously known: but he went about to disguise the matter, and said, 'I am that Jeremy who took the oath of allegiance, and writ a book to prove that some oaths were lawful, though not all.' Neither did he deny the fore-mentioned letter, for it was extant, and written as followeth:

'Brother Pitman and Brother Shewel,

'I am at this time surprized with a holy passion; and though Jonah could not say concerning the gourd, that he did well to be angry; yet (if my experience in the word of the Lord doth not deceive) I can truly say, I do well to be angry with you; whom I have had a godly jealousy of all along, viz. That you would be as easily persuaded to part with, as unwilling to suffer for, your spiritual liberties. Oh my brethren! Where is your first love? How unlike the Christians in former times are you? Whose zeal was so hot for God, that their eyes prevented the morning, that thereby they might prevent the rage of the adversary, who (as it is now) commanded them no more to worship in the name of the Lord.——I always did conclude, that those that would—quit the cause of righteousness—would quit the ways of holiness, as yesterday sad experience hath taught, to the perpetual joy of your adversaries, and the saddening the hearts, and adding afflictions to the bonds of the prisoners of the Lord. I do therefore conjure you, as you will answer the great God another day, to consider, that now is the time for you to

look to your miniſtry, and to the flock over which the Lord hath made you overſeers, that you may be able through grace to ſay, 'You are clear from the blood of all men;' and obſerve, that God is now come to prove you, to ſee whether you will keep his commandments or not. Remember when that apoſtate's caſe was debated, you had no zeal nor indignation againſt him, but you ſmothered all with this, 'If it were in a matter of faith and worſhip that he had fallen from, you would have been as one man againſt it.' Well, behold the Lord is come home to you; the matter now is purely for worſhipping God; now God is proving you to ſee whether you will obey him or no: and did not yeſterday's work witneſs, that you were willing to prefer the fear of a man, that muſt die, before the fear of the great God; and the fear of them that can kill the body, before the fear of the Lord, that can caſt body and ſoul into hell? I have no more to ſay but this, that your cowardly temporizing and complying with the precepts of men, makes me jealous, that your fear towards the Lord is taught by the precepts of men. I would not be too cenſorious, but my grounds are great; and my bonds are my crown; but your cowardly ſpirit is my great croſs. You little think what a ſcandal it is amongſt us to hear it affirmed that one of you ſhould ſay, you had rather a given fifty pounds than have ſworn, and yet ſwear that you ſwear willingly. Oh! for the Lord's ſake do ſomewhat that may roll away this reproach; which that you may, is the prayers of your brother, who could be contented to write himſelf,

'Your companion in tribulation,

Jan. 14, 1660.

Jer. Ives.'

Brother Ward, my fellow priſoner, deſires to preſent his love to you, and ſo do ſome others.

Thus zealouſly Jer. Ives wrote to his fellow-teachers, who for human fear, and to avoid ſufferings, had, againſt their profeſſion, and the conviction of their conſciences, taken the oath. But who could have imagined on ſight of

ſuch letter, that he himſelf within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time ſhould have done that which he reproved ſo ſeverely in others. Certainly in this caſe the ſaying of the prophet Jeremiah ſeems to be very applicable, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked; who can know it? Let therefore him who ſtandeth, be cautious leſt he fall." Happy had this man been, if he had been ſo ſenſible of his tranſgreſſion as one Edward Chilton, who though by profeſſion a Quaker, yet when it came to a trial, either to take the oath of allegiance, or to be premunired, he wavered and fainted; yet not ſo, that he fell away totally: for he became ſo penitent for the evil he had committed, that he found himſelf conſtrained to give proof thereof by a letter he writ to his friends, who remained priſoners, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not ſwear; whereas he, to be releaſed from impriſonment, had taken the oath that was demanded of him. But of what a bitter reliſh this became to him, and what terror and horror he was ſeized with, the following letter will ſhew:

'My dear friends,

'I deſire to lay before you this my condition in this my fall, that my fall may be no cauſe for you to ſtumble, but that you by it may be the more encouraged to ſtand; for I have yielded to the betrayer, and ſo betrayed the innocent ſeed in me; for I forſook the counſel of the Lord, and conſulted with fleſh and blood, and ſo I fell into the ſnare of the world, and yielded to the covenant; and ſo I reſted ſatisfied in what I had done, for ſome certain hours; but when the Lord in his power looked back upon me, then I remembered what I had done; then I remembered that I had denied truth, which once I had profeſſed, though once I thought I ſhould have ſtood when others fell. So the terrors of the Lord have taken hold on me, and I lie under the judgments of the Lord.

'And now I feel the truth of the words that were ſpoke by Chriſt, that he that faileth in one tittle, is guilty of all; and now I feel the truth of that, that it is better to forſake wife and children, and all that a man hath, even life itſelf, for Chriſt and the truth ſake, than to break one

tittle of the law of God written in the heart. So I hope that, by mercy and judgment, the Lord will redeem me to himſelf again. The Lord may ſuffer ſome to fall, that the ſtanding of them that ſtand faithful may ſeem to be the more glorious, and for them to take heed leſt they fall.

'Now I know and feel, that it is better to part with any thing of this world, though it be as dear to one as the right hand, or the eye, than to break our peace with God.

'Pray for me; for my bonds are greater than yours.

'Edward Chilton.'

Windſor, the 22d of the 11th month, 1660.

It is remarkable, that this Chilton in the concluſion of his letter ſaith, that his bonds were greater than thoſe of his friends, who neither feared a premunire, nor loſs of their liberty, when they muſt pay ſo dear for it, as the taking of an oath. For when any one truly abides in the fear of God, he dares not, againſt the convictions of his conſcience tranſgreſs the Divine commandments, and ſeek evaſions to avoid the ſtreſs thereof: for certainly God will not be mocked. Could our Saviour have ſpoken in more plain and expreſs terms than he did, when he ſaid, "Swear not at all?" And yet what cunning devices have been invented by thoſe who boaſt of the name of Chriſtians, to enervate the force of theſe expreſs words. It is not a proper place here to refute their reaſons; but yet I cannot think it unſuitable to ſhew briefly how dangerous it is to act againſt the expreſs commandments of ſacred writ, and againſt the conviction of one's conſcience, thereby to avoid perſecution: for not only the apoſtle James ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall offend in one point, he is guilty of all;" but our ſupreme lawgiver Chriſt himſelf ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven. And whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my words, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels." And to encourage us to faithfulneſs he hath alſo ſaid, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell."

Which words indeed are ſo emphatical, that it ought not to diſpleaſe any that I repeat them, as they have been left on record by the evangeliſt Luke, viz. thus, "I ſay unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye ſhall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell: yea, I ſay unto you, fear him." Can it be otherwiſe, but that ſuch words muſt needs make a powerful impreſſion on a real Chriſtian? And the more when we conſider, that nothing in the world can retrieve or reſtore a periſhing ſoul, as may appear from theſe of our bleſſed Lord, "What is a man profited, if he ſhall gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul? Or what ſhall a man give in exchange for his ſoul?" A clear proof that the whole world, and all that is contained therein, is not able to ſave one ſoul, or to afford any thing that can redeem it. If I here thought it requiſite, a godly zeal at preſent would make me ſay more on this ſubject; but not to expatiate too far beyond the limits of this hiſtorical tract, I ſhall not purſue this digreſſion any farther, but return to my relation from whence I thus ſtepped aſide.

To take up again then the broken thread of my diſcourſe, I once more come to Jeremy Ives, who, to avoid perſecution, had taken the oath contrary to his underſtanding; and it was Thomas Rudyard, mentioned here before, who objected this to him; and he feeling himſelf pinched by it, endeavoured to break the ſtreſs thereof by ſaying, that the reaſon why in a letter he had blamed a friend, was for his ſaying he had rather have given fifty pounds than have took the oath of allegiance, and yet ſwore he took it freely and willingly.' But who ſees not what a poor ſhift this was?

Now to come to the diſpute; I already mentioned it was aſſerted, that the Quakers were no Chriſtians; and to maintain this, Thomas Hicks ſaid, 'They that deny the Lord is Chriſt, are no Chriſtians: but the Quakers deny the Lord is Chriſt,' &c. To this W. Penn ſaid, 'I deny the minor, viz. that the Quakers deny that the Lord is Chriſt.' And T. Hicks returned, 'They that

deny Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon without them, deny the Lord is Chriſt; but the Quakers deny Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon without them: therefore,' &c. W. Penn then deſired that T. Hicks would explain what he meant by the term perſon. And T. Hicks anſwered, 'I mean the man Chriſt Jeſus.' To which W. Penn replied, 'Then I deny the minor, viz. that we deny the man Chriſt Jeſus.' To which Hicks returned, 'I prove ye deny the man Chriſt Jeſus. One of your own writers ſaith, that Chriſt was never ſeen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears,' &c. To this J. Ives added, 'He that denies that Chriſt was ever ſeen with carnal eyes, &c. denies the man Chriſt: but the Quakers deny that Chriſt was ever ſeen with carnal eyes,' &c. George Keith then ſaid, 'I anſwer by diſtinguiſhing: Chriſt as God was never ſeen with carnal eyes; but as man he was ſeen with carnal eyes.' To this J. Ives returned: 'But he was Chriſt as he was man; how then was not Chriſt ſeen with carnal eyes?' This queſtion G. Keith anſwered thus: 'We are to conſider that the terms or names Jeſus Chriſt, are ſometimes applied to him as God, and ſometimes to him as man; yea, ſometimes to the very body of Jeſus: but the queſtion is, whether do thoſe names more properly, immediately, and originally belong to him as God, or as he was before he took the manhood upon him; or to the manhood? We affirm, thoſe names are given to him moſt properly and eminently as God; and leſs properly, yet truly, as man; and leaſt properly to his body, yea to his dead body.' Then J. Ives aſked, 'Where do you read that the carcaſe was called the Chriſt?' This irreverent expreſſion ſo diſpleaſed many, that ſome cried out, 'Where didſt thou ever read that Chriſt's dead body was called a carcaſe?' From this diſguſt W. Penn ſaid, 'I beſeech you for the Lord's ſake, that we may treat of theſe things as becomes Chriſtians.'

G. Keith then reſuming the diſcourſe, anſwered J. Ives's queſtion thus: 'I prove that the dead body of Jeſus was called Chriſt, from the words of Mary, "Where have ye laid him?" For ſhe had juſt before called the body her Lord: likewiſe the angel ſaid to her, "See the place where the Lord lay:" and that he was Jeſus Chriſt

before he took fleſh, I prove from the ſaying of the apoſtle, "Who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt." Then T. Hicks ſaid, 'I will prove the Quakers to be no Chriſtians:' and J. Ives added, 'They that ſay that Chriſt cannot be ſeen with carnal eyes, and was never viſible to wicked men, do deny the Lord is Chriſt; for he was ſeen with carnal eyes, and by wicked men.' To this W. Penn ſaid, 'I diſtinguiſh upon the word ſeen; wicked men might ſee him in that bodily appearance, and yet not ſee him to be the Chriſt of God; they ſaw his manhood, but not his Chriſtſhip: this I will prove from Chriſt's words to Peter, when he confeſſed him to be Chriſt, the Son of the living God, viz. "Fleſh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven:" therefore Peter with a carnal eye could not have ſeen the Lord's Chriſt, much leſs wicked men. My ſecond proof is from the apoſtle's words, "Whom none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known him, they would not have crucified him." W. Penn enlarging a little more on this ſubject, ſaid alſo, that ſeeing and knowing in Scripture are ſometimes equivalent. And G. Keith added, Chriſt ſaid, "He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father: but no wicked man hath ſeen the Father, therefore no wicked man hath ſeen Chriſt, as ſuch.' Ives and his companions ſcoffed at this diſtinction: but the Quakers averred, that all who ſaw Jeſus as the carpenter's ſon, did not ſee him as the Chriſt of God. Then Ives aſked, "Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Chriſt?' To which W. Penn returned, 'Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord is Chriſt? It ſeems we muſt be here to be catechized, and ye will not anſwer us one queſtion, yet I ſhall anſwer J. Ives his queſtion, if he will promiſe to anſwer mine.'

Ives then ſaying that he would anſwer it, W. Penn returned, 'I here declare, that we do faithfully believe that holy manhood to be a member of the Chriſt of God:' and directing his queſtion to Ives, he ſaid, 'Was he the Chriſt of God before he was manifeſt in the fleſh?' 'He was,' anſwered Ives, 'the Son of God.' 'But,' replied W. Penn, 'was he the Lord's Chriſt? I will prove him to have been the Lord's Chriſt as well before as

after: firſt from the apoſtle Paul's words to the Corinthians, "That rock was Chriſt:" next from Jude, where ſome Greek copies have it thus, "That Jeſus brought the people of Iſrael out of Egypt." But to this Ives gave no anſwer, how often ſoever he was called upon for it. And this was no great wonder, ſince it was well known that there were ſuch among the Baptiſts who favoured the Socinian principles. But Ives, that he might not appear altogether mute, came on again with a queſtion, viz. 'Do ye believe that Chriſt in his human nature is in heaven?' This made G. Whitehead ſay to the auditory, 'Ye have heard the charge againſt us, and the diſtinction that hath been made between ſeeing, and ſeeing of Chriſt, as namely between the ſpiritual ſaving ſight of the Lord's Chriſt, and the ſeeing of his outward man, perſon, or body. In this laſt ſenſe it could never be intended that it was not viſible to the outward eye; but it was the ſpiritual rock which all Iſrael drank of, and as he was before Abraham was, and as glorified with the Father before the world began; and as Chriſt himſelf ſaid to Philip, "He that ſeeth me, ſeeth my Father alſo:" and only ſaints, or children of light, could truly ſay, "We have ſeen his glory as the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." In all which conſiderations, or ſenſes of ſeeing, the Lord's Chriſt was only ſeen ſpiritually, and not with carnal eyes' This Ives granted, that ſo it might be left: yet preſently after, inſtead of proving the Quakers no Chriſtians, he aſked again, 'Do ye believe or own that Chriſt is in heaven with his human nature?' To which W. Penn anſwered, 'We do believe the man Chriſt Jeſus to be glorified in heaven.' Which anſwer Ives refuſing to accept, becauſe it was not in the terms of his quſtion, Penn aſked, 'What difference doſt thou make between the manhood and human nature of Chriſt?' 'None,' returned Ives, 'if you mean candidly.' To which Penn replied, 'I do mean and ſpeak candidly; we do believe that holy manhood to be in heavenly glory.'

Now ſince it began to grow dark, the Baptiſts deſired to leave off, and to reſume the matter at another time; as was done alſo: but the parties did not agree for all that;

for though the Baptiſts continued to aſſert that the Quakers were no Chriſtians, yet theſe had abundance of reaſons to maintain the contrary; and this they did ſo effectually, that thoſe of the other party, under a pretence of the meeting-places being overcharged with people, and that the gallery gave way, broke up the meeting, without a final concluſion.

Perſecution in this year was not very ſharp at London, but for all that, active in other places, ſo that I do not want matter to make a relation of it; but to ſhun prolixity, I will mention but one caſe.

One Robert Tilles, in Buckingham, ſick of a conſumption, and believing his death to be nigh at hand, deſired ſome of his friends to viſit him. At this invitation ſome came to his houſe, yet not above the number of fourteen perſons; and two informers went and acquainted a juſtice of the peace thereof, who recorded this ſmall aſſembly as a ſeditious meeting, and fined the ſick man twenty pounds for this pretended tranſgreſſion; and ſo his goods were ſeized, and ſix cows taken from him. And one Robert Smith, being overheard by the informers to have ſpoken five or ſix words, was fined alſo twenty pounds as a preacher; which fine was afterwards extorted from ſome others then preſent.

The peace between England and Holland was concluded this year at the inſtance of Spain, but the war between Holland and France continued ſtill.

I now paſs over to the year 1675. About the beginning whereof G. Fox came to London, whilſt the parliament was ſitting, who adviſed the king to the ſuppreſſing of the growth of popery; but in the mean-while the Quakers bore the chiefeſt ſhock; for their religious meetings were ſtiled ſeditious conventicles.

After G. Fox had been at the yearly-meeting of his friends at London, he left the city, and went to Lancaſter, and from thence to Swarthmore, where having a dwelling-place of his own, he ſtaid about two years to reſt himſelf: having contracted diſtempers by hardſhips and impriſonments, which had much weakened his body. Being there, he underſtood that four young ſtudents at Aberdeen were convinced at a diſpute held by Robert Barclay and George

Keith, with ſome of the ſcholars of that univerſity. And being viſited by ſome of the neighbourhood, among others came alſo to him colonel Kirby, his old perſecutor, who now carried himſelf very lovingly, and bid him welcome into the country. Yet notwithſtanding this appearance of kindneſs, ſometime afterwards he ordered the conſtables of Ulverſtone to tell G. Fox, that they muſt have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for if they had, they were commanded by him to break them up; and they were to come the next Sunday after. But this threatening did not make G. F. afraid; for he, with his friends, had a meeting on that Firſt-day of the week, and none came to diſturb them. During his abode at home, when he did not travel to and fro in the country, as he uſed to do, to edify his friends by his miniſtry, he ſupplied this with his pen, and exhorted them by writing, where he could not do it by word of mouth: beſides he writ other ſerviceable treatiſes, for he was a diligent man.

In the mean-while perſecution for the worſhip of God did not ceaſe altogether: the act againſt ſeditious conventicles gave opportunity to the malicious to diſturb the religious meetings of the Quakers, who never met in a clandeſtine manner, but always publickly; and on this account fines were extorted from them; to which may be added, that oftentimes they were ſtill very ill treated, and moſt grievouſly abuſed, as among the reſt at Long Clawſton in Leiceſterſhire, where ſome women were dragged by the neck along the ſtreet; and among theſe a widow, the ſkin of whoſe neck was rubbed off by this rudeneſs; and an ancient woman, above ſeventy, was violently caſt down to the ground. Some of the men were dragged by the hair, and others by their legs, beſides the many blows given them; and ſome were trodden upon till the blood guſhed out of their mouth and noſe. Yet all this they bore patiently, without making any reſiſtance; whereby it happened ſometimes that ſome who had not the gift of preaching, reached others by their patient ſuffering; ſhewing by their meek behaviour, that their works did agree with their Chriſtian profeſſion: and though many were robbed of all they had, even clothes

and beds not excepted, yet they continued ſtedfaſt, without fainting; though often it was called a meeting when ſome were come together, not properly to perform religious worſhip, as hath been related already.

At Kirby Muckloe, where ſome were come to the houſe of John Penford, to provide for their poor, the prieſt of the pariſh, called John Dixon, informed againſt them by letter to Wenlock Stanly of Branſton, who ſent three of his ſervants to take inſpection of the ſaid meeting; and though theſe looking into the book, in which the charitable diſtributions were entered, found that this meeting had been only to conſider of the neceſſities of the poor, yet ſeveral were fined, and Penford himſelf twenty pounds for his houſe, and ten pounds for the preacher, when there was never an one there; but they having heard him ſpeak, this was counted ſufficient to make him paſs for a preacher. Now though he and Richard Woodland appealed for juſtice, yet the court poſitively denied their appeal, unleſs they would firſt take the oath of allegiance. This was the old ſnare, ſo that the hearing of the matter was denied, and treble damage given againſt them.

At Lewes in Suſſex, the prieſt William Snat became himſelf an informer, and went ſeveral times to the Quakers' meeting there; and from thence to the juſtice Henry Shully, to whom he declared on oath, in whoſe houſe the meeting had been, and who had preached; and this was ſo groſs, that once he gave a falſe information with reſpect to the houſe; but the gain proceeding from this work, how abominable ſoever, did ſhine ſo alluringly, that his kinſman, James Clark, entered upon this informer's office: which any one could eaſily do, without making ſuit for it.

In Norfolk, the rage of the perſecutors was ſuch, that ſome having been bereaved of all, were obliged, even in winter time (as amongſt the reſt, Joſeph Harriſon, with his wife and children) to lie on ſtraw; and yet they, unwearied, did not leave frequenting their religious meeting: nay, even the dead were not ſuffered to reſt, for outrageous barbarity, came to that pitch, that Mary, the wife of Francis Larder, being dead and buried, was, by order

of one Thomas Bretland, dug up again, whereby the coffin was broken, which they tied together, and carrying it away, expoſed the corpſe in the market-place. Thus this deceaſed woman was no more ſuffered to lie quiet in her grave, than in her ſick bed, where the day before her death ſhe had been threatened, by order of one Chriſtopher Bedinfield, to have her bed taken from under her while living. Now the reaſon of thus taking up the corpſe, was that though her huſband was one of thoſe called Quakers, yet ſhe not being properly a member of that ſociety, it was taken ill that ſhe had been buried in a plain way, without paying to the prieſt his pretended due, for the ordinary ſervice over the dead.

In Somerſetſhire thirty-two perſons were fined for having been at a burial. The like happened in the county of Derby, where Samuel Roe (his wife being deceaſed) was fined twenty pounds, becauſe his friends met in his houſe to conduct the corpſe to the grave. Of this the prieſt, John Wilſon, was informer to the juſtice of peace, John Loe; and out of the houſe of the ſaid Samuel Roe, was taken the value of thirty pounds; ſo that the ſhare of the informer was no leſs than ten pounds; ſince according to law, his due was a third of the ſpoil. I could here relate ſeveral inſtances of great adverſities, and ſad miſchiefs that befel cruel perſecutors: but not to expatiate too far, I have ſilently paſſed by many remarkable caſes.

Yet in general terms I may ſay, that many of the perſecutors, both juſtices, informers, and others, came to a miſerable end: ſome being by ſudden, or unnatural death, and others by lingering ſickneſſes, or diſtempers, or by foul and ſtinking diſeaſes, taken out of this life; whilſt ſome, who by ſpoil had ſcraped much together, fell to great poverty and beggary; whoſe names I could ſet down, and mention alſo time and place; and among theſe ſome rapacious eccleſiaſticks, who came to a ſad end; but I ſtudiouſly omit particularizing ſuch inſtances, to avoid the appearance of grudging and envy. Some of thoſe that had been ſo active in ſpoil, ſignified themſelves the terrible remorſe of conſcience they felt becauſe of their having perſecuted the Quakers; inſomuch, that they roared out

their gnawing grief, mixed with deſpair, under the grievous pains they ſuffered in their body. And it was judged by many a very remarkable caſe, that one Chriſtopher Glin, prieſt at Burford, who had acted with very indiſcreet zeal againſt the Quakers, having about the year 1663, read his text in the pulpit, and then intending to read his ſermon, was on a ſudden ſtruck with blindneſs, and continued blind till he died. But none of the perſecutors ſeemed to take notice, or to regard ſuch inſtances; for they let their rage looſe againſt the Quakers; who, for all that continued in patience, though they did not think it unlawful to give notice of the grievous oppreſſion their friends ſuffered, to thoſe that were in authority; leſt they might have excuſed themſelves as ignorant of theſe violent proceedings. Therefore it was not omitted to publiſh in publick print, many of thoſe crying inſtances that have been related here, and to preſent them to the king and parliament, with humble addreſſes to that purpoſe. But all this found but ſmall entrance. King Charles it ſeems was not to be the man that ſhould take off this yoke of oppreſſion; this work was reſerved for others. His brother James that ſucceeded him, made a beginning thereof, with what intention heaven knows; and William III. that excellent prince, brought it to perfection as far as it was in his power.

This year deceaſed at ſea William Bayly, coming from the Weſt-Indies, in the ſhip called the Samuel, of London, in the latitude of 46 degrees and 36 minutes: he had been a teacher among the Baptiſts, and had read much in the books of Jacob Behmen, but could not find thereby true ſatisfaction to his ſoul. And being afterwards entered into ſociety with the Quakers, ſo called, he became a zealous preacher among them. When in this his laſt voyage he was grown ſick, and felt death approaching, he bid John Clark, maſter of the ſaid veſſel, remember him to his dear wife and little ones, and alſo to G. Fox, G. Whitehead and others; and being filled with joy, began to ſing, ſaying, 'The creating word of the Lord endures for ever.' He took ſeveral that were about him by the hand, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, and not to fear death: 'Death,' ſaid he, 'is nothing in itſelf; for

the ſting of death is ſin. Tell the friends at London, that would have been glad to have ſeen my face, I go to my Father and their Father, to my God and their God. Remember my love to my dear wife; ſhe will be a ſorrowful widow: but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me.' And having ſpoken ſomething concerning his outward buſineſs to the maſter, he ſaid in regard to his wife and children, 'I have left them no portions, but my endeavour hath been to make God their father. Shall I lay down my head upon the waters? Well, God is the God of the whole univerſe; and though my body ſink, I ſhall ſwim a top of the waters.' Then taking his leave of the company, he ſaid, 'I ſee not one of you, but I wiſh you all well.' And one aſking, how it was with him? he anſwered, 'I am perfectly well.' After having ſpoken many more ſenſible words, about four in the morning he departed quietly, as if he had fallen aſleep. His wife Mary, the ſame that had formerly been at Adrianople, and ſpoken with the emperor of the Turks, gave an excellent teſtimony in writing concerning him; and J. Crook, in a preface to W. Bayly's works, ſaid of him, (the truth of which I know by my own experience) 'As he was bold and zealous in his preaching, being willing to improve his time, as if he had known it was not to be long amongſt us; ſo was he as valiant in ſuffering for his teſtimony, when called thereunto. Methinks I ſee how once I ſaw him ſtand at the bar to plead his innocent cauſe, like holy Stephen, in the ſenate houſe, when the threats of his perſecutors reſembled the ſhowers of ſtones (falling upon that bleſſed martyr) crying out with a hideous noiſe, take him away, gaoler, &c. and yet all this while he changed not his countenance, except by the additional ornaments of ſome innocent ſmiles. Sometimes by cruel perſecutors he hath been thrown down, and dragged upon the ground by the hair of his head, and his mouth and jaws endeavoured to be rent and broke aſunder, ſo that the ground whereon he lay was ſmeared with his blood: yet, as if this butchering had not been enough to make him a fit ſacrifice for the ſhambles of their cruelty, a heavy groſs bodied perſecutor ſtamped upon his breaſt with his feet, endeavour-

ing to beat the breath out of his body: and when this perſecutor had done his pleaſure, he commanded the gaoler to take him away, and put him in ſome naſty hole for his entertainment and cure. And had not the God of Iſrael been his phyſician there, he had been taken from us long before this.' Thus far John Crook.

At the beginning of this year 1676, died at London, Matthew Hide, who had made it his buſineſs, during the ſpace of about twenty years, publickly to contradict the Quakers in their meetings, and to diſturb them in their worſhip of God, thinking from a blind zeal, that he did God an acceptable piece of ſervice, by zealouſly oppoſing what he judged to be hereſy. Now how much ſoever this man was bent againſt them, yet he ſhewed this moderation, that in his gainſaying he did not behave himſelf furiouſly, but appeared to be well meaning, although he erred exceedingly, and often hindered the preaching of miniſters among the Quakers; which induced W. Penn ſometimes to pray to God very earneſtly for him, and to tell him in the preſence of many auditors, that God would plead with him by his righteous judgments; and that the time would come he ſhould be forced to confeſs to the ſufficiency of that light he then oppoſed, and to acknowledge that God was with thoſe called Quakers.

This ſame Hide being by ſickneſs brought to the brink of death, deſired that G. Whitehead, and ſome of his friends, might be ſent for: and to one Cotton Oade, who aſked him, if he had any thing to ſay to clear himſelf, concerning his having ſo often oppoſed the friends called Quakers, in their declarations and prayers, he ſaid, that he was ſorry for what he had done; for, added he, they are the people of God. G. Whitehead, then, though it was late in the evening, being come to him, with ſome others, ſaid, 'I am come in love and tenderneſs to ſee thee.' To which Hide returned, 'I am glad to ſee you:' and Whitehead again, 'If thou haſt any thing on thy conſcience to ſpeak, I would have thee to clear thy conſcience.' To this Hide replied, 'What I have to ſay, I ſpeak in the preſence of God: as Paul was a perſecutor of the people of the Lord, ſo have I been a perſecutor of

you his people, as the world is who perſecute the children of God.' More he ſpoke, but being very weak, his words could not well be underſtood. Then G. Whitehead reſumed, 'Thy underſtanding being darkened, when darkneſs was over thee, thou haſt gainſaid the truth and people of the Lord; and I knew that that light which thou oppoſedſt, would riſe up in judgment againſt thee. I have often with others, laboured with thee, to bring thee to a right underſtanding.' To which Hide ſaid, 'This I declare in the preſence of God, and of you here, I have done evil in perſecuting you who are the children of God, and I am ſorry for it: the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhew mercy unto me, and the Lord increaſe your number, and be with you.' After ſome pauſe, G. Whitehead ſaid to him, 'I would have thee, if thou art able to ſpeak, to eaſe thy conſcience as fully as thou canſt. My ſoul is affected to hear thee thus confeſs thy evil, as the Lord hath given thee a ſenſe of it. In repentance there is mercy and forgiveneſs; in confeſſing and forſaking ſin, there is mercy to be found with the Lord, who in the midſt of judgment remembers mercy, that he may be feared.' Hide being in great anguiſh, and ſtriving for breath, ſaid, a little after, 'I have done evil in oppoſing you in your prayers; the Lord be merciful unto me; and as I have been an inſtrument to turn many from God, the Lord raiſe up many inſtruments to turn many to him.' G. Whitehead reſumed, 'I deſire thou mayeſt find mercy and forgiveneſs at the hand of the Lord. How is it with thy ſoul? Doſt not thou find ſome eaſe?' 'I hope I do,' anſwered Hide, 'and if the Lord ſhould lengthen my days, I ſhould be willing to bear a teſtimony for you, as publickly as I have appeared againſt you.' His wife then ſaid, 'It is enough; what can be deſired more?' 'If,' queried Whitehead, 'the Lord ſhould not lengthen out thy days, doſt thou deſire what thou ſayeſt ſhould be ſignified to others?' 'Yes,' anſwered Hide, 'I do, you may; I have ſaid as much as I can ſay.' After ſome ſilence, he being much ſtraitened for breath, Whitehead ſaid, 'If this company be weariſome unto thee, we may withdraw.' To which he returned, 'you may uſe your freedom.' G. Whitehead then taking

leave of him ſaid, 'I ſhall leave thee to the Lord, deſiring he may ſhew mercy and forgiveneſs unto thee, as I hope he will.' Upon which Hide replied, 'The Lord be with your ſpirits.'

All this was ſpoken to G. Whitehead and his friends, in the preſence of Hide's wife, and ſome others of his acquaintance, about two hours before his death: and thus he gave manifeſt proofs of a ſincere repentance; for Eliz. his wife, having perceived him to be much troubled in his mind, had aſked him, if he would ſpeak with ſome of the Quakers? and he ſmiting his hand on his breaſt, ſaid, 'With all my ſoul.' After G. Whitehead and his friends were gone, it being the ſeventh day of the week, he deſired ſeveral times that he might live till morning, and might bear on that day, viz. the firſt day of the week) a teſtimony for the truth, he had on that day ſo often oppoſed; yet he ſignified that he had found ſome eaſe to his ſpirit. He alſo exhorted his wife, who converſed much with people that were great in the world, to uſe the plain language of the Quakers. And after ſome more words to this purpoſe, ſpoken by him, with good underſtanding, he ſtretched himſelf out, and died very quietly. An evident token of God's unſpeakable mercy, who wills not the death of a ſinner, but that he ſhould repent and live; and who entirely knowing the real diſpoſition of man's heart, forgives ſin by mere grace, without any merit in man, but for his own ſake, as he hath ſaid himſelf, "I am he that blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions for mine own ſake, and will not remember thy ſins." The truth of which ſaying very plainly appeared in the converted thief on the croſs, though his impenitent fellow-ſufferer hardened his heart againſt it.

In this year, while G. Fox was at Swarthmore, died William Lampitt, the prieſt of Ulverſtone, who formerly had been a great friend to Margaret, now the wife of G. Fox, but grew ſo envious againſt the friends ſhe was in ſociety with, that he ſaid, in the year 1652, he would wage his life upon it, that the Quakers would all vaniſh and come to nought within half a year. But on his death-bed he ſaid to one of his hearers, who came to viſit him, 'I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been ſo hard a thing to die.'

At Norwich now great ſpoil was made upon the Quakers, for their religious aſſemblies. Eraſmus Cooper coming once into the houſe of Anthony Alexander, ſaid to his wife, who was big with child, he came to ſeize all ſhe had. 'All,' ſaid ſhe, 'and that for ſeven pounds fine, that is hard.' But he ſlighting what ſhe ſaid, replied, he would not leave her a bed to lie on. And then began to break the doors with a pick-ax; he and his companions behaving themſelves ſo deſperately, that it drew tears from ſome of the neighbours who beheld it; and the warranted ſpoilers forced Alexander's man to help them; which made Alexander ſay, that it was a moſt unreaſonable thing, to require a ſervant to aſſiſt in the taking his maſter's goods: for which the warden, Robert Clerk, ſnarled at him, ſaying, 'They are our goods.' To the houſe of Samuel Duncon, the aforeſaid officers came alſo, and with them the informer, Charles Tenniſon, and the hangman. Here they ſtaid ſeveral days and nights, and kept Samuel's wife, who was big with child, as a priſoner in her own houſe, not ſuffering her to ſpeak with any, ſo much as at the door, nor any to come to her. And after they had broke up all the locked doors, they took away to the value of about forty-three pounds in goods; and ſo inſolent the informers were, that one did not ſtick to ſay, 'I will make the mayor wait upon me as often as I will, at my pleaſure.' Nay, this wicked crew was become ſo powerful, that none durſt oppoſe them, for fear of falling into diſgrace with the court: ſince they were encouraged by ſuch as were in high ſtations, and probably at the inſtance of the Papiſts, or popiſhly affected. The conſtable, William Poole, coming this ſummer into the meeting at Norwich, with an informer, who made him come, and hearing efficacious preaching there, cried with tears in his eyes, 'What ſhall I do! I know the power of God is among you:' and told the informer, that if there were a curſe hung over any people upon the earth, it was over the informers. And Tenniſon the informer, who had aſſiſted in taking away Samuel Duncon's goods, being afterwards committed to priſon for debt, confeſſed he never proſpered ſince he took in hand that work; and ſaid if he were at liberty, he would never meddle with it more.

In Nottinghamſhire alſo great ſpoil and havock was made, to which the juſtice, Robert Thoroton, was greatly inſtrumental; for at Sutton he gave forth a warrant to ſeize the goods of two perſons, one of which was a woman, who having in a meeting ſpoken five or ſix words, which, according to the teſtimony of ſome officers that were preſent, were not at all like preaching, was however informed againſt as a preacher, and ſo by the ſaid Thoroton fined twenty pounds; and ſhe being unable to pay, the one half of the fine was charged upon her, and the other half upon John Fulwood. At another time Thoroton gave order to ſeize the goods of William Day, a miller, becauſe he having been at a meeting at Sutton, in the ſtreet, the fine of a pretended preacher, that was unable, was charged upon him; though Day proved, and the officers who kept the friends out of their meeting-place, declared alſo, that thoſe words, which were called preaching, were no more than an anſwer to what another had ſpoken. But for all that, Thoroton, to protect, and to gratify the informer, ſaid, 'Though but one word were ſpoken, it is ſufficient.' A poor woman at South Collingham, who was already bereaved of almoſt all that ſhe poſſeſſed, and ſince by her friends provided with a bed and other neceſſaries, was alſo deprived of this little, becauſe ſhe continued to frequent meetings. Matthew Hartly, a poor man, who lived by ſpinning of wool, was likewiſe, for frequenting the meeting there, bereaved of what he had; and ſo it was with many others, whoſe names and ſirnames I could mention, if I had a mind to enlarge. And if their friends had not taken care of them, and other impoveriſhed families, who had loſt all by ſpoil, many might have periſhed.

In the town of Hereford the meetings were alſo diſturbed from time to time, chiefly by boys, who threw among thoſe that were met, not only ſtones, and excrements, but burning ſquibs; and uſed all manner of inſolency and miſchief they could think of, againſt theſe harmleſs people, either by breaking the glaſs windows, or the forms and ſeats. One of the leaders of this turbulent company, was the ſon of one Abraham Seward,

who about this time was elected mayor; but when complaints were made to him of the outrageous actions of the ſaid wicked crew, he pretended to be ignorant of his ſon's doings, and for all that, threatened thoſe that came to him, with the execution of the law upon them, if they did not leave off to keep meetings. And as it was well known that the chief maſter of the town-ſchool was diſpleaſed at the extravagant inſolency of ſome of his ſcholars, ſo it was reported alſo, that he was forbidden to correct them for it; and that the college prieſts had ſet them on, and ſaid they would bear them out in what they did: for ſome of thoſe brutiſh boys were choriſters. Two friends went to the juſtices, Robert Simons and Thomas Simons, to acquaint them with the exceſſive abuſes they met with. But the juſtices not at all regarding their complaint, the ſaid Robert endeavoured to draw ſome confeſſion of a meeting from one of them, intending, as he himſelf ſaid, immediately to have fined him, if he had confeſſed; but he was wary. Now ſince the inſolency of the boys was thus encouraged by authority, it was no wonder it continued there a whole year. At length eight men were taken from the meeting, by the aforeſaid mayor, Abraham Seward, and carried to the town-hall; and in their paſſage along, he ſaid, they ſhould never meet there more. To which a friend, going with him, ſaid, 'We are a people gathered by the power of the Lord; and therefore the power of man cannot ſcatter us.' Being come to the town-hall, the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to them, on which they ſaid, 'We are Chriſtians, therefore cannot break the command of Chriſt, which forbids to ſwear at all; but to render juſt and lawful allegiance to the king, we do not deny, nor refuſe.' And they perſiſting in their refuſal to ſwear, were committed to priſon. The next day after, one Walter Rogers, a prebend, walking by the meeting-houſe, and obſerving how it was broken, ſaid to ſome, that they were very good boys, and had done their work better than he thought they had.

At one of the quarter-ſeſſions in Nottingham, one John Sayton appeared, who, being fined twenty pounds for

ſuffering a conventicle at his houſe, in the pariſh of Blyth, came to appeal for juſtice. The witneſs produced againſt him, ſaid, 'I was there on that day, and there were ſeveral people met, but were all ſilent, and no words ſpoken amongſt them; but I did not ſee John Sayton there.' And that the ſaid John Sayton was above ſixty miles from home the ſame day, for which he was fined twenty pounds, was made appear in open court by ſubſtantial evidence. Then the counſel for the appellant ſaid, in the firſt place, foraſmuch as there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, as their own witneſs doth teſtify, therefore it was no conventicle. Secondly, being they cannot prove he was there, therefore how can it be judged, that he did either wittingly or willingly conſent to that meeting, if they could make it a conventicle? To this the informer's counſel objected, that although there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, yet it was evident enough that they met under a pretence of religious exerciſe; and ſeeing there were more than five, and not of John Sayton's family, therefore it muſt needs be a conventicle. And as to the ſecond, ſeeing they cannot prove he was there, we muſt leave it to the conſciences of the jury, whether he did willingly conſent to that meeting or no. After the counſel had ſpoken on both ſides, Peniſton Whaley, one of the juſtices, who ſate in the chair as judge of the court, ſtood up, and ſaid to the jury, 'Although there was no viſible exerciſe that can be proved, yet the Quakers ſay, they worſhip God in ſpirit and truth; and we know their manner is to ſit ſighing and groaning,' &c. The jury returning, and being aſked by the court, 'Do you find it for the king, or for the appellant,' anſwered, 'For the appellant.' This ſo diſpleaſed the ſaid juſtice Whaley, that he bid them go forth again. But one of the jurymen ſaying, they were agreed, and they had conſidered the thing very well, he thereupon fell into ſuch a rage, that he ſaid, 'You deſerve all to be hanged; for you are as ill as highwaymen.' Perhaps he himſelf was either an informer, or a ſpecial friend to ſuch, and therefore was ſorry that the jury deprived him of the booty, or a ſhare of it.

There was now great perſecution in all parts of England, neither did it go better in the principality of Wales. Nine perſons being taken priſoners, and brought this ſummer to the aſſizes held for the county of Merioneth, in the town Bala, upon an indictment for not reſorting to their pariſh churches, the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to them, Kemick Eyton, and Thomas Walcot being judges; and upon their refuſal of taking theſe oaths, the ſaid judges declared it as their opinion in open court, that in caſe the priſoners would refuſe the oaths the ſecond time, they ſhould be proſecuted as traitors, the men to be hanged and quartered, and the women to be burnt. But this threat could not make them afraid; for at the next aſſizes the oaths being tendered them again, they continued in refuſing, though they ſolemnly acknowledged allegiance to the king as ſupreme magiſtrate; and thereupon were remanded to cloſe impriſonment, where Edward Rees, one of them, being above ſixty years of age, and not able to bear the cold, died about the heighth of the froſt, not having been allowed the uſe of fire.

Sometime before it happened, within the corporation of Pool, in Montgomeryſhire, that the juſtice, David Maurice, coming into a houſe where a ſmall number of people were peaceably met, and all ſilent, required them to depart. Hereupon Thomas Lloyd, one of the company, began to ſpeak a few words, by way of defining true religion, and what true worſhip was; and what he ſaid was ſo reaſonable, that the ſaid juſtice approved of it, as ſound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet notwithſtanding he fined the ſaid Thomas Lloyd in twenty pounds for preaching.

This year died in priſon John Sage, being about eighty years of age, after having been in priſon at Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, almoſt ten years, for not paying of tithes. And it appeared, that ſince the reſtoration of king Charles, above two hundred of the people called Quakers, died in priſons in England, where they had been confined becauſe of their religion. I could relate abundance of occurrences this year, if I had a mind to extend my work, but I ſtudy brevity; yet cannot omit to mention, that in this year, in the iſland of Barbadoes, in the Weſt Indies, a law was

made to prevent negroes coming into the meetings of the Quakers, which was of this tenor:

'Whereas of late, many negroes have been ſuffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the ſafety of the iſland may be much hazarded: be it enacted, that if at any time after publication hereof, any negro, or negroes, be found with the people called Quakers, at any of their meetings, as hearers of their preaching, he or they ſhall be forfeited, one half to ſuch as ſhall ſeize, or ſue for him or them, if belonging to any of the Quakers; and the other moiety to the publick uſe of the iſland; provided that if he or they be ſeized, ſuch as ſeize, ſhall bring their actions upon this ſtatute, within three months, againſt the owner of the negro, or negroes: wherein the defendant having ten days ſummons, ſhall appear, plead, and come to trial at the firſt court after ſummons, or judgment to be given by *nihil dicit*, and execution immediately to iſſue. And if ſuch negro, or negroes, do not belong to any of the perſons preſent at the ſame meeting, any perſon or perſons may bring an action upon this ſtatute, againſt any of the perſons preſent at the ſaid meeting, at the election of the informer, and ſo recover ten pounds for every negro, or negroes, preſent at the ſaid meeting as aforeſaid, to be divided as aforeſaid, and in ſuch actions proceedings to be as aforeſaid. And no perſon whatſoever, ſhall keep any ſchool, to inſtruct any child in any learning, unleſs within one month after the publication hereof, he firſt take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, before ſome juſtice of peace of the pariſh where the party lives, and have a certificate thereof, or have a ſpecial licence from the governor, on pain of three months impriſonment, and forfeiture of 3000 lb. of Muſcovade ſugar, the one moiety to the informer, and the other to the publick uſe of the iſland, to be recovered as aforeſaid. And no perſon whatſoever, who is not an inhabitant and reſident of this iſland, and hath been ſo for twelve months together, ſhall hereafter publickly diſcourſe, or preach at the meeting of the Quakers, on pain of ſix months impriſonment, and forfei-

ture of 1000 lb. Muſcovade ſugar, the one moiety to ſuch as ſue for it, the other to the publick uſe of the iſland, to be recovered as aforeſaid: provided that all actions upon this ſtatute, be brought within ſix months after the offence.'

Read, and paſſed the council the 21ſt of April, 1676, and conſented to by his excellency [the governor] the ſame day.

Edwyn Steed, deputy-ſecretary.

Although in the beginning of this ſtatute, the inſtructing of the negroes in the doctrine of the Quakers, is repreſented as a thing whereby the ſafety of the iſland might be much hazarded, yet the ſequel ſhews that this was not the matter, but that it was endeavoured to deprive the Quakers of their due liberty. What was the iſſue hereof I am unacquainted with.

This year Robert Barclay writ a letter to the heer Adrian Paets, with whom he had ſome diſcourſe when the ſaid heer returned from Spain, where he had been ambaſſador for the ſtates of the United Provinces. This Paets having a ſtrange opinion of the doctrine of the Quakers, had a good while ago writ a letter * to Chriſtian Hartzoeker, at Rotterdam, about their doctrine; and having afterward diſcourſed with Barclay concerning the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God, this induced Barclay to write a letter on the ſaid ſubject in Latin, to the aforementioned heer, wherein he made a more large reply to his arguments, than he had done by word of mouth. This letter being ſent over from Scotland to Holland, was delivered by Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, to the ſaid heer Paets, with a deſire that he might be pleaſed to return an anſwer to it, which he promiſed he would. But he continuing deficient in the caſe, Furly at laſt publiſhed the ſaid letter in print, but without mentioning the name of him to whom it was written, only his character, viz. *Cuidam legato*.†

In this letter was ſet down firſt the objection of the heer Paets, to wit, that ſince the being and ſubſtance of the

* To be found in the book called, *Præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum Epiſtolæ Ecclesiaſticæ & Theologicæ* Amſtelodami *apud* Franciſcum Halmam. 1704.

† To a certain ambaſſador.

Chriſtian religion conſiſteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning, the birth, life, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Chriſt Jeſus, he conſidered the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian religion as contingent truth; which contingent truth was matter of fact. And matter of fact could not be known but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward ſenſes; becauſe there are naturally in our ſouls no ideas of contingent truths, ſuch as are concerning neceſſary truths, viz. that God is, and that the whole is greater than the part. And ſince it might without abſurdity be ſaid, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a neceſſary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truths or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed; and matters of fact not being revealed but by the outward ſenſes, the concluſion drawn from thence is, that men are not obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the ſoul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, or to be done, unleſs there be added ſome miracles obvious to the outward ſenſes, by which the ſoul may be aſcertained that that revelation cometh from God. All theſe arguments Barclay anſwered very circumſtantially, premiſing firſt, that it was falſely ſuppoſed that the eſſence of the Chriſtian religion conſiſted in the hiſtorical faith and knowledge of the birth, death, life, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Chriſt. That faith and hiſtorical knowledge is indeed a part of the Chriſtian religion, but not ſuch an eſſential part as that without which the Chriſtian religion cannot conſiſt; but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Chriſtian religion, as the hands or feet of a man are the integral parts of a man, without which nevertheleſs a man may exiſt, but not an entire and complete man. Yet he agrees, that the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt is commonly manifeſted to us by the holy Scripture as the means; but nevertheleſs he aſſerts, that God could without ſuch an outward mean manifeſt the ſaid hiſtorical knowledge to our minds: and alſo, that a contingent truth may be known by a ſupernatural knowledge. And he ſaith, that when God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine immediate revelation, he then ſpeaks as to the ear of the heart of the inward man. And, that as when

any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; ſo alſo when a ſupernatural idea is raiſed, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea. He alſo holds forth, what properly is the inward ſupernatural ſenſe in man; and then he diſtinguiſheth between contingent and neceſſary truths, and ſhews how a divine revelation may be known to be ſuch, ſaying that natural and ſpiritual ſenſes are diſtinguiſhable by their objects, and demonſtrating how godly men may know they are in the favour of God, and how the wicked feel the wrath of God as fire. He alſo relates after what manner the ſpiritual ſenſes diſtinguiſh the good and the evil; and he confeſſeth there is in all men, as well the godly as the ungodly, ſome ſort of idea of God, as of a moſt perfect being; but he aſſerts, that the ſupernatural idea of God differeth much from the natural; and that in all men there is a ſupernatural idea of God. He alſo ſhews, wherein the motions of the mind differ from thoſe of the body; and that there are ideas as well of ſupernatural, as of natural things. And ſhewing from whence the errors of falſe likeneſſes of reaſon proceed, he ſays, that the natural reaſon cannot perceive ſupernatural things. He alſo aſſerts, that the revelations to the prophets were by inward inſpirations in their minds; and that they were moſt certainly perſuaded that they were divinely inſpired, even without any outward miracle: and that it is by the inſpiration of the ſame divine Spirit, by which the prophets propheſied, that we do believe their words and writings to be divine, concerning contingent truths, as well paſt as to come. Moreover he enquires, whether faith comes by outward hearing, and he ſhews how the outward ſenſes may be deceived; nay, that often they are vitiated both by outward caſualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no leſs ſubject than the wicked.

All this is treated at large by Barclay, as may be ſeen in the ſaid letter, and ſeveral years after, when the heer Paets was at London, being one of the commiſſioners for the Dutch Eaſt-India company, Barclay ſpoke with him again, and ſo repreſented the matter, that he readily yielded, that he had been miſtaken in his notion of the Quakers; for he found they could make a reaſonable plea for the

foundation of their religion. And thereupon R. Barclay tranſlated the ſaid letter into Engliſh as follows:

'My friend,

'Albeit I judge I did fully anſwer to all thy arguments in that conference we had, concerning the neceſſity and poſſibility of inward immediate revelation, and of the certainty of true faith from thence proceeding: nevertheleſs, becauſe after we had made an end, and were parting, thou wouldeſt needs remit to my further conſideration the ſtrength of thy argument, as that in which thou ſuppoſedſt the very hinge of the queſtion to lie: that I might ſatisfy thy deſire, and that the truth might more appear, I did further conſider of it; but the more I weighed it, I found it the weaker. And therefore that thou thyſelf mayeſt make the truer judgment of it, I thought meet to ſend thee my further conſiderations thereon; (which I had done e'er now, had not I, both at London and elſewhere, been diverted by other neceſſary occaſions) wherein I doubt not, but thou wilt perceive a full and diſtinct anſwer to thy argument. But if thou canſt not as yet yield to the truth, or thinkeſt mine anſwer in any part to be defective, ſo that there yet remains with thee any matter of doubt or ſcruple; I do earneſtly deſire thee, that as I for thy ſake, and out of love to the truth, have not been wanting to examine thy argument, and to tranſmit to thee my conſiderations thereon; ſo thou mayeſt give thyſelf the trouble to write and ſend me what thou haſt further to ſay: which my friend N. N. who delivers thee this, will, at what time thou ſhalt appoint, receive from thee, and tranſmit to me thy letter; that at laſt the truth may appear where it is.

'And that the whole matter may the more clearly be underſtood, it will be fit in the firſt place, to propoſe thy argument, whereby thou oppoſeſt the immediate revelation of God in the ſaints; thence concluding thou haſt fully overturned the foundation of the people called Quakers. Which argument of thine is;

'That ſince (as thou judgeſt) the being and ſubſtance of the Chriſtian religion conſiſteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning, the birth, life, death, reſurrection,

and aſcenſion of Chriſt Jeſus, thou conſidereſt the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian religion as a contingent truth; which contingent truth is matter of fact. Whence thou reaſoneſt, that:

Matter of fact cannot be known, but by the relation of another, or by the perception of the outward ſenſes; becauſe there are naturally in our ſouls no ideas of contingent truths, ſuch as are concerning neceſſary truths: to wit, that God is; and that the whole is greater than the part.—And ſince it may without abſurdity be ſaid, that

God cannot make a contingent truth to become a neceſſary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truths or matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed: but matters of fact are not revealed, but by the outward ſenſes.——From whence thou concludeſt, that

Men are not even obliged to believe God producing any revelation in the ſoul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, or to be done, unleſs there be added ſome miracles obvious to the outward ſenſes, by which the ſoul may be aſcertained, that that revelation cometh from God.

'And this thou endeavoureſt alſo to prove from the Scripture, Rom. x. where the apoſtle ſaith, "Faith cometh by hearing:" and becauſe the apoſtle ſpeaketh afterwards of thoſe who were ſent in the plural number; thence thou concludeſt that to be ſpoken of outward preaching by the miniſtry of men: and ſince the apoſtle uſes a queſtion, ſaying, "How ſhall they believe unleſs they hear," thou gathereſt from the induction and connexion of the text, that the apoſtle treats only of outward hearing; thence concluding, that without outward hearing, faith cannot be produced: and therefore, that there can be no immediate revelation by the ſimple operation of the Spirit in the mind, unleſs there be ſomewhat propoſed to the outward ſenſes.

'Before I proceed to a direct anſwer to this argument, ſome things are neceſſary to be premiſed:

'Firſt then; That it is falſely ſuppoſed, that the eſſence of the Chriſtian religion conſiſts in the hiſtorical faith and

knowledge of the birth, death, life, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt. That faith and hiſtorical knowledge is indeed a part of the Chriſtian religion; but not ſuch an eſſential part, as that without which the Chriſtian religion cannot conſiſt; but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Chriſtian religion: as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheleſs a man may exiſt, but not an entire and complete man.

'Secondly, If by immediate revelation be underſtood ſuch a revelation of God, as begets in our ſouls an hiſtorical faith and knowledge of the birth of Chriſt in the fleſh, without the means of the holy Scripture, we do not contend for ſuch a revelation, as commonly given, or to be expected by us, or any other Chriſtians. For albeit many other evangelical truths be manifeſted to us by the immediate manifeſtation of God, not uſing the Scripture as the means; yet the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt is not commonly manifeſted to us, nor to any others, but by the holy Scripture, as the means, and that by way of a material object: even as when we ſee the perſon of Peter or Paul to our viſive faculty immediately, yet not without the medium of that perſon concurring as a material object to produce that ſight; while the light of the ſun concurs, as the formal object of that viſion or ſight. So that when we livingly and ſpiritually know the hiſtory of the birth of Chriſt in the fleſh; the inward revelation or illumination of God, which is like the ſun's light, proceeding from the divine ſun, doth ſhine into the eye of the mind, and by its influence moves the mind to aſſent unto the hiſtorical truth of Chriſt's birth, life, &c. in the reading or hearing the Scripture, or meditating therein.

'Thirdly, Nevertheleſs we do firmly aſſert, that God can moſt eaſily, clearly, and certainly, manifeſt to our minds the hiſtorical truths of Chriſt's birth, &c. when it ſo pleaſeth him, even without the Scripture, or any other outward means. And becauſe this argument ſeems to be formed againſt the poſſibility of ſuch a revelation, therefore I ſhall proceed to diſcuſs it: but firſt thou mayeſt mind, that the prophets who foretold Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, and

being to be born of a virgin, and afterwards to ſuffer death, did know theſe truths of fact by the inward inſpiration of God, without outward means: for which ſee 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. Now that which hath been, may be.

'Fourthly, This argument doth at moſt conclude, that we cannot know naturally any truth of fact, but by the relation of another without us, or by the perception of the outward ſenſes; becauſe there are naturally in our minds no ideas concerning contingent truths (and every truth of fact is a contingent truth) as there are of neceſſary truths. This then proveth, that we cannot naturally know any contingent truth, but by the relation of another, or perception of the outward ſenſes: but that hindereth not, but we may know a contingent truth by a ſupernatural knowledge, God ſupplying the place of an outward relator; who is ſo true, that he may, and ought to be believed, ſince God is the fountain of truth.

'Fifthly, When God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine immediate revelation or inſpiration, God ſpeaking as to the ear of the heart of the inward man, or as by his finger writing it therein, two things are to be conſidered in ſuch an immediate revelation.

'τὸ *Materiale*, The matter of fact, or thing revealed, which is contingent.

'τὸ *Formale*, The form or mode, how the revelation is made: which form is an inward, divine, and ſupernatural revelation, which is the voice or ſpeech of God, inwardly ſpeaking to the ear of the inward man or mind of man, or a divine writing ſupernaturally imprinted therein. Now as to the material part, or the thing and matter revealed, this is indeed a contingent truth, and of itſelf is not manifeſt to the mind; but becauſe of the form, that is, becauſe of the divine mode, and ſupernatural inward operation, the matter is known to be true. For that divine and ſupernatural inward operation, which the mind doth feel and perceive in itſelf, is the voice of God ſpeaking unto man, which by its nature and ſpecifick property is as clearly diſtinguiſhed and underſtood to be the voice of God, as the voice of Peter or James is known to be the voice of ſuch men. For every being as a being is knowable, and that by its

own ſpecifick nature, or property proceeding from its nature; and hath its proper idea, by which it is diſtinguiſhable from every other thing, if ſo be its idea be ſtirred up in us, and clearly propoſed to us.

'Sixthly: Now as ſome beings are natural, ſome ſupernatural, ſo ſome ideas are natural, ſome ſupernatural: and as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; ſo alſo when a ſupernatural idea is raiſed, we clearly know that, whereof it is the idea. But the voice of God ſpeaking to the mind of man, is a ſupernatural being, and ſtirreth up in us a ſupernatural idea, by which we clearly know that inward voice to be the voice of God, and not the voice or operation of another, or of any evil ſpirit, or angel, becauſe none of theſe have a ſupernatural idea, as the voice of God, and his divine operation hath: for it is full of vigour, virtue, and divine glory, as ſaith the pſalmiſt, who had often experience of it; and we alſo in our meaſures are witneſſes thereof, for the voice of God is known to be his by its divine virtue.

'Seventhly: The ſenſes are either outward or inward; and the inward ſenſes are either natural or ſupernatural: we have an example of the inward natural ſenſe in being angered or pacified, in love and hatred; or when we perceive and diſcern any natural truth (ſuch as the natural maxims, to wit, that the whole is greater than the part, &c.) or when we deduce any concluſion by the ſtrength of natural reaſon, that perception alſo in a larger ſenſe, may be called an inward ſenſe. But an example of an inward ſupernatural ſenſe is, when the heart or ſoul of a pious man, feels in itſelf divine motions, influences, and operations, which ſometimes are as the voice or ſpeech of God, ſometimes has a moſt pleaſant and glorious illuſtration or viſible object to the inward eye, ſometimes has a moſt ſweet ſavour or taſte, ſometimes has an heavenly and divine warmneſs, or (ſo to ſpeak) melting of the ſoul in the love of God. Moreover this divine and ſupernatural operation in the mind of man, is a true and moſt glorious miracle; which when it is perceived by the inward and ſupernatural ſenſe divinely raiſed up in the mind of man, doth ſo evidently and clearly perſuade the underſtanding to aſſent to the

thing revealed, that there is no need of an outward miracle: for this aſſent is not becauſe of the thing itſelf, but becauſe of the revelation propoſing it, which is the voice of God. For when the voice of God is heard in the ſoul, the ſoul doth as certainly conclude the truth of that voice, as the truth of God's being, from whom it proceeds.

'Theſe things being thus premiſed, I now proceed to a direct anſwer. For what is ſaid, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a neceſſary truth, I agree; but when any contingent truth is manifeſt to us by the immediate revelation of God, there is in two things to be conſidered, to wit, the thing revealed, which is contingent; and the revelation itſelf: which upon the ſuppoſition, that it is a divine revelation, is no contingent truth, but a moſt neceſſary truth. And this all mankind will ſay, that this propoſition, every divine revelation is neceſſarily true, is as clear and evident, as that propoſition, that every whole is greater than its part.

'But thou wilt ſay; how knoweſt thou that a divine revelation is a divine revelation? I anſwer, how knoweſt thou that a whole is a whole, and a part is a part? thou wilt ſay, by the natural idea excited in me of a whole, and not of a part. I anſwer again; even ſo a divine revelation is known to be ſuch by a ſupernatural idea of divine revelation ſtirred up in us, and that by a divine motion, or ſupernatural operation. But it is no wonder that men, who have no experience of ſupernatural ideas, or at leaſt do not heed them, do deny them; which is, as if a man naturally blind denied light or colours; or a deaf man ſounds, becauſe they experience them not. Therefore we cannot diſſemble, that we feel a fervent zeal even divinely kindled in us againſt ſuch an abſurd opinion, as affirms, that God cannot aſcertain us of his will in any contingent truth, but by propoſing it to the outward ſenſes. This opinion does in a manner turn men into brutes, as if man were not to believe his God, unleſs he propoſe what is to be believed to the outward ſenſes, which the beaſts have common with us; yea, it derogates from God's power, and imputes weakneſs to him, as if he could not do that, which not only both good and evil angels can do, but which the

meaneſt creatures can do, and the moſt unſenſible. As for inſtance: the heat of the fire, the coldneſs of the air and water worketh upon us; yea, if a pin prick us, we feel it, and that by the outward ſenſe; becauſe the objects are outward and carnal: but ſince God is a moſt pure and glorious Spirit, when he operateth in the innermoſt parts of our minds by his will; ſhall not he and his will be clearly felt according to his nature, that is, by a ſpiritual and ſupernatural ſenſe? for as the nature of God is, ſo is the nature of his will, to wit, purely ſpiritual, and therefore requireth a ſpiritual ſenſe to diſcern it; which ſpiritual ſenſe, when it is raiſed up in us by a divine operation, doth as clearly and certainly know the voice or revelation of the will of God, concerning any thing which God is pleaſed to reveal, however contingent, as the outward ſenſe knows and perceives the outward object. And it is no leſs abſurd, to require of God, who is a moſt pure Spirit, to manifeſt his will to men by the outward ſenſes, elſe not to be credited; as to require us to ſee ſounds, and hear lights and colours. For as the objects of the outward ſenſes are not to be confounded, but every object is to have its proper ſenſe; ſo muſt we judge of inward and ſpiritual objects, which have their proper ſenſe, whereby they are to be perceived. And tell me, how God doth manifeſt his will concerning matters of fact, when he ſends his angels to men, ſince angels (as is commonly received) have not outward ſenſes, or at leaſt not ſo groſs ones, as ours are? yea, when men die, and appear before the tribunal of God, whether unto eternal life or death, how can they know this, having laid down their bodies, and therewith their outward ſenſes? and nevertheleſs this truth of God is a truth of fact, as is the hiſtorical truth of Chriſt's birth in the fleſh. And which is yet more near: how do good and holy men even in this life moſt certainly know, that they are in the favour and grace of God! no outward revelation doth make this known unto them; but the Spirit (as ſaith the apoſtle) beareth witneſs with our ſpirits, that we are the children of God. For the mere teſtimony of a human conſcience, without inward teſtimony of the holy Spirit, cannot beget in us a firm and immoveable teſtimony of our ſonſhip, becauſe the heart of man is

deceitful; and if the teſtimony thereof were true, at moſt it is but a human teſtimony, which begetteth in us only a human faith: but that faith, by which holy men believe they are the ſons of God, is a divine faith, which leans upon a divine teſtimony of the holy Spirit, witneſſing in them that they are the ſons of God. Moreover, when a good man feels in himſelf that undeclarable joy of the holy Spirit, concerning which the holy Scripture ſpeaks, and which is the common privilege of the ſaints, how or whence feels he this joy? truly, this argument concludes no leſs againſt this heavenly ſpiritual joy, which is begotten in the ſouls of the ſaints by the holy Spirit, than it does againſt the immediate revelation of God: for there is no natural idea of this ſpiritual joy, elſe mere natural men, yea, ſuch as are profane and ungodly, would feel it as much as the godly: but becauſe it is a ſupernatural thing, therefore it can have no true idea but what is ſupernatural. Moreover, whence is it that profane men feel ſometimes in themſelves the wrath of God as fire, when all things, as to the outward, go as proſperouſly with them as with the godly, and oftentimes more proſperouſly? for there is no natural idea in men of this inward wrath of God. There is alſo an inward grief oftentimes raiſed up in wicked men from the ſenſe of this wrath of God, which very much vexeth and tormenteth their minds; and nevertheleſs this grief hath no natural idea in us: for oftentimes wicked men feel not this ſorrow; for God ſometimes is, as it were, ſilent, while the wicked ſin, as in Pſalm l.

'All which things do moſt clearly demonſtrate, that there are in men ſupernatural ideas of ſupernatural beings; which ideas are nevertheleſs not perceived by us, unleſs they be ſtirred up by ſome ſupernatural operation of God, which raiſeth up in us ſupernatural and ſpiritual ſenſes, which by their nature are as diſtinguiſhable from the natural ſenſes, whether inward or outward, as the natural ſenſes are diſtinguiſhed one from another by their ſpecifick difference. Of which ſpiritual ſenſes the Scripture ſpeaks frequently, as Heb. v. and xiv. where is ſpoken of the ſpiritual ſenſes in general, by which the ſpiritual man hath the diſcerning of good and evil: which good is of a ſpiritual

nature, and conduceth to feed in us a ſpiritual and divine life; and the evil is of that kind, by which the ſpiritual life is in us hurt, to wit, ſins, whether carnal or ſpiritual: all which cannot be diſcerned but by ſuch who have ſpiritual ſenſes ſtirred up in them, as ſaith the apoſtle. In other places the Scripture alſo ſpeaketh of theſe ſpiritual ſenſes in particular; as of the ſpiritual ſeeing, Pſalm xxxiv. 9. Of the ſpiritual hearing, Pſalm lxxxv. 9. Of ſpiritual taſting, Pſalm xxxiv. 8. Of ſpiritual ſmelling, Cant. i. 3. Of ſpiritual touching, Acts xvii. 8. and in many other places of Scripture we read of thoſe ſpiritual ſenſes in particular. Yea, it is the promiſe of the goſpel, that the glory of God ſhall be ſeen of holy men, ſuch as are clean of heart, even in this life: Iſaiah xxxiii. 17. Mat. v. 8. Which were fulfilled in the primitive Chriſtians, ſee John i. 14. 1 John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 Cor. iii. 18. and chap. iv. 6. But what is this viſion of God and divine glory, which the ſouls of the ſaints enjoy in this life, which is only as the earneſt or firſt fruits of that more abundant glorious viſion in the life to come, concerning which the Scripture ſo much declareth, which is the higheſt happineſs of the immortal ſoul.

'For this argument ſeemeth to do no leſs injury to the ſaints, than to rob them of this moſt glorious treaſure both in this life, and that to come. For there is in us no natural idea of this divine glory, as there is not of God himſelf which is any ways proportionable unto ſo great happineſs, which the Scripture ſo much declareth of, by which the godly are rewarded partly in this life, and plenarily in that which is to come. We confeſs indeed, there is in all men, as well the godly as ungodly, ſome ſort of idea of God, as of a moſt perfect being; and that therefore this propoſition, there exiſteth a moſt perfect being, doth as clearly appear to human underſtanding, as that the whole is greater than the part: and therefore this propoſition, that a moſt perfect being exiſteth, ought to be numbered among the principles, that of themſelves are manifeſt. But this idea of God is as manifeſt to ungodly, as to godly men; yea, it is clearly perceived by the devil, as by the moſt holy angels: for all the devils know that God is;

but yet how blind is the devil, and all wicked men, as to the viſion of God, which is the chief reward of the ſaints.

'There is then either no ſuch viſion of God, neither in this life, nor in that to come; or there is a ſupernatural idea of God in us, by which we are made capable of this viſion: which ſupernatural idea of God differeth much from that natural idea of God, which Carteſius and his followers ſo much talk of, (albeit others long before Carteſius did obſerve this natural idea of God, and ſpoke of it.) But the happineſs of the ſaints conſiſts not in contemplating this natural idea of God, elſe the wicked would be as happy as the godly; yea, the very devil, as the moſt holy angel: ſince, as is ſaid, both the devil and moſt wicked men do as clearly perceive this natural idea of God, as the moſt holy men or angels.

'If the Scripture then be true, there is in men a ſupernatural idea of God, which altogether differs from this natural idea: I ſay, in all men; becauſe all men are capable of ſalvation, and conſequently of enjoying this Divine viſion. Now this capacity conſiſteth herein, that they have ſuch a ſupernatural idea in themſelves: for if there were no ſuch idea in them, it were impoſſible they ſhould ſo know God. For whatſoever is clearly and diſtinctly known, is known by its proper idea; neither can it otherways be cleared and diſtinctly known: for the ideas of all things are divinely planted in our ſouls; for they are not begotten in us by outward objects, or outward cauſes, (as the better philoſophy teacheth) but only are by theſe outward things excited or ſtirred up. And this is true not only in ſupernatural ideas of God, and things divine, and in natural ideas of the natural principles of human underſtanding, and concluſions thence deduced by the ſtrength of human reaſon; but even in the ideas of outward objects, which are perceived by the outward ſenſes; as that noble Chriſtian philoſopher Bœtius hath well obſerved; to which alſo the Carteſian philoſophy agreeth. For when I ſee any outward object, whether it be a man, or horſe, or bird, the outward object does not treat in my eye, nor yet in my mind the idea of thoſe things; for the outward object does nothing but imprint in our ſenſible organs a cor-

poreal motion. Now there is nothing in a corporeal motion that can form in us the ideas of thoſe things; for all ideas are of a ſpiritual nature: now nothing that is corporeal can produce that which is ſpiritual, becauſe the leſs excellent cannot produce the more excellent, elſe the effect would exceed its cauſe; which is againſt all ſound reaſon, that it ſhould bring forth what were of a higher and more excellent kind. Therefore all ideas, whether of natural or ſpiritual things, are divinely implanted in our minds; which nevertheleſs do not always appear, but ſometimes appear, and ſometimes are as it were hid in us, and ſometimes are ſtirred up in us by cauſes outward or inward, and again do as it were ſleep and ſhun our obſervation, and ſeem not to be otherways diſtinguiſhed by our minds, but as thoughts and perceptions of the mind from the mind itſelf; that is, as the mode from the ſubject, or as a bodily motion from the body, whereof it is the motion: for as is the relation of a bodily motion to a body, ſo is the relation of a thought or perception of the mind to the mind. In this nevertheleſs they differ, that the mind can move itſelf, and operate in itſelf; which a body cannot do: but as a body can be moved by another, ſo alſo can the mind after its manner be moved by another, and that both by outward and inward cauſes, but chiefly by God himſelf, in whoſe hand all ſouls and creatures are. But of theſe things there is enough ſaid at preſent; and I hope, I have not thus far impertinently philoſophiſed.

'As there are then natural ideas concerning the things of the natural world; as for inſtance, ideas of light and colours, ideas of voice and ſounds, ideas of ſavouring and ſmelling, ideas of taſting and feeling, as of heat and cold, of grief and joy; it follows alſo, that there are ideas of ſupernatural things, concerning the divine and ſupernatural things of the divine and ſupernatural world; as ideas of thoſe things above-mentioned in the ſpiritual world. And as the natural ideas are ſtirred up in us by outward and natural bodies, ſo thoſe divine and ſupernatural ideas are ſtirred up in us by a certain principle, which is a body in naturals, in relation to the ſpiritual world, and therefore may be called a divine body; not as if it were a part of

God, who is a moſt pure ſpirit; but the organ, or inſtrument of God, by which he worketh in us, and ſtirreth up in us theſe ideas of divine things. This is that fleſh and blood of Chriſt, by which the ſaints are nouriſhed; which is a myſtery to all unregenerated and mere natural men, never to be reached by them, while they remain in that ſtate.

'Now if there be ſuch ſupernatural ideas, there are alſo ſenſes, or perceptive faculties by which thoſe ideas are perceived; for thoſe are two relatives that ſuppoſe and infer one another: but in wicked men thoſe ſenſes or faculties do as it were ſleep (as the viſive faculty of a blind man;) but in the godly they are ſtirred up. Now by theſe divine and ſpiritual ſenſes, which are diſtinct and diſtinguiſhable from all the natural faculties of the ſoul, whether of imagination, or natural reaſon, ſpiritual minded men do behold the glory and beauty of God, in reſpect whereof, and for which, all the glory of this world is deſpicable to them; yea, even as droſs and dung. And they alſo hear God inwardly ſpeaking in their ſouls, words truly divine and heavenly, full of virtue and divine life; and they ſavour and taſte of divine things, and do, as it were, handled them with the hands of their ſouls. And thoſe heavenly enjoyments do as really differ in their nature from all falſe ſimilitudes, and fictitious appearances of them, which either the mind of man by its own ſtrength can imitate, or any evil ſpirit to deceive man can counterfeit; as a true man differs from the dead image of a man, or true bread, honey, wine, or milk, doth from the mere picture of thoſe things. And albeit either the imagination of man, or ſubtilty of the devil, may counterfeit falſe likeneſſes of theſe enjoyments, by which men may be deceived; and no doubt many are deceived; that doth not hinder, but that thoſe divine enjoyments are clearly perceived in ſuch, in whom the divine and ſpiritual ſenſes are truly opened, and the true ſupernatural ideas of thoſe things truly raiſed up.

'And if there be at any time a miſtake, the divine illumination is not the cauſe of that miſtake, but ſome evil diſpoſition of the mind; as happeneth in thoſe things re-

lating to natural reaſon. For there are many falſe appearances of reaſon, which differ as much from true reaſon, as thoſe falſe and pretended revelations, and diabolical inſpirations from ſuch as are truly divine. Now, how many men who would be eſteemed philoſophers, are miſerably deceived by thoſe falſe likeneſſes of reaſon, judging their falſe reaſons to be the true ſimilitudes of things and ſolid ratiocinations; which nevertheleſs moveth no man of ſound reaſon, to reject ſound and ſolid reaſon, as doubtful and uncertain? For even ſound natural reaſon is an excellent gift of God, and very uſeful to mankind, when uſed in its proper place: but let none think to comprehend by their natural reaſon things that are of a divine and ſupernatural kind. And as we uſe to do, when any one is deceived by falſe appearances of reaſon, we endeavour to reduce them to contemplate the firſt natural ideas of natural things, and to meditate therein, which is as a teſt or touchſtone, by which all the appearances and likeneſſes of reaſon are to be examined; if they contradict them, to be rejected; ſo alſo when any one is deceived by his own imagination, or the cunning of ſatan, thinking any evil inſpiration of the devil to be a true divine revelation, he that is ſo deceived, is to be reduced to the natural ideas of things (if ſo be that pretended revelation doth contradict them, for no true divine revelation can contradict the true natural ideas) or to the ſupernatural ideas of divine things, which are moſt ſimple, clear, and obvious to the minds of men, if they will turn their minds to the divine ſeed in them; or at leaſt thoſe ideas are readily and eaſily ſtirred up. For as in natural ideas, ſo in ſupernatural, ſome are more eaſily raiſed than others: for there is a certain order both of natural and ſupernatural ideas, whereby they are gradually excited; nor is there any mortal man, in whoſe mind at ſome time or other there is not ſtirred up ſome idea that is truly ſupernatural and divine, and who hath not felt in himſelf both the wrath and judgment of God for his ſins? and alſo ſome tender and gentle taſte of God's love and goodneſs, by which wicked men are invited to repentance. Now that which is thought to be a divine revelation, and is felt to contradict any divine and ſuperna-

tural idea, which is clearly perceived in the ſoul, it is a manifeſt token that it is not a divine revelation, but either a falſe imagination, or the wicked ſuggeſtion of ſome evil ſpirit.

'But to proceed: if we will hear the Scripture (as all Chriſtians ought) it teſtifies to us, that God hath declared his mind and will even concerning contingent truths to come in the prophets; as that of the firſt to the Hebrews doth evidently declare. "God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners ſpoke to our fathers in the prophets." Yea, let us hear the prophets themſelves, Hoſea, chap. i. ſaith plainly, "That the word of the Lord was made in him" as it is in the Heb.) Habakkuk alſo ſays, As he was ſtanding on his watch, to ſee what Jehovah would ſpeak in him, And it is ſo manifeſt, that the moſt heavenly revelations are by inward illuſtrations, and inſpirations, in the very minds of the prophets; that it is ſtrange how any that believes the Scripture ſhould doubt of it. And if it happened at any time, ſuch revelations were made in the natural imaginations of the prophets, or any of their inward natural ſenſes, then it may be confeſſed, they could not be infallibly certain they came from God; unleſs they alſo felt God in the divine and ſupernatural ſenſes, by which they did moſt nearly approach to him, from theſe ſuperior and moſt inward ſenſes, working upon the lower and leſs noble faculties of the mind. But which ever way the prophets were certain, that they were inſpired of God, even when they foretold contingent truths to come, it is without doubt, they were moſt certainly perſuaded, that they were divinely inſpired, and that frequently without any outward miracle. For John the Baptiſt did no miracle; and many propheſied, where there appeared no miracle: as in the Scripture may be often obſerved. And we alſo by the inſpiration of the ſame Divine ſpirit, by which the prophets propheſied, do believe their words and writings to be divine, concerning contingent truths, as well paſt as to come; elſe that faith, by which we believe the Scripture, would not be divine, but merely human. And thence we need no outward miracles to move us to believe the Scriptures; and therefore much leſs were they neceſſary to the prophets who writ them. For we ſee in many

places of the prophets, where they declare propheſies as revealed to them of God, there is not a word mentioned of any outward miracle, as that by which alone they were certain of it.

'Moreover, the falſeneſs of this argument doth appear, in that the Scripture doth declare many contingent truths to have been revealed to the prophets in dreams. Now as natural and wicked men do not ſee what they dream by a real perception of the outward ſenſes, but by inward ideas which are preſented to the mind, and perceived by it: ſo it is alſo in divine revelations of this nature. Of which we have a clear example in Joſeph, the huſband of the bleſſed Virgin, who, when he obſerved his wife with child, was told in a dream, that ſhe had conceived by the Holy Ghoſt: now I would know, to which of Joſeph's outward ſenſes was this revealed? or what miracle had he to induce him to believe? which could neither be proved, (ſo as to make an infallible application to Mary) by the teſtimony of the Scripture; and which being againſt the order of nature, did choak his reaſon. The Scripture mentions no miracle in this matter; and yet no doubt Joſeph had highly ſinned had he not believed this revelation, and, notwithſtanding, rejected his wife as an adultreſs. But if thou ſayeſt, that according to thy hypotheſis there muſt have been a miracle; that is only to beg the queſtion: and how falſe this hypotheſis is, the apoſtle ſhews clearly, 1 Cor. ii. 14. the natural or animal man knoweth not, receiveth not, the things of God. Now divine revelations are of this nature; if either chiefly or only thoſe things were to be judged by the outward ſenſes, it would contradict the apoſtle. For natural men, yea, the moſt wicked, have the uſe of the outward ſenſes as true and exact as the moſt godly. And whereas the apoſtle adds, 'For they are ſpiritually diſcerned, it puts the matter out of all queſtion: for thence it abundantly appears, that this diſcerning is not by the outward ſenſes, according to the following verſe; for the apoſtle ſaith, The ſpiritual man judgeth all things: this then muſt be done by ſome ſenſes or properties peculiar to the ſpiritual man, and in which he excels the natural man, which is not in the outward

ſenſes, (as all do know). Therefore the perception of ſpiritual things cannot be by the outward ſenſes, either as the chief or only means, as is falſely contended for.

'Now as to theſe words of the apoſtle, Rom. x. That faith comes by hearing; Zuinglius obſerved well, that the apoſtle intended not to affirm faith to come by the hearing of the outward word; neither do the following words prove it, "How ſhall they believe, unleſs they hear? and how ſhall they hear without a preacher? and how ſhall they preach, unleſs they be ſent?" for the apoſtle uſes theſe words, not as his arguments, but as objections which might be formed; as the ſame apoſtle uſes in other places; to which objections he anſwers in the ſame chapter, as appears verſe 18. "But I ſay, have they not all heard? yes, truly, their voice went into all the earth:" that is, of the Father and Son, or the Father in the word; which word is not only near us, but (according to the ſame apoſtle in the ſame chapter) in our mouths, and in our hearts. But further thou canſt conclude nothing from this, but that faith is begotten by outward hearing only, and no otherwiſe: for this is the ſtrength of thy argument, that ſince faith cannot be without outward hearing, therefore nothing can certainly be believed, but where ſomewhat is propoſed to the outward hearing. For if thou acknowledge faith can be begotten any otherwiſe than by hearing, thou loſeſt the ſtrength of thy argument: and if that argument hold, that faith comes only by outward hearing, thou deſtroyeſt the whole hypotheſis. For having before affirmed, that outward miracles are ſufficient to render one certain of the truth of any revelation; whether it be the healing of the ſick, or the raiſing of the dead, would avail nothing, becauſe thoſe, (as for the moſt part all miracles) are obvious to the ſight, not to the hearing: and if it be not by outward hearing only, thou cannot conclude nothing from this place.

'But I the more wonder thy uſing of this argument, conſidering the diſcourſe we had together before we entered upon this debate: for when we were ſpeaking of the opinion of a certain perſon, who denied the certainty of every thing, but what was diſcerned by the outward ſenſes, thou

condemneſt it as moſt abſurd; but why, I cannot conceive, ſince there is no great difference betwixt thoſe two opinions: the one ſaith there can be no great certainty concerning any truths, whether they be neceſſary or contingent, but by the perception of the ſenſes: the other affirms the ſame of contingent truths, though not of neceſſary truths. But among the number of contingent truths thou eſteemeſt what belongs to Chriſtian religion; for thou reckons the neceſſary truths only to belong to natural religion. This then is all the difference, that that other perſon ſays, there is no certainty of any religion, neither natural nor Chriſtian, but by the perception of the outward ſenſes: but thou ſayeſt though thou eſteemeſt the certainty of natural religion to be without them, yet not of the Chriſtian religion. But again, ſince thou eſteemeſt, that not natural religion, but the Chriſtian religion is neceſſary to ſalvation, thou muſt neceſſarily conclude, that thoſe truths which are neceſſary to ſalvation, are only known and believed by the benefit of the outward ſenſes: in which concluſion (which is the ſum of all) thou yieldeſt the matter to that other perſon.

'But laſtly: if all the certainty of our faith, hope, and ſalvation, did depend upon the infallibility of outward ſenſes, we ſhould be moſt miſerable; ſince theſe ſenſes can be eaſily deceived, and, by many outward caſualties and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no leſs ſubject than the wicked, are often vitiated; and there are (as the Scripture affirms) falſe miracles, which, as to the outward, cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the true! of which we cannot infallibly judge by the outward ſenſes, which only diſcern what is outward.

'There is a neceſſity then to have recourſe to ſome other means.

'From all which it does appear, how fallacious and weak this argument is: but thanks be unto God, who would not that our faith ſhould be built upon ſo uncertain and doubtful a foundation. And whoever hath known true faith, or hath felt the divine teſtimony of God's Spirit in his ſoul, will judge otherways, neither will be moved by ſuch reaſonings. I pray God therefore to remove theſe

clouds, which darken thy underſtanding, that thou mayeſt perceive the glorious goſpel of Chriſt: this is that ſaving word of grace, which I commend thee unto; and that God may give thee a heart inclinable to believe and obey the truth, is the deſire of

'thy faithful friend,

'R. Barclay.'

From the priſon of Aberdeen, in Scotland, where I am confined for the ſake of the teſtimony of Jeſus. November 24, 1676.

This letter, a year ago, at the deſire of my friend R. B. I delivered in to the hands of the afore-named ambaſſador, deſiring his anſwer in writing, which he then promiſed; but not having as yet done, it was ſeen meet to be publiſhed.

B. F.

Rotterdam, the 28th of March, 1678.

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*A brief and diſtinct Solution of the Argument which the Ambaſſador aforeſaid uſeth againſt* Robert Barclay's Theſes, *whereby he attempts to evince, that not the inward revelation of the* Holy Spirit, *but the outward by the Scripture, is the principal rule, and foundation of our faith: at leaſt to us Europeans, who have the Scriptures.*

As to his argument, as it was tranſmitted to us, if he conſiders the ſtrength and ſubſtance of it, thus it ſtands: 'The hiſtory of the outward coming, nativity, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, is either neceſſary to their ſalvation, to whom the Scriptures came, or it is not neceſſary, viz. to be known and believed. If we ſay the ſecond, namely, that the hiſtory is not neceſſary to be known and believed in order to the ſalvation of us Europeans who have the Scriptures, then it will follow that we are not Chriſtians, becauſe we deny that true, eſſential, and conſtitutive character of the Chriſtian religion, which conſiſts in believing that Chriſt was ſent into the world, born of the Virgin Mary, dead and buried, roſe again the third

day, aſcended into heaven, where he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, &c. But if we ſay the firſt, viz. That the knowledge and faith of the hiſtory are neceſſary to our ſalvation, then it will follow, that the Scripture, and not the inward revelation of the holy Spirit, is the principal rule and foundation of that hiſtorical faith and knowledge.'

Now this he endeavours to prove, both from ſome other principles of the Quakers, ſo called, and from R. B's ſixth Theſis, after this manner:

That, ſaid the ambaſſador, is the principal rule and foundation of our faith, which is the only medium or mean, whereby that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are brought unto us: but, according to the Quakers, and the ſixth Theſis, the Scripture is the only medium or mean, whereby that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are brought unto us: therefore, according to the Quakers, and the ſixth Theſis, the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of our faith.

The minor he proves thus: the author of the Theſes (ſays he) confeſſeth in his ſixth Theſis, that there is a people, to whom God, by ſome inevitable accident, hath made that hiſtorical knowledge and faith impoſſible: and the reaſon why that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are impoſſible to that people, is, becauſe they are deſtitute of the Scriptures, and live in thoſe corners of the world, whereunto the outward preaching of the hiſtory never came; from which argument it will follow, that the Scriptures are the only medium or mean, whereby the hiſtorical knowledge and faith of Chriſt came to any people.

For the clearer underſtanding the ſolution of this argument, ſome things worthy obſervation are to be conſidered:

1. Firſt then obſerve, that the force of this argument at moſt intends to prove this, viz. That the Scripture is the principal rule and foundation of hiſtorical faith and knowledge; but we with good reaſon diſtinguiſh between hiſtorical and ſaving knowledge, and between hiſtorical and ſaving faith; becauſe many may have an hiſtorical

knowledge and faith, who have not that which is ſaving. Yea, it is poſſible, that a man, by the inward revelation of the holy Spirit, may have an hiſtorical knowledge and faith, who yet may not have that faith which is ſaving; becauſe ſaving faith hath regard to God, not preciſely, as revealing ſome outward hiſtory concerning God and Chriſt, but as revealing very God and Chriſt by his grace, goodneſs, mercy, and power, ready and willing to ſave us, according to his unſpeakable good-will towards us: by which ſaving faith we reſt upon God through Chriſt, our light and life, as upon our moſt merciful Father; which faith can neither exiſt, nor be conceived without love to God, humility before God, denial and diffidence of ſelf; and therefore ſuch a faith is ſaving. But hiſtorical faith, though wrought in the hearts of men by the inward revelation and operation of the holy Spirit, may be without that divine love, humility and ſelf-denial: wherefore preciſely conſidered in its own nature, it is not ſaving. It was this kind of knowledge and faith which wicked Balaam had, who ſaw and knew many hiſtorical futurities, and believed them, but had not ſaving faith.

2. Obſerve, Secondly, That the knowledge and faith neceſſary to ſalvation, are to be underſtood two ways, either by a neceſſity antecedent, or in way of priority, or by a neceſſity conſequent, or in way of poſteriority. Neceſſity antecedent, or in way of priority, is, when ſomething is abſolutely neceſſary to our ſalvation, that we both know and believe it; and becauſe it is neceſſary, God doth therefore reveal it to us; of which ſort are ſuch principles as theſe, viz. That God follows men with his love and good-will; that he invites and perſuades them to come unto him; that he is ready to ſhew favour to men, and pardon their ſins, if they ſincerely repent themſelves of their paſt miſ-ſpent life, and lead a new one for the time to come; that God hears the prayers of thoſe that are truly humble and ſuppliant; that he is a glorious rewarder of all that live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly; that he is a moſt juſt avenger againſt all thoſe who deſpiſe his grace and love, and repent not of their ſins, &c. All which, in

ſome degree, are to all men, even to thoſe who are deſtitute of the Scriptures, revealed by that inward evangelical light, which enlightens all men. Neceſſity conſequent, or in way of poſteriority, is, when ſomething is not abſolutely neceſſary to our ſalvation, but after a certain ſort, or under ſome reſpect, condition, and limitation; of which kind are thoſe things which are not revealed, becauſe they are neceſſary; but becauſe they are revealed, they are neceſſary to be believed by us: for example; if God ſhould reveal to any man, that it was his will and command, he ſhould go to Rome to reprove tyranny and ſuperſtition; certainly this revelation were neceſſary to be believed to that man's ſalvation, by a neceſſity conſequent, becauſe that faith is an act of obedience; and to obey God is neceſſary to ſalvation.

3. Obſerve in the third place, that among thoſe things that are neceſſary to be believed to ſalvation by a neceſſity conſequent, there are ſome things, though not abſolutely neceſſary, yet are they very profitable and conducive means to our ſalvation; of which ſort are the hiſtorical knowledge and faith concerning God, the creation and government of the world, Chriſt's taking fleſh, and dying therein for our ſins, &c. whether that hiſtorical knowledge come to us, either by the ſole inward revelation of the holy Spirit, without the medium or mean of Scripture, or alſo by both, to wit, both by the inward inſpiration of the holy Spirit, and by the Scriptures; which two mediums or means, do ſometimes concur in producing in men hiſtorical knowledge and faith concerning God and Chriſt, as is ſaid before, but in a different manner. The outward revelation (as it is called) of Scripture, is a medium or mean, by way of material object, in producing that hiſtorical knowledge and faith: but the inward inſpiration and revelation wrought in the hearts of men by the holy Spirit, are a medium of mean by way of formal object, in producing the ſame hiſtorical knowledge and faith. By the material object we underſtand that which is believed; and therefore the Scriptures which are believed, are the material object of hiſtorical knowledge and faith. By the

formal object we understand the principal motive in respect to the object, for which the Scriptures are believed. But the principal motive in respect of the object, is not the Scripture itself, but that inward testimony of the holy Spirit, which when we hear or read the Scriptures (when it pleaseth the most good and great God to inspire the hearts of men) works an assent in us, whether it inclines us to assent to the historical truths hitherto declared in the Scriptures or no: wherefore we do not affirm that the holy Spirit doth ordinarily and commonly speak in us something that is new, or declare to our inward hearing those particular histories of God and Christ (though God may, if he shall please, do it at this day); but we say, that God doth by his holy Spirit, through his sensible and perceptible motions and operations objectively representing themselves, move and incline us to assent unto, and believe the Scriptures, and the historical truths declared of in the Scriptures.

These things considered, we affirm, that though the Scriptures are ordinarily and commonly a certain medium or mean, by way of material object or condition, for the producing of historical knowledge and faith in us; and that, commonly speaking, a necessary mean too, as being that without which God doth not ordinarily reveal the outward history of God and Christ; yet we utterly deny that in true Christians the Scripture, or outward history in the Scriptures, is the principal motive, foundation, or principal rule of that historical faith, much less of saving faith, to the producing of which the letter of the Scripture doth very frequently (as to many of its acts, if not all), not concur or co-operate, either as a material object, or as a necessary condition, which is wont commonly to be called in the schools, *Causa sine quâ non*, or a cause or condition without which a thing cannot be done, though it doth not influence the effect.

Nor for a direct solution of the argument aforesaid, we answer, that the historical knowledge and faith concerning Christ's being born, dead, buried, &c. to us Europeans, who have the Scriptures, are necessary to salvation, that is to say, by a necessity consequent, or in way of posteri-

ority (as was before explained), which aſſertion of ours nevertheleſs militates not againſt the ſixth Theſis, which granteth, that that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are impoſſible to thoſe who live in thoſe corners of the world, where the knowledge of the hiſtory is wanting; which impoſſibility is not abſolutely to be underſtood, but after a ſort, and in ſome reſpect; becauſe without doubt God doth ordinarily communicate that hiſtorical knowledge unto men, by the medium or mean of the Scriptures; yet not as the principal medium or mean, much leſs as by the only one: becauſe certainly that inward motion of the holy Spirit wrought in our hearts, moving and inclining us objectively to aſſent unto, and believe the Scriptures, is the principal motive in reſpect of the object, for which we believe the Scriptures, and therefore is the foundation and principal rule of our hiſtorical faith alſo.

Wherefore we anſwer unto the minor propoſition of the laſt ſyllogiſm, by plainly and directly denying that minor propoſition, viz. That the Scriptures are the only medium or mean for attaining to the knowledge of the hiſtory: they are indeed one certain medium or mean, and that neceſſary; but they are not the only nor principal. An example for the illuſtration hereof, occurs in natural and outward viſion: for when I ſee a white or red roſe, that white or red roſe is the material object of my ſight, and one neceſſary medium for the producing of that ſight; yet that roſe is not the only medium or mean; for the light is another, no leſs neceſſary, concurring to produce my ſight, by way of formal object, by means of which I ſee that roſe repreſented under ſuch or ſuch a colour and figure. Moreover, in that he aſſerts, theſe inward motions wrought by the holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, are ſo undiſcernable by us, that believers cannot clearly and infallibly diſtinguiſh them from their own private and proper motions: this he ſuppoſes, but proves not. And therein he is deceived, either through his inexperience, or want of that due waiting, and attention to thoſe motions in the divine illumination of of Chriſt, wherewith he hath enlightened both him [the ambaſſador] and all men coming into the world. But our experience, together with the experience of the holy

prophets and apoſtles, is a ſtronger motive to induce us to believe, that divine inward revelation is ſufficiently clear and convincing by its own light and evidence, than his own bare and jejune ſuppoſition to the contrary, by reaſon of his want of experience or attention.

As to the Latin, we have not been very curious in this writing, by reaſon of haſte; yet have briefly anſwered the argument as a friend communicated it to us by letter; if if he hath omitted any thing in his tranſmiſſion, or we may ſeem not to have underſtood, or touched the ſtrength of the argument, let it be remitted to us; and we, through divine aſſiſtance, ſhall anſwer it at large.

George Keith, and
Robert Barclay.

This ſolution was delivered to the ſaid ambaſſador, not long before the epiſtle cited page 537, and at page 17, in the Appendix to Sewell's Dutch hiſtory.

## A brief Enodation of an Argument propoſed by another perſon.

Moreover as to what relates to another perſon's argument againſt that part of R. B's ſecond Theſis, which aſſerts, that divine inward revelation is that which is evident and clear of itſelf, moving the well-diſpoſed underſtanding by its own evidence, &c. to the end of the Theſis.

The argument is thus formed: Such an evidence as is aſſerted in the Theſis, is deſtructive of faith, becauſe it is not the evidence of faith. He proves the antecedent by the words of the apoſtle, "Faith is the evidence of things not ſeen," Heb. xi. 1. By which words the apoſtle ſeems to intimate, that faith hath not this kind of evidence; for if it were of things ſeen, it would contradict the apoſtle.

The ſolution of this argument is eaſy; for evidence is three-fold.

The firſt is the evidence of things ſenſible, appertaining to the outward ſenſes.

The ſecond is the evidence of things intellectual, but natural, appertaining to natural reaſon.

The third is the evidence of things ſpiritual and ſupernatural, as they are propoſed to the underſtanding by the inward illumination and revelation of the holy Spirit.

The firſt evidence may be called the evidence of ſenſe, or animal evidence.

The ſecond, the evidence of reaſon, or rational evidence.

The third, the evidence of faith, or ſpiritual evidence.

But faith is the evidence of things not ſeen, that is, neither viſible by the outward ſenſes, or by natural reaſon; yet theſe things hinder not, but that faith may be the evidence of things not ſeen by the underſtanding of a man, not as operating in its own natural way, but as divinely elevated and aſſiſted by the inward illumination and operation of the holy Spirit. Wherefore, though things appertaining to faith may be very obſcure, and as it were mere darkneſs, both to the outward ſenſes, and natural reaſon; yet they have their evidence, if duly propoſed to an underſtanding divinely enlightened. Is it not ſaid in the ſame chapter to the Hebrews concerning Moſes, that by faith he ſaw God? That is to ſay, not by the outward eye, nor by the eye of natural reaſon, but by the eye of faith.

The curious may ſee the original Latin (from which the preceding are tranſlated) in the Appendix to William Sewel's Dutch Hiſtory of the Quakers.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE,

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

## THE TENTH BOOK.

THE year 1677 was ſcarce begun, when G. Fox, though the roads were yet covered with ſnow, travelled again. After he had paſſed many places, and preached in the meetings of his friends, he came to York, and going from thence to Nottingham, went to the houſe of John Reckleſs, who was ſheriff there when G. Fox preached the firſt time in that town, and was impriſoned on that account: but he taking G. Fox into his houſe, had been ſo reached by what he ſpoke, that he embraced the doctrine he held forth, and never departed from the profeſſion thereof. From hence G. Fox paſſed through Leiceſterſhire, Derbyſhire, Warwickſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Bedfordſhire, where he met with William Dewſbury, and ſo came again to London, where having aſſiſted at the annual meeting, he, with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, &c. went over to Holland, to ſee his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. William Penn and Robert Barclay travelled up into Germany, and ſince R. Barclay the year before had ſpoken with the princeſs Elizabeth of the Palatinate, daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and ſiſter of Sophia, late

ducheſs of Hanover, mother of George, king of Great Britain, W. Penn had alſo written two letters to her from England, which ſhe anſwered by this following:

Herford, May 2, 1677.

'This, friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wiſhes for my obtaining thoſe virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. What I have done for his true diſciples is not ſo much as a cup of cold water: it affords them no refreſhment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the ducheſs of L. as I have expreſſed at the ſame time unto B. F. But ſince R. B. deſired I ſhould write it, I could not refuſe him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it ſhould expoſe me to the deriſion of the world. But this a mere mortal man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

'Your affectionate friend,

'Elizabeth.'

G. Fox alſo from Amſterdam writ a letter to this virtuous princeſs, wherein he commended her modeſt and retired life, and exhorted her to piety and godlineſs: to which ſhe anſwered with this letter:

'Dear friend,

'I cannot but have a tender love to thoſe that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friends viſit, have been both very welcome to me. I ſhall follow their and your counſel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining ſtill

'Your loving friend,

'Elizabeth.'

Herford, the 30th of Auguſt, 1677.

This correſpondence gave occaſion to William Penn and Robert Barclay, to paſs towards Herford, a town on the frontiers of Paderborn, and to give the ſaid princeſs, who

reſided there, a viſit. With her lived Anna Maria, counteſs of Hornes; and in one of the chambers of the princeſs, William Penn and Robert Barclay had a meeting with the princeſs, the counteſs, and ſeveral others to their great ſatisfaction. And the counteſs, who was one of Labadies adherents, ſignified to William Penn, that ſhe wiſhed a meeting might be had where the inferior ſervants might freely appear. William Penn not refuſing this, the princeſs conſented to it; and after the meeting, (where ſhe was not preſent, that ſo her ſervants might have a more free aceſs) ſhe expreſſed much ſatisfaction in having had that good opportunity. And then ſo earneſtly invited William Penn and Robert Barclay, (who lodged at an inn) to ſup with her, that they not being well able to refuſe the invitation, yielded to it. There was then with her a French woman of quality, who having had before a very ſlight opinion of the Quakers, now became deeply broken, and very affectionately kind and reſpectful to William Penn and Robert Barclay. The next day was the firſt of the week; and it being agreed with the princeſs to have another meeting, William Penn deſired that not only as many of her own family, but as many of the town as would willingly be there, might be admitted. To this ſhe yielded. And thus William Penn and Robert Barclay had a large opportunity to preach effectually, and to diſcharge themſelves. After the meeting was done, the princeſs came to William Penn, and taking him by the hand, ſhe ſpoke to him of the ſenſe ſhe had of the power and preſence of God that had been among them; and thus going on ſhe broke forth into an extraordinary paſſion, crying out, 'I cannot ſpeak to you, my heart is full,' clapping her hand upon her breaſt. This affected William Penn not a little, yet he ſpoke a few words to her by way of admonition; and then taking his leave of her, ſhe ſaid, 'Will you not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany.' To this he returned, 'We are in the hand of the Lord, and being at his pleaſure, cannot ſo fully diſpoſe of ourſelves.' Solemn leave then being taken, Robert Barclay returned to Amſterdam, and William Penn went to Paderborn, and ſo by the way

of Caſſel (where he ſpoke with the aged and learned Dureus) to Frankfort. Here he found ſeveral perſons of note, with whom he had ſeveral times a meeting, and once at the houſe of a young gentlewoman, noble of birth, called Johanna Eleonora Merlane, who ſaid to him, 'Our quarters are free for you, let all come that will come; and lift up your voices without fear.'

Departing thence William Penn came to Chriſheim, a village near Worms, where then lived ſome of his friends, who afterwards went to Pennſylvania and ſettled themſelves there. Whilſt William Penn was in the Palatinate, he writ an exhortatory epiſtle * to Elizabeth princeſs Palatine, and Anna Maria counteſs of Hornes; and then went to Heidelberg, the chief city of the Palatinate, to ſpeak with the prince Elector, Charles Ludowick, brother of the ſaid princeſs Elizabeth; but the ſaid prince then happened to be out of town: and ſince his chief meſſage was to deſire the prince that the Quakers at Chriſheim might be treated more mildly, (for tithes were exacted from them not only by the parſon of the village, but alſo by the popiſh prieſts of Worms; and the vaught, or mayor of the town, endeavoured to reſtrain their due liberty of religious meeting together) he from thence took occaſſion to write a letter in their favour to the ſaid prince †, becauſe he had not been able to ſpeak to him. Returning afterwards to Chriſheim, and preaching there in a meeting of his friends, he was overheard by the vaught, or chief officer, who ſtood at the back-door that he might not be ſeen, who was ſo well pleaſed with what he heard, that he afterwards told the parſon, that it was his work, if the Quakers were hereticks, to diſcover them to be ſuch: 'But for my part,' continued he, 'I heard nothing but what was good; and therefore I would not meddle with them.' For the parſon had buſied himſelf to perſuade the vaught that it was his duty to ſuppreſs hereſy: but the vaught made it appear that he had no mind to perſecute for religion's-ſake. W. Penn having now cleared his conſcience returned by way of Frankfort, Cologn, Cleves, &c.

* See Penn's Travels in Holland, &c. 3d impreſſion, p. 77. † Ibid. p. 84.

to Amſterdam, where at Cologn he received a letter from the princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to that he had written to her from the Palatinate; the ſaid letter was as followeth:

The $\frac{4}{14}$ of September, 1677.

'Dear friend,

'I have received your greetings, good wiſhes, and exhortations, with much joy, and ſhall follow the latter as far as it will pleaſe our great God to give me light and ſtrength. I can ſay little for myſelf, and can do nothing of myſelf; but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end, and that I ſhall not ſhrink for his fire. I do long for it; and when he aſſures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the croſs I meet therein; I am alſo glad to hear the journey hath been proſperous both in the conſtitutions of your bodies, to withſtand the badneſs of the weather, and in the reception you had in Caſſel, Frankfort, and Chriſheim. Nothing ſurpriſed me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect ſo much ingenuouſneſs, having lately writ a book, intitled, *Le vêritable Chrêtien*, that doth ſpeak in another way. I wiſh to know what reception you have had at Frederickſburg, and if this find you at Cleeves, I wiſh you might take an occaſion to ſee the two paſtors of Mulheim, which do really ſeek the Lord, but have ſome prejudice againſt your doctrine, as alſo the counteſs there. It would be of much uſe for my family to have them diſabuſed; yet God's will be done in that, and all things elſe concerning

'Your loving friend in the Lord Jeſus,

'Elizabeth.'

Whilſt William Penn made this journey into Germany, George Fox was gone to Hamburg and Frederickſtadt, to viſit his friends there; and Penn being returned to Amſterdam, went from thence to Frieſland, and met George Fox as he was coming back to Holland, at Leewarden; from whence he made a ſtep to Wiewart, where a ſociety of the Labadites dwelt. Here he ſpoke with the famous

Anna Maria Schurman, the gentlewomen Somerdykes, the French paſtor Peter Yvon, and others. After ſome diſcourſe from both ſides, when Yvon had given a relation concerning John de Labadie, how he was bred among the Jeſuits, and deſerted them, and embraced the Proteſtant religion, and how becoming diſſatisfied with the formal Proteſtants, he with ſome that adhered to him, had ſeparated themſelves from the vulgar aſſemblies, Anna Maria Schurman began to ſpeak, and gave an account of her former life, of her pleaſure in learning, and her love to the religion ſhe was brought up in, but confeſſed ſhe knew not God or Chriſt truly all that while. And though from a child God had viſited her at times, yet ſhe never felt ſuch a powerful ſtroke, as by the miniſtry of John de Labadie: and then ſhe ſaw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death; and therefore reſolved to deſpiſe the ſhame, deſert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herſelf with this little family, that was retired out of the world. This and much more ſhe ſpoke in a ſenſible frame, and with a ſerious mind, not without ſome trembling. And then one of the Sommerdykes gave alſo an ample relation, concerning her inward ſtate, and how ſhe had been reached by the preaching of Labadie; and how before that time ſhe had mourned becauſe of the deadneſs and formality of the vulgar Chriſtians, and ſaid within herſelf, 'O the pride, the luſts, the vain pleaſures in which Chriſtians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are theſe followers of Chriſt? O no! O God where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee, that will follow thee? Make me one of that number.' Then ſhe told how being pricked to the heart, when ſhe heard Labadie preach, ſhe had reſolved to abandon the glory and pride of this world; and farther ſaid, that ſhe counted herſelf happy to have joined with this ſeparated family. After ſome others had likewiſe given an account of their change, William Penn alſo gave a circumſtantial relation, how he had been gradually drawn off from the vanity and pride of life; what adverſities he had met with in the univerſity at Oxford, becauſe of his not joining with the

debauchery committed there; and how after having lived ſome time in France he had been convinced by the effectual miniſtry of Thomas Loe, and ſo came to be joined with the deſpiſed Quakers. This his relation he concluded with a ſerious admonition how they ought to go on, and to grow in the true fear of God. At parting, one of the paſtors aſked him if the truth roſe not firſt amongſt a poor illiterate, and ſimple ſort of people. 'Yes,' anſwered William Penn; 'and it is our comfort that we owe it not to the learning of this world.' To which the paſtor returned, 'Then let not the learning of this world be uſed to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth; for ſcholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix ſchool learning amongſt your ſimpler and purer language, and thereby obſcure the brightneſs of your teſtimony.' W. Penn having anſwered to the purpoſe, took his leave, and travelled by way of Groeninghen to Embden, where the Quakers at that time were perſecuted ſeverely with impriſonments and baniſhments: but I wave the relation thereof, becauſe it hath long ago been publiſhed in print, and the magiſtrates there, being afterwards moved to pity by the perſecution the proteſtants ſuffered in France, came to a better reſolution, as may be mentioned in the ſequel.

When W. Penn came to Embden, he went to ſpeak with the burgomaſter André at his houſe, and aſked him if he and the ſenate had not received a letter in Latin *

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* Which being tranſlated into Engliſh, runs thus, and deſerves the ſerious conſideration of all magiſtrates.

## To the Counſel and Senate of the City of Embden.

*The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is God of all the families of the earth, incline your hearts to juſtice, mercy, and truth.*

THE noiſe of your ſevere treatment of ſeveral perſons that are inhabitants of your ſtate, reproachfully termed Quakers, hath reached theſe parts, and filled ſeveral with compaſſion and ſurpriſe: compaſſion

from an Engliſhman about two years ſince, concerning their ſeverity towards the people called Quakers? The burgomaſter ſaid he had. W. Penn then replied, 'I am

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to hear of the * miſeries of men innocent and upright, againſt whom you have nothing to object, but the pure exerciſe of their conſcience to God; ſurpriſe, that you, a Proteſtant ſtate, ſhould employ your civil power to deter, puniſh and grievouſly afflict men for anſwering the convictions of their conſciences, and acting according to the beſt of their underſtanding. Methinks you ſhould not be oblivious of your own condition in the loins of your anceſtors, who, you think, with great reaſon and juſtice, ſtrenuouſly advocated the cauſe of liberty of conſcience againſt the pope's bulls and the Spaniſh inquiſition; how did they antichriſtian all force on conſcience or puniſhment for non conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Norimburg and Spire, are pregnant proofs in the caſe; and your practice doth not leſſen the weight of their reaſons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindneſs, let me ſay, injuſtice.

Proteſtants (and ſuch you glory to be thought) got their name by proteſting againſt impoſition; and will you turn impoſers? They condemned it; and will you practiſe it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the beaſt; and can you repute it the care of a Chriſtian magiſtracy? I mean, that perſons muſt not live under your government, unleſs they receive your mark in their fore head or right hand? Which in plainer terms is, to ſubmit their conſciences to your edicts, and to aſk your leave what religion they ſhould be of. Remember, that faith is the gift of God; and, that what is not of faith is ſin: nothing can be more unreaſonable, then to compel men to believe againſt their belief, or to trouble them for practiſing what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtleſs take yourſelves to be Chriſtians, and would eſteem it no little injury to be otherwiſe repreſented; yet what more unchriſtian, then to uſe external force to ſway the conſciences of men about the exercise of religious worſhip.

Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord and author of the Chriſtian religion, cenſured his own diſciples, that would have had fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe that conformed not to what their bleſſed Maſter taught: are you ſurer of your religion? Are you better Chriſtians? Or, have you more Chriſtian authority, than they that were the choſen witneſſes of Jeſus? However, remember, they called but for fire from heaven; and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them? Them, I ſay, that are of your own people, merely for their religious diſſent from you? Doubtleſs, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiſer than Solomon; it reflects greatly upon

* Our account ſays, ſome were cruelly beaten by order; others baniſhed; ſome put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; ſeveral fined greater ſums of money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

that man, and am conſtrained in conſcience to viſit thee on their behalf,' &c. The burgomaſter deported himſelf with more kindneſs than was expected, and gave ſome

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your modeſty and prudence, that you ſhould find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones to effect ſo ill a deſign. Beſides, you do not ſay you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed; have a care, therefore, that you perſecute not angels, by being harſh to that which you call ſtrange: think not ill, much leſs ſpeak, and leaſt of all act, that which is ſo againſt what you do not perfectly underſtand. I am well perſuaded, that thoſe you inflicted ſuch ſevere penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be ſure much better than you think they do, or elſe you are extremely to blame) and that the reaſon of their preſent diſtance from you, is not to introduce or inſinuate dangerous or exotick opinions, but to live a life of more holineſs, purity and ſelf-denial, than before: they do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reaſon to believe the power of godlineſs is much loſt among you; and having long lain under a decay and languiſhing of ſoul for want of true ſpiritual nouriſhment, they have now betaken themſelves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themſelves for divine ſatisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things neceſſary for them to know; as the bleſſed apoſtle ſpeaks; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghoſt in ſo doing: and I am perſuaded they are not leſs peaceable, ſober, juſt, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as conſiſtent with the proſperity of civil ſociety; and I am ſure it is both found and confeſt among us here by ſome men of quality, learning, and virtue. Farther, be pleaſed to conſider with yourſelves, that you juſtify the ancient perſecutions of the Chriſtians and firſt reformers, whoſe ſuperiors thought as ill of them, as you do of theſe men; nay, you ſhew the Papiſts what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by: if you would have liberty, give it; you know that God's witneſs in your hearts dictates this to you as an immutable law.

Could you give faith, it were more excuſable for you to puniſh ſuch as ſhould reſiſt; but ſince that is impoſſible, the other is unreaſonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they cannot be unleſs they turn hypocrites: that is the higheſt pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preſerve one ſoul to God; inſtead thereof it offers violence unto conſcience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reaſon, or being deſtroyed for acting according to them: but what greater diſproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and priſons, fines, and baniſhments? They inform no man's judgment, reſolve no doubts, convince no underſtanding: the power of perſuaſion is not to be found in any ſuch barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Chriſtianity. This courſe deſtroys the bodies and eſtates of men, inſtead of ſaving their ſouls: were they in the wrong, it would become you to uſe God's weapon's, his ſword of the Spirit, that ſaveth the creature; and ſlayeth

faint hope of alteration; but it appeared ſufficiently that the ſenate was not as yet ſo diſpoſed, for perſecution continued there yet a long while.

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the evil in him; this courſe tends to heart burnings and deſtruction; I am ſure it is no goſpel argument.

I beſeech you for the ſake of that Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſuffered ſo patiently for his own religion, and ſo ſharply prohibited making other men to ſuffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exerciſe power over mens conſciences. My friends, conſcience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: it is to uſurp his authority, and boldly aſcend his throne, to ſet lords over it. Were their converſation ſcandalous, and deſtructive to the good of your ſtate, you were to be held excuſable: but verily, no man of mercy and conſcience, can defend your practice upon poor men ſo peaceable and inoffenſive. Gamaliel will riſe up in judgment againſt you, if you perſevere in this courſe. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of perſecutors, in much love I intreat you; but as becomes Chriſtian men and true Proteſtants, leave men to their particular perſuaſions of affairs relative of the other world, which have no ill aſpect on the affairs of this: but vice hath an evil conſequence as to both: therefore puniſh vice, and affect truth and righteouſneſs, and bend not your civil power to torment religious diſſenters, but to retrieve good life, lamentably loſt amidſt the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtleſs magiſtracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be a terror to evil doers, and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for aſſuming infallibility to herſelf, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the ſame preſumption or worſe: for either you do exerciſe that ſeverity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourſelves, your principle deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you puniſh people for not conforming to what you yourſelves deny any certainty about: and how do you know but you compel them to that which is falſe, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not eaſily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will ſtrain your profeſſion, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your poſterity.

Remember that they are men as well as yourſelves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourſelves: the different perſuaſion of their conſciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the ſame right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the leaſt forfeited any of thoſe human advantages, the great charters of nature and Scripture have conferred upon them: and the opulency of your neighbours and proſperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconſiſtent with policy; howbeit, you have now tried the ſincerity of their procedure by what you have already inflicted, and they ſuſtained; let the time paſt ſuffice, and make them not ſacrifices for their con-

After W. Penn had ſtaid ſometime at Embden, he took a turn again to Herford, where he was received very kindly by the princeſs Elizabeth, and the counteſs of Hornes; and more than once he had a meeting in her chamber; and the princeſs was ſo reached and affected by his ſpeaking, that ſhe ſaid, 'I am fully convinced; but oh my ſins are great!' this gave occaſion to W. Penn to ſpeak to the princeſs and the counteſs apart, with reſpect to their particular conditions; which made a deep im-

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ſcientious conſtancy. If they are in the wrong; it is more than they know: will you perſecute men for being what they muſt be, if they will be true to themſelves; this were great violence: rather commiſerate, than thus violently compel them. I beſeech you, ſeek ſome cheaper way to accommodate yourſelves, than by their deſtruction, who are ſo very remote from ſeeking yours. Oh! the day will come, wherein one act of tenderneſs about matters of conſcience, ſhall find a better reward, than all the ſeverity by which men uſe to propagate their perſuaſions in the world; and there is great reaſon for it, ſince the one flows from the Saviour, the other from the deſtroyer of men. In fine, let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand, whoſe reward is with him; and he will recompenſe every man, family, ſtate, kingdom, and empire, according to the nature of their works, committed in this mortal body; at whoſe bar it ſhall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and being unmerciful to tender conſciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you: truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; his ſun ſhineth on all; his rain falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his grace viſits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh: and though ſuch you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make ſuch broad tokens of your diſpleaſure. Oh! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you ſo lately eſcaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already thus ſharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodneſs to you prevail with you, to expreſs clemency to others, that ſo the great God of the whole earth, even the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who reſpects not the perſons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment, may ſhew you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your friend with the greateſt integrity in the univerſal principle of love and truth,

W. Penn.

London, December 14, 1674.

preſſion on their minds, eſpecially the counteſs's. Being much preſſed by the princeſs to ſtay and ſup with her, he yielded: and the counteſs from a ſerious ſenſe of her compliance with the world, told him, 'Il faut que je rompe, il faut que je rompe,' i. e. 'I muſt break off, I muſt break off.' And at another time with a weighty countenance ſhe cried out, 'O the cumber and entanglements of this vain world; they hinder all good.' Once the princeſs ſaid to them, 'It is a hard matter to be faithful to what one knows. I fear that I am not weighty enough in my ſpirit.' At another time ſhe told him, 'Among my books I have records that the goſpel was by the Engliſh firſt brought from England into Germany; and now it is come again.' Thus this excellent princeſs ſignified how highly ſhe valued the preaching of the goſpel to her by W. Penn, and how much ſhe eſteemed his labour and miniſtry. When he took his leave of theſe eminent perſons, having taken the princeſs by the hand, which ſhe received with a weighty kindneſs, being much broken in ſpirit, he wiſhed the bleſſing and peace of Jeſus with and upon her: and then exhorting the counteſs, ſhe frequently beſeeched him to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf.

Next taking waggon for Weſel, from thence he travelled to Duiſburgh, Duſſeldorp, and Cologn, and then back again to Duſſeldorp, to ſee if he could get an opportunity at Mulheim, to ſpeak with the counteſs of Falkenſtein, who was reported to be a very religious perſon, and therefore in his former journey he had endeavoured to viſit her, but in vain; for the count of Bruch, and Falkenſtein her father, kept her as it were under a confinement, becauſe ſhe was of a religious temper; and therefore he called her a Quaker, though ſhe did not at all converſe with any of the Quakers. He had alſo uſed W. Penn very roughly; when being neceſſitated to paſs by his caſtle, he being lord of that country, aſked him and his friends from whence they were, and whither they went? to which they anſwered, that they were Engliſhmen come from Holland, and going no further in thoſe parts than his town Mulheim: but they not pulling off their hats, the count called them Quakers, and ſaid, 'We have no need of

Quakers here. Get you out of my dominions, you ſhall not go to my town.' And he commanded ſome of his ſoldiers, to ſee them out of his territory. Thus W. Penn, and thoſe with him, were neceſſitated to lie that night in the open air. But the next day he writ a letter to the ſaid count, and therein told him, 'For thy ſaying, we want no Quakers here, I ſay, under favour, you do; for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his ſalvation with fear and trembling.'

W. Penn being come to Mulheim, could now no more find opportunity to ſpeak with the counteſs than the firſt time he was in thoſe parts; and therefore he went to Duiſburgh, Weſel, and Cleeves, where having had conferences with ſome religious people, he returned by way of Utrecht to Amſterdam, where G. Fox was alſo come back again.

Here W. Penn and G. Fox had a conference and diſpute with Dr. Galenus Abraham, an eminent Baptiſt teacher, and ſome of that perſuaſion. Galenus aſſerted, that nobody now-a-days could be accepted as a meſſenger of God, unleſs he confirmed his doctrine by miracles. W. Penn wanted no arguments to contradict this, ſince the Chriſtian religion had been once already confirmed by miracles, and that therefore this now was needleſs among Chriſtians. G. Fox now and then ſpoke alſo ſomething to the matter; but he being ſomewhat ſhort breathed, went ſeveral times away, which ſome were ready to impute to a paſſionate temper; but I well know that therein they wronged him. This diſpute was indeed a troubleſome buſineſs; for the parties on both ſides were fain to ſpeak by an interpreter, which generally was performed ſo imperfectly, that at laſt the conference was broke off, without coming to a deciſion, although many weighty arguments were objected againſt the poſition. Certainly it cannot be denied that John the Baptiſt was ſent of God to preach repentance; and yet in ſacred writ it is ſaid poſitively, John did no miracle; and yet many believed in him. And although there were ſome among the prophets that wrought miracles, yet we do not find in the holy Scriptures that Jonah, who was indeed a

notable preacher of repentance, did any miracle, and nevertheleſs the Ninivites believed him, and deprecated thoſe judgments he denounced, unleſs they repented. Of ſeveral other true prophets we find not the leaſt mention of any miracles they did; but on the contrary the Scriptures ſignify, that poſſibly falſe prophets might ariſe, and give ſigns or wonders; and that the doing of miracles could not always be a proof, or ſure evidence, that any one was ſent of God, appears plainly from what our Saviour himſelf ſaid, viz. that among thoſe to whom he ſhould one day ſay, "Depart from me," would be ſuch that ſhould ſay, "Have we not in thy name caſt out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works?" And what ſhall we think of the ſorcerers of Egypt; did not they ſeem to do the ſame wonders as Moſes and Aaron did? And yet thoſe wonders wherewithal they deceived Pharaoh and his men, were in no ways wrought by a divine power. Now, ſince it appears plainly from the holy Scriptures, and Chriſt himſelf ſaid, "There ſhall ariſe falſe prophets, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders," we might with good reaſon ſuſpect the doctrine of one, who now-a-days wrought miracles, on purpoſe to make what he denounced, paſs for truth.

This being duly conſidered, it ſeems to be very abſurd, to require miracles again for confirmation of the ſame goſpel which once hath been confirmed by miracles; and to deſire that the truth of what once hath been declared by the apoſtles, and ſtrengthened by wonderful works, ſhould be ſealed anew with outward wonders. But it would indeed have been another caſe, if a new goſpel was preached, and that any pretended to give forth new holy Scriptures; for then it might be ſaid with ſome reaſon, that it was neceſſary that this new goſpel ſhould be made credible, and confirmed by viſible miracles. But where no other goſpel is preached, than what hath been once delivered to the Chriſtians by the firſt promulgators of the Chriſtian religion, and where this is not done amongſt heathens, but amongſt Chriſtians, or at leaſt ſuch as bear the name, there it cannot in juſtice be required to confirm this doctrine once more with miracles, the rather becauſe, as hath been ſhewed already, the doing of miracles may not always paſs

for an irrefragable proof of one's being really pious and godly. To this may be added, that the miracles which Chriſt and his apoſtles wrought, to give credit to the appearing of the Son of God in the fleſh, may be conſidered as types and figures of thoſe ſpiritual wonders which ſhould be wrought in the ſouls of people, when Chriſt was to be ſeen the ſecond time, and to appear by his Spirit, to the ſalvation of thoſe who wait for him; for the eyes of the mind being blinded, muſt be opened and enlightened by him; and many that are dead in ſin and treſpaſſes, ſhall by him be raiſed, and made alive. This I think may ſuffice to ſhew, that the poſition of Dr. Galenus could not ſtand the teſt; but whatever was objected, he continued to maintain his opinion.

Not long after this diſpute, G. Fox and W. Penn returned to England, where, having ſuſtained a violent tempeſt at ſea, they arrived ſafely at Harwich: paſſing from thence to London, W. Penn there received the following letter from the princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to his:

'Dear friend, Herford, Oct. 29, 1677.

'Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counſel to follow it as much as lies in me, but God's grace muſt be aſſiſtant, as you ſay yourſelf; he accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires moſt, I mean to do all in and by his Son, I ſhall be in no better condition than at this preſent. Let me feel him firſt governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myſelf. Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K, and dear Gertrude.* If you write no worſe than your poſtſcript, I can make a ſhift to read it. Do not think I go from what I ſpoke to you the laſt evening; I only ſtay to do it in a way that is anſwerable before God and man: I can ſay no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

'Your true friend,

'Elizabeth.'

* This was Gertrude Dericks, who had viſited the princeſs, and afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Criſp.

P. S. 'I almoſt forgot to tell you, that my ſiſter writes me word, ſhe had been glad you had taken your journey by Oſenburgh, to return to Amſterdam. There is alſo a Droſſard of Limbourg near this place, (to whom I gave an examplar of R. B's apology) very deſirous to ſpeak with ſome of the friends.'

Yet another letter W. Penn received from the ſaid princeſs, in anſwer to one he writ from the Briel, at his paſſage towards England, which was as followeth:

To the princeſs Elizabeth, Salvation in the Croſs, Amen.

'Dear and truly reſpected friend,

'My ſoul moſt earneſtly deſireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which ſtandeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear princeſs, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteouſneſs, "Not my will, but thine be done, O God!" Thy days are few, and then thou muſt go to judgment.* Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement haſt thou made? Let it prove and ſhew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it, to God. O that thou mayeſt be able to give an account with joy!

'I could not leave this country, and not teſtify the reſentments I bear in my mind, of that humble and tender entertainment thou gaveſt us at thy court: the Lord Jeſus reward thee: and ſurely he hath a bleſſing in ſtore for thee. Go on, be ſtedfaſt, overcome, and thou ſhalt inherit. Do not deſpond; one that is mighty is near thee; a preſent help in the needful time of trouble. O let the deſire of thy ſoul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O wait upon the Lord, and thou ſhalt renew thy ſtrength! The youth ſhall faint, and the young men ſhall fail, but they that truſt in the Lord ſhall never be confounded.

'I wiſh thee all true and ſolid felicity, with my whole ſoul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in

* She died about four years after.

his keeping, that thou mayeſt not loſe, but keep in that divine ſenſe, which by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princeſs, my ſincere and Chriſtian ſalutation: grace, mercy, and peace, be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jeſus.

'Thy buſineſs I ſhall follow with all the diligence and diſcretion I can, and by the firſt give thee an account, after it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to bring me ſafe to London. All my brethren are well, and preſent thee with their dear love; and the reſt with thee that love Jeſus, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou haſt taught me to forget thou art a princeſs, and therefore I uſe this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifeſt; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleaſeſt, the ſalutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the incloſed. Dear princeſs, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her, which (conſidering thy circumſtances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her ſtand free, and her freedom will make the paſſage eaſier unto thee. Accept what I ſay, I intreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and reſpect, in which I write ſo plainly to thee. Farewel, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can ſay,

'Thy great lover, and
'Reſpectful friend,
'W. Penn.'

I refer thee to the incloſed for paſſages. We viſited Gichtel and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings at Amſterdam. *Vale* in *æternum*.

To this letter the princeſs returned the following anſwer.

This 17 November, 1677.

'Dear friend,

'I have received a letter from you that ſeemeth to have been written at your paſſage into England, which I wiſh may be proſperous: without date, but not without virtue to ſpur me on to do and ſuffer the will of our God. I can ſay in ſincerity and truth, Thy will be done, O God, be-

cauſe I wiſh it heartily; but I cannot ſpeak in righteouſneſs, until I poſſeſs that righteouſneſs which is acceptable unto him. My houſe and my heart ſhall be always open to thoſe that love him. Gichtel has been well ſatisfied with the conferences between you. As for my buſineſs, it will go as the Lord pleaſeth, and I remain in him

'Your affectionate friend,

'Elizabeth.'

G. Fox now being come to London, received there letters from New England, with an account of the cruel proceedings of the magiſtrates againſt his friends there: for perſecution being hot in Old England, it made thoſe in New England the worſe; inſomuch, that they did not only whip the Quakers that were there, but alſo ſome maſters of ſhips that were no Quakers, only for bringing ſome of that perſuaſion thither. But about that time the Indians made an inroad upon the Engliſh, and ſlew threeſcore of their men; and having taken one of their captains, they flead off the ſkin of his head, while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph.

Now ſince the people called Quakers were alſo much perſecuted in Scotland, they drew up an account of their ſufferings, and delivered it to the king in the beginning of this year; but whether they got any eaſe thereby, I cannot tell.

In the latter part of this year, G. Fox travelled through many places of England. In the mean-while I will again make ſome mention of the perſecution there. At Plymouth about this time, thoſe called Quakers were generally kept out of their meeting-houſe, and then performing their worſhip in the open ſtreet, as a duty they owed to God, and for the omiſſion of which they judged no man could be diſpenſed with, they ſuffered exceedingly, not only in winter, by the ſharpneſs of the weather, but alſo in ſummer; for it was more than twelve months that they thus kept their meetings in the open ſtreet, being grievouſly abuſed by the rabble and the ſoldiers; for beating and punching ſeemed not ſufficient; fiery ſquibs and burning coals were thrown among them, and filthy excrements

caſt down upon them out of a window: beſides, fines were extorted for their having been at the meeting, on the account of one Richard Samble, who was fined as preacher, for having been on his knees at prayer, which fine was laid upon four of them that were at the ſaid meeting.

At Frenchay, in Glouceſterſhire, the juſtice, John Merideth, behaved himſelf exceedingly furious in diſturbing the Quakers meetings; for he himſelf did not only beat them, but more than once drew his knife, to mark them, as he called it, had he not been reſtrained by his ſervants, who for all that could not prevent his taking ſome by the hair of their head, and pulling them away; nay, the havock and ſpoil which was made, was ſo extravagant, that from one Thomas Holbrow, an ancient blind man, they took his bed from under him, ſo that he and his wife lay about a quarter of a year on ſtraw; and when his friends provided him with ſome clothing againſt winter, part of that was alſo taken from him: for ſuch plundering now went on with a full career; and the baſeſt men were authoriſed to deprive others of their goods, if there was but a juſtice that favoured ſuch.

At Bayton in Suffolk, Edmund Bally was by warrant from juſtice Burwel, deſpoiled of what he had, both within doors and without, his goods having been diſtrained five times; and though he was fain to lie on ſtraw, yet he was not left unmoleſted, for they came in the night, armed with piſtols, and broke open his door, threatening to deſtroy him. It happened there alſo, that a poor blind widow, on her ſick bed, was viſited by ſome perſons; and this was made a conventicle, and they were fined, and warrants iſſued out by the aforeſaid juſtice to make diſtreſs on their goods. In many other places things went no better; but I may not detain my reader with every particular.

This year died in priſon William Dobſon, of Brightwell in Berkſhire, having been ſpoiled of his goods from time to time, during the ſpace of thirteen years, and almoſt always in priſon too, till his hard ſufferings ended with his life.

It was alſo in this year that William III. prince of Orange, came from Holland into England, and there entered into matrimony with the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York, which in proceſs of time made way for him to the throne of Great Britain. He accompliſhed his marriage there on the 4th of November, being his birth-day; and not long after returned to Holland with his ſpouſe.

About the beginning of the year 1678, G. Fox came to London, and the parliament ſitting at that time, he and G. Whitehead preſented to them an account of the grievous ſufferings of their friends, by laws made againſt the Papiſts; and they were not without hopes of obtaining ſome eaſe, becauſe ſeveral of the members of that auguſt aſſembly ſeemed to favour them; but the parliament was ſuddenly prorogued, whereby a ſtop was put to their endeavours.

G. F. then travelling through many places, came home to Swarthmore in the latter part of the year; and ſince many of his friends at this time were under great perſecution, and in priſon, he writ the following epiſtle to them:

'My dear friends,

'Who are ſufferers for the Lord Jeſus ſake, and for the teſtimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you, and ſupport you in all your trials and ſufferings; and give you patience, and content in his will, that ye may ſtand valiant for Chriſt and his truth upon the earth, over the perſecuting and deſtroying Spirit, which makes to ſuffer, in Chriſt (who bruiſes his head) in whom ye hath both election and ſalvation. And for God's elect ſake the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world; as may be ſeen throughout the Scriptures of Truth; and they that touch them touch the apple of God's eye, they are ſo tender to him. And therefore it is good for all God's ſuffering children to truſt in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they ſhall be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Chriſt their rock and ſalvation, who is the foundation of all the elect

of God, of the prophets and the apoſtles, and of God's people now, and to the end: glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends; and do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exerciſe that gift; and the Lord ſtrengthen you in your ſufferings, in his holy Spirit of faith. Amen.

'George Fox.'

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 12th month, 1678.

Perſecution was now very hot in many places. At Bawnaſſe, in Weſtmoreland, it happened that thoſe of the ſociety called Quakers being religiouſly met together, were much abuſed by the rude people; and beſides other inſolencies that were committed, a dog being thrown among them, one John Thompſon ſaid to this wicked crew, that they ought to behave themſelves civil and moderate; and for ſaying ſo he was informed againſt as a preacher, and on that account fined twenty pounds. Mary Tod, a poor ancient widow in Yorkſhire, having had a meeting at her houſe, was alſo fined twenty pounds by juſtice Francis Driffield; and when the informers told him that her goods were not worth ſo much, he ordered them to take all that they could find: this they did, and did not leave her a bed to lie on; nay, took away all her clothes.

This year the ambaſſadors of the king of France, and thoſe of the United Netherlands, with thoſe of ſeveral other potentates, were met at Nimeguen, to treat about a general peace; and therefore Robert Barclay writ an epiſtle to them in Latin, to exhort them to this good work; the epiſtle, together with his Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, in Latin, was delivered to each of the ſaid ambaſſadors, viz. a book for every one of them, and one for their principals. George Fox alſo writ an exhortatory epiſtle to them, which being tranſlated and printed in Latin, was alſo ſent to them. And before this year came to an end, the peace was concluded.

In the mean-while perſecution went on in England, and thoſe that were envious did not want a ſpecious pretence

to gild their malice; for about this time a plot of the Papiſts being diſcovered, there ſeemed a neceſſity to watch againſt ſeditious aſſemblies; inſomuch, that thoſe who had no mind to perſecute, were in a manner conſtrained to it; of which an inſtance was ſeen in the year 1679, at Caſtle Dumington in Leiceſterſhire: for John Evat's having been fined for a meeting at his houſe, and goods enough to anſwer not being found, the conſtable, and three other officers were fined each five pounds, becauſe they had been backward to take away the ſaid Evat's goods. But the eccleſiaſticks ſhewed themſelves more covetous, to get what they pretended to be their due; and one Michael Reynolds, at Farringdon in Berkſhire, was this year deſpoiled of cattle, barley, and beans for tithes, to the value of more than ninety-ſeven pounds, and all this only for one year.

Thus honeſt men were oppreſſed, which gave occaſion to a certain writer of that time, (who in print gave many inſtances of that nature) to ſay, 'Truly the Papiſts may laugh becauſe of their victory, now they have got a law whereby one Proteſtant fights againſt another. This was chiefly levelled againſt conventicles; for thereby many families were impoveriſhed, becauſe often they were robbed of thrice as much as the fine amounted to; and the baſeſt means that could be thought of were uſed to enrich the perſecutors with the ſpoil of the innocent: for it happened that four of thoſe called Quakers travelling on the way, this was deemed a tranſgreſſion, by adding a fifth to their number who was not of their ſociety. And thus the informers (ſome of whom were often whores, or wives, of informers) made a meeting of it, and this paſſed; ſo great was the power of theſe profligates; and on this account the goods of the ſaid four perſons were diſtrained. More abominable actions of that kind I could mention, if I did not think it might ſeem tedious. Such deſpoiling was permitted now to any naughty fellow, and this made them ſo inſolent, that one John Hill, conſtable at Walſingham in Norfolk, when he was ſhewed the injuſtice of the warrant he had, ſaid, 'Juſtice or no, I will take it for all that.'

At Norwich lived one William Wat, who for ſeveral years had carried on the trade of informing, but whatever he got by it turned to no account; and often he was ſeized with ſuch fits of weakneſs, that he could not ſtand on his legs; but this year, in October, the hand of God fell ſo heavy upon him, that it put a period to his life. He had ſupped at night, and was as well, according to his wife's relation, as ever; but on a ſudden he ſunk down to the ground, and his daughter crying aloud, he ſeemed to look at her, and ſo died without more ado: but what was looked upon as a very ſtrange thing, his corpſe ſtunk ſo grievouſly, that none were willing to carry it, and the overſeers of the poor were neceſſitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

Far otherwiſe was the exit of Iſaac Pennington, an eminent miniſter and author among thoſe called Quakers, and a man of an acute wit, and great endowments, who in the year 1658, on Whitſunday, ſo called, being in a meeting at the houſe of John Crook in Bedfordſhire, was ſo reached by the preaching of G. Fox, that he, who before that time had contradicted the Quakers with his natural wiſdom, now embraced their doctrine as truth, and did not ſtick to make publick profeſſion of it, for which he afterwards ſeveral times ſuffered impriſonments during the ſpace of many years; but he continued ſtedfaſt to the end without fainting, and died piouſly in October at his houſe near Goodneſtone in Kent, from whence his corpſe was carried to Buckinghamſhire, where he lived, and was honourably interred there.

Sometime before, G. F. had written ſome queries to the pope and the Papiſts, which being tranſlated into Dutch, and printed, I was deſired by him to tranſlate into Latin, and to ſend them to Rome to the pope.* This I did at his deſire but never received or heard of any anſwer to them.

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* Theſe queries in Latin, with what the author W. S. writ to the pope on that occaſion, are to be ſeen in the Appendix to the Dutch hiſtory, which being tranſlated into Engliſh, the reader may take as follows.

This year there was a great commotion in England about a plot carried on by the Papiſts againſt the life of the king, who made his brother, the duke of York, go

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## To Innocent XI. Pope of Rome, S.

'Great prelate,

'THOU wilt perhaps at firſt ſight admire that the writing incloſed ſhould be ſent to thee; but know it was done at the command of the author; and not undeſervedly; for if thou rightly weigheſt and conſidereſt the matter, thou muſt with us acknowledge, that it would be very unworthily done to keep this little treatiſe from thy view, which hath been already printed in the Dutch language, and carries the pope's name in the frontiſpiece. Nor wilt thou be able to deny, that thou art not only not injured hereby, but that we have alſo performed a duty that we owed thee, in tranſmitting theſe queſtions which properly belong to thee. But if thou pleaſeſt to read them and return an anſwer, thou wilt both oblige the author, and alſo remove the ſuſpicion of error from your religion, in the ſight of all chriſtendom, provided thou canſt give a clear anſwer to the objections, not only in word, but in deed alſo.

I writ this at the requeſt of certain
of my friends called Quakers.
'W. Sewel.'

Amſterdam, the 23d day of the month called April, 1679.

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## Some queſtions preſented to the Papiſts, and the pope of Rome, as the ſupreme head of their church, and commended to their conſideration by George Fox.

'Friends,

1. How comes it to paſs, that the pope and cardinals grant not to the Proteſtants living in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, that liberty of meeting together for the right performing of divine worſhip, which ye yourſelves enjoy in England, Holland, and other places, where the Proteſtants have the chief power?

Would not the pope and his miniſters perſecute, deliver to the inquiſition and burn them, if they ſhould at any time ſet up as many meetings in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, as ye yourſelves enjoy in many places in Proteſtant countries?

Is the royal law of God thus fulfilled, which teacheth, to do to all men whatſoever ye would have done to ourſelves? Matt. vii. 12. Would ye have thoſe things done to you by Proteſtants, which ye have done to

beyond ſea for ſome time; for the parliament ſuſpecting him, a motion was made in the houſe of commons to exclude him from the ſucceſſion to the crown; but this project was quaſhed.

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them? But if not; where then are the royal law and goſpel among you? God forbid, that we ſhould deny liberty to any one that acknowledgeth God, and believeth in his Son, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. It ſeems therefore very ſtrange to us, that the pope and Papiſts do deny the ſame liberty in the prementioned places, which they themſelves enjoy among the Proteſtants; becauſe it is not only contrary to reaſon, but always to law and goſpel: for the apoſtle affirmeth, "That he that was born after the fleſh perſecuted him that was born after the Spirit." Gal. iv. 29. Have not the Papiſts therefore openly ſhewn in themſelves the fleſhly birth, which is contrary to reaſon, law, and goſpel.

2. Where did Chriſt or his apoſtles ever command men, to bow themſelves to images, and to worſhip them, and keep holy-days? Where did they command holy-days to be appointed in remembrance of themſelves, and the ſame to be honoured? Why do ye not tell us where in the goſpels, epiſtles, or in the revelation, any ſuch thing was commanded thoſe churches, which were in the time of the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians?

Where, I ſay, did Chriſt or his apoſtles give command to whip, hang, or burn men; or, to ſpeak as gently as may be, at leaſt to impriſon any becauſe they diſſented from them, and could not adhere to their religion?

3. Wherever did Chriſt or his apoſtles in the primitive churches command that candles ſhould be lighted at noon-day? Well, ſhew us where it is written, whether it be in the goſpels, or epiſtles, is not therefore the Roman church degenerated from the church of the primitive times? Is ſhe not fallen from ſpiritual weapons to carnal, hath ſhe not revolted from that purity and virginity, wherein ſhe witneſſed in time paſt Chriſt to be the head of the churches?

4. Did the churches of ancient time make choice of a private man, and account him for head of the univerſal church? Wherever did the primitive church command infants to be ſprinkled with water? Did not Chriſt ſay, "Teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. Mat. xxviii. 19. Ought they not therefore to be taught before they were baptized? Are ye not degenerated from that faith which Chriſt is the author and finiſher of, and which purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over ſin, and evil, which ſeparate from God, and by which we have acceſs to God, and wherewith he is well pleaſed? Are ye not degenerated from the light, truth, grace, power and ſpirit, wherein the apoſtles were?

5. Have ye not degenerated from the ancient church, becauſe ye ſuffer not the people to read the holy Scripture in their mother-tongue? For doth not the apoſtle ſay, "And when this epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe that it be alſo read in the church of the Laodiceans," Col.

In the beginning of the year 1680, it happened that George Whitehead and Thomas Burr coming to Norwich, and preaching there in the meeting of their friends, were

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iv. 16. and elſewhere, "I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holy brethren," 1 Theſ. v. 27. Yea, did not Chriſt alſo ſay, "O fools, and ſlow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have ſpoken," Luke xxiv. 25.

How can it poſſibly be, that your common people ſhould believe thoſe things which Chriſt, the prophets, and apoſtles have ſpoken, unleſs it be granted them to read or recite the ſame in their own tongue, to the end they might both hear and underſtand them by the Spirit which gave them forth? Why then do ye take away the uſe of the holy Scriptures from the common people? Are ye afraid leſt the truth ſhould appear manifeſt, whereby they might ſee and believe what is written in the law and prophets, and by Chriſt and his apoſtles? Had not the Jews the law and the prophets in their mother-tongue, that their children might read them? Ought not therefore all Chriſtians likewiſe to have the New Teſtament, that makes mention of Chriſt and his apoſtles, in their mother-tongue? But if not, why do ye not ſhew us where Chriſt or his apoſtles have forbidden it?

6. But what do ye ſay of the ſacrament of the altar (as it is called?) Why have ye ſlain many, and burnt others alive in England, France, the Low Countries, and other places, becauſe they could not approve or receive it? Ye aſſert it as a thing certain, that the bread and wine, as ſoon as ye have conſecrated them, are made Chriſt, yea, whole Chriſt, conſiſting of ſoul, ſpirit, fleſh, blood, and bones. Beſides ye boldly affirm, that all who receive that ſacrament do receive whole Chriſt, and that after your conſecration, that very thing becomes immortal and divine.

Wherefore come, O pope, cardinals, and prieſts, let us take a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread, and equally divide the wine into two baſons, and cut the bread into two parts: then let the pope, cardinals, or prieſts conſecrate one part, which they pleaſe; which being done, let us lay up the conſecrated and the unconſecrated together, in ſome cloſe place, and ſecure the ſame with ſeven locks and keys on your part, and with as many on ours, both Papiſts and Proteſtants keeping watch over it. But if it plainly appear, that the conſecrated bread and wine are immortal and divine, and loſe nothing of their virtue and ſavour, nor grow mouldy or ſour, as though they had been unconſecrated, then we will come over to you: but if they loſe their property, quality, and ſavour, and both parts of the bread do alike grow mouldy, then it will be reaſonable for you to come over to us, and confeſs that your ſacrament of the altar (ſo called) is neither Chriſt nor his fleſh, nor any thing immortal or divine; for his fleſh ſaw no corruption, Acts ii. 27. 31.——xiii. 35. 37. and his precious blood, which delivers from ſin and corruption, cannot be corruptible.

Let trial then be made hereof; but let judgment be left to juſt and

taken priſoners, (as it was ſaid) under a frivolous pretence, as if G. Whitehead might have been a Jeſuit: and being brought before juſtice Francis Bacon, who then was re-

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equal arbitrators, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, and that in a place where the Proteſtants may have the ſame power that ye have: for it would be unjuſt to make this trial or experiment, where ye have the whole adminiſtration of the commonwealth, and an equal liberty is denied the Proteſtants. This thing will make the truth manifeſt, and turn to the honour of God: for ye have ſhed much blood upon this occaſion.

Wherefore ſuffer your Chriſt, whom ye have made, to be tried, that it may be ſeen whether he be the true Chriſt, or antichriſt; whether he be the true God, or falſe one? For it would be ſomewhat hard that Baal's prophets ſhould outdo you, for they were willing to have their god tried, though they had before ſlain many of the people of God, becauſe they would not worſhip their god; as ye alſo have often done.

Come ye forth therefore publickly, and make trial; that it may appear length to all chriſtendom, whether yours be the divine and immortal Chriſt and God, or no? Or is not rather that mortal and corruptible Chriſt, which ye yourſelves have made, and for whoſe ſake ye have ſlain multitudes of the people of God, becauſe they could not believe or comply with you?

7. Further, where did Chriſt or his apoſtles ever ſpeak to the ſaints of purgatory, wherein men ſhould be purged from their ſins after death? Shew us where it is written in the New Teſtament. Is it not therefore a plain denying that Chriſt's blood purgeth from all ſin, to tell the people a fable of a certain purgatory to purge them from ſins after death? Is it not likewiſe a denying of Chriſt's baptiſm with the holy Spirit, and of ſpiritual circumciſion, and faith in Chriſt, which purgeth in this life, and giveth the victory?

Did not Chriſt anſwer ſome that deſired fire might come down from heaven and conſume thoſe that would not receive him; "Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of?" Did not he rebuke them ſaying, "That he came not to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them?" Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

Ye therefore who have deſtroyed ſuch a vaſt number of men and women for their diſſenting from you about rites and ceremonies, and taken away their lives by ſuch kind of inſtrument, racks and fires, as were never ſent down from heaven, but deviſed and invented by yourſelves; are ye not worſe than they, who deſired fire to be called from heaven to deſtroy mens lives? And ſeeing Chriſt told them, that they knew not what manner of ſpirit they were of, do ye know what manner of ſpirit ye are of, who have deviſed ſo many ways and torments for the killing of men, and have actually made uſe of them?

With what front can ye perſuade us to commit our ſouls, bodies, and lives to you, who know not of what ſpirit ye are children, neither have the mind of Chriſt, who ſaid, "He came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them?"

corder of the city, he after ſome odd examination, demanded of them, as preachers, the fine of twenty pounds a man; which they refuſing, he aſked them, whether they would take the oath of allegiance; and they anſwering,

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Are ye not all therefore, as many as take away mens lives for worſhip deviſed by you, obnoxious to the rebuke of Chriſt? For when did Chriſt or any of his apoſtles ever give command, or by their example teach, that any one that was diſobedient to them, or rejected their doctrine and religion, ſhould be perſecuted and impriſoned, or puniſhed by any carnal weapons? Tell us where any thing of this kind is contained, either in the four evangelical hiſtories, or in the epiſtles written to the Chriſtian churches?

Did ever Chriſt or his apoſtles go to the rope-makers to buy whips and haltars, to whip and hang men for diſſenting from them as ye have done? Did they ever go to the blackſmiths to make chains, fetters, bolts and locks? Or to the gunſmiths to buy guns and muſkets; or to the ſword-cutlers to buy ſwords and halberts? Did they ever build priſons, or get holes and vaults dug, to force men by ſuch means to their religion? Shew us an example and precept given by Chriſt or his apoſtles, which commands and makes the uſe of ſuch weapons and inſtruments lawful.

But if ye cannot make proof thereof, it is neceſſary for you to confeſs and acknowledge, that ye are fallen and degenerated from the true Chriſtian weapons, which the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians uſed, ſaying, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God," that is, ſpiritual, 2 Cor. x. 4.

G. Fox.

## To Innocent XI. Pope of Rome, S.

'BEHOLD, great prelate, a few queſtions written for the ſake of thee, and thy adherents, a copy whereof we ſent thee by the poſt, about three months ago; but being uncertain whether it was delivered into thy hands or no, we thought good to write the queſtions over again, and ſend them to thee, that it might not be long of us, that thou doſt not read them. For we think it convenient, that thou ſhouldſt earneſtly concern thyſelf to inſpect what was printed in Dutch, and inſcribed to the pope and his adherents, which if thou ſhalt pleaſe to do, and alſo vouchſafe thy pains in anſwering them both by fact and writing, it will ſatisfy the author's deſire, and remove a doubt or ſcruple out of many perſons minds. Farewel.

This I have written in the name of ſome of my friends called Quakers.

'William Sewel.'

Amſterdam, the 24th of the month called July, 1679.

that they could take no oath for conſcience-ſake, he ſaid, if they would neither pay the fines, nor take the oath, he would commit them to gaol. They having ſhewed that they were no vagrants, but men of competent eſtates, that had ſettled habitations, as was well known, Bacon ſaid, *De non apparentibus, & non exiſtentibus eadem eſt ratio:* i. e. Of things not appearing, and things not in being, there is the ſame reaſon: juſt as if he had ſaid, your eſtates that are at London (where G. Whitehead lived), and Ware (where T. Burr dwelt), appear not at Norwich, and therefore they are not in being. Now though they ſhewed the abſurdity of this ſtrange kind of logick, yet Bacon would not hearken to it, but called them ſeducers, and ſeditious, and told them, there was a ſtatute yet in force, that was made in queen Elizabeth's days, to hang ſuch perſons as they were. And they aſking him, if he could proſecute them upon that law, or execute it upon them, he anſwered, 'Yes, if the king ſhould give order to have it put in execution, I would do it, and have you hanged, if you would not abjure the realm.' From this it may appear what a violent man this recorder was, and that the priſoners could not expect any good treatment from him. So night being come, he ſent them to the gaol.

About a month after, at the quarter-ſeſſions, they were called into the court of judicature to be tried; and being brought to the bar, George Whitehead ſaid, 'We have been five weeks in priſon; it is meet the court ſhould know for what; pray let our mittimus be produced.' But the recorder who ſate as judge in the court, ſaid, 'There is no need of your mittimus to be read here: I will give an account of the cauſe.' And then he told the court, how they had gathered together a company of about two hundred, and that officers went from him to diſſipate them, but could not; that thereupon he ſent the ſheriff, who took them away; and that they being brought before him, he proffered them, if they would pay their fines, he would not commit them; and that they refuſing, he tendered the oath of allegiance to them; which they not willing to take, he ſent them to gaol.

And though G. Whitehead with good reaſon ſaid, that

they being Engliſhmen had a right to travel in any part of the nation: and T. Burr added, that he being a perſon that was concerned in trading in corn, by the law of England he might travel from place to place about his concerns; yet this ſo diſpleaſed the recorder, that he ſaid, 'Had not you better have been turning your malt at home, than to come here to preach? The Scripture ſays, God added to the church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved; but ye draw from the church: and,' ſaid he farther, 'the church of England will never be at quiet till ſome of you be hanged.' G. Whitehead then ſhewing how unreaſonably the recorder behaved himſelf, and that a judge ought not thus to inveigh againſt the priſoners, and threaten them, alledged to that end a notable inſtance, how, in the caſe of Humphrey Stafford, an arch traitor, the chief juſtice Huſſey had been unwilling (in compliance with the king's deſire) to declare his opinion concerning him before he was judicially proceeded againſt. The recorder then aſked, what king's reign was that in? 'In king Henry VII's.' replied George Whitehead. 'I perceive you are read,' returned the recorder. And ſo he was indeed; and he defended his cauſe ſo well in the court, that the magiſtrates ſeemed at a loſs; for he ſhewed ſo evidently that he was unjuſtly committed to priſon, that the mayor (to whom, and to the juſtices he had appealed) ſaid, 'You have appealed to me; truly we are tradeſmen, and no lawyers: we leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law, and we muſt acquieſce in his judgment.' If I ſhould repeat here all that was ſpoken pro and contra, ſo as I find it extant, I ſhould be fain to be almoſt as large as I have been in the relation of the trials of John Crook, and William Penn: and therefore I will only ſay briefly, that after much reaſoning, the recorder tendered the oath of allegiance again to them, that ſo by their refuſal he might get occaſion to premunire them. But this recorder, before the whole proceſs came to an end, being turned out by the magiſtrates, it did not come to that pitch; though it was a good while yet before the aforeſaid George Whitehead and Thomas Burr were releaſed, after they had ſhewn the illegality of their impriſonment; firſt, by more than one warrant from the

recorder, and afterward, to colour the error the better, by an order from the quarter-ſeſſions.

This year thoſe called Quakers at London, publiſhed a brief relation of the ſufferings of their friends, ſince the king's reſtoration, and preſented it to the king and parliament, ſhewing therein, how many had been fined by the biſhops' courts, robbed of all they had, put into priſons, and there died; the number of which was computed to be two hundred and forty-three perſons, many whereof had been ſo grievouſly beaten and wounded becauſe of their frequenting religious aſſemblies, that they died of their hurts and wounds. There came forth alſo a printed account of the unjuſt proceeding of the informers, and how at their inſtance, without a juridical proceſs, the accuſed were bereaved of their goods, the unlawfulneſs of which was plainly ſhewn from the books of eminent lawyers.

G. Fox now travelled through many places, and came to London about the time of the annual meeting; and travelling afterwards again into the country, he returned into the ſaid city, and ſtaid there the moſt part of the winter.

The parliament was then very buſy with enquiring into the plot carried on by the Papiſts; and the houſe of commons eſpecially was very active in the caſe, ſo that a bill, to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion to the crown, paſſed after the third reading: but this was oppoſed in the houſe of lords; for by a majority, among which were the biſhops, who would not conſent to the excluſion, the bill was rejected. Now ſince ſome ill-natured Epiſcopalians were very forward to place the Quakers amongſt the plotters, G. Fox gave forth the following declaration:

'It is our principle and teſtimony, to deny and renounce all plots and plotters againſt the king, or any of his ſubjects; for we have the Spirit of Chriſt, by which we have the mind of Chriſt, who came to ſave mens lives, and not to deſtroy them: and we would have the king and all his ſubjects to be ſafe. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to ſave and defend him and them, by diſcovering all plots and plotters (which ſhall

come to our knowledge) that would deſtroy the king or his ſubjects: this we do ſincerely offer unto you. But as to ſwearing and fighting, which in tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot do, ye know, that we have ſuffered theſe many years for our conſcientious refuſal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we deſire you to relieve us, and free us from thoſe ſufferings; and that ye will not put upon us to do thoſe things, which ye have ſuffered ſo much and ſo long already for not doing; for if you do, ye will make our ſufferings and bonds ſtronger, inſtead of relieving us.

'George Fox.'

Not long after he alſo writ a paper to all rulers and magiſtrates in England, Scotland and Ireland, to diſſuade them from perſecution for religion. His labour ſeemed not altogether ineffectual with the parliament, for about the beginning of the year 1681, the houſe of commons reſolved,

That it is the opinion of the houſe, that perſecution of Proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the ſubjects, a weakening of the Proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement to popery, and, dangerous to the peace of this kingdom.

But though the houſe of commons came to this reſolution, yet it did not ſtop perſecution; for as long as the laws (by virtue whereof they perſecuted) were not repealed, which could not be done without the concurrence of the houſe of lords and the king, thoſe that were malicious continued in their old way, which laſted yet three or four years.

George Fox now alſo came into ſame trouble; ſince he and his wife were ſued for tithes, though ſhe had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time no tithe had been paid nor demanded. Of this George Fox had certificates; but ſince they would not accept them without an oath, it made his caſe the more difficult. He propoſed the matter to four judges at London, and found

one more moderate than the other; which put a ſtop to what her enemies deſigned. And the judges wondered when they heard he had made promiſe in writing, not to meddle with his wife's eſtate.

This year the king diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one, to ſit at Oxford, and ſo it did; but for all that he could not make it comply with his demands, and ſo he diſſolved this alſo. Some time after he deſired the prince of Orange to come over, who thereupon came from Holland into England, and after a ſhort ſtay returned to the Hague.

It was alſo in this year that the king gave a country or great tract of land in America to William Penn, with a patent under the great ſeal, to him and his in perpetuum, ſince the king owed him ſtill a conſiderable ſum for the ſervices of his father the admiral ſir William Penn. This tract of land on the river Delaware, from the fortieth degree to the three and fortieth, with all the iſles belonging to it, the king gave to W. Penn, with full power to erect a new colony there, to ſell lands, to create magiſtrates, to make laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and power to pardon crimes: and in the patent, the king declared that this tract of land henceforth ſhould bear the name of Pennſylvania. This favour of the king, William Penn chiefly owed (I think) to James, then duke of York, who being chief admiral of England, ſir William Penn, the father, on his dying bed, deſired him to protect his ſon againſt his enemies, who, becauſe of his religion, were like to fall hard upon him. This the duke promiſed, and performed; and therefore it was not without reaſon that William Penn afterwards, when the ſaid duke had aſcended the throne, ſhewed himſelf ready to be ſerviceable to him in all that he thought might be beneficial to the kingdom. William Penn now went with much company to America, and having ſeen the land given him, he founded there the chief city Philadelphia, and ſome other towns. And that he might the more peaceably enjoy the country, he purchaſed, from the Indians ſo much land that he became proprietor of a country twice as big as all the united provinces, as he himſelf once told me: and this colony increaſed ſo ſud-

denly, that after a few years at Philadelphia there were built ſix hundred brick houſes.

William Penn's father was deceaſed long before, and on his dying bed he declared that he had a gracious God, and he gave marks of a true Chriſtian diſpoſition of mind: he alſo gave his ſon ſeveral wholeſome admonitions how to behave himſelf in this world. He complained much of the wickedneſs of the times, and was heard at ſundry times to ſay, 'Woe to thee, O England! God will judge thee, O England! Great plagues are at thy door, O England!' He alſo ſaid, 'God hath forſaken us. We are infatuated; we will ſhut our eyes. We will not ſee our true intereſt and happineſs: we ſhall be deſtroyed.' When he was near death, and took his leave of his relations, he ſaid to William Penn, 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the prieſts to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother, live all in love, ſhun all manner of evil; and I pray God to bleſs you all; and he will bleſs you.' Thus died the valiant admiral Penn, father of William Penn, proprietor of Pennſylvania: and now I return to other matters.

I left George Fox at London, and ſince he continued there and thereabout a good while, I will take a turn to Briſtol, where in the year 1682, a diſmal ſcene of perſecution was opened: for the meetings of thoſe called Quakers were diſturbed, not only by grievouſly abuſing and impriſoning them; but they were alſo vexed by breaking into their houſes, and committing all manner of violence, as among the reſt in the houſe of Richard Marſh, an eminent merchant in that city: for, to get of him the fine that was pretended, firſt a caſk of wine, worth twenty pounds, was taken, and ſold for four pounds; as often it happened, that the goods thus taken, were ſold for leſs than the half, becauſe honeſt people being unwilling to buy ſuch goods, they were ſold to any one that would but bid ſome money, how little ſoever: for what was wanting of the fine was taken anew from the fined perſon, and ſo they did here alſo; for they broke open his counting-houſe, ſought for money, and took away his ledger,

journal, caſh-book, and other books and accounts, beſides many houſehold goods; and ſeveral chambers were rifled, though the wife of the ſaid Marſh lay in child-bed at that time. The chief actors of theſe inſolencies were the ſheriff John Knight, and John Helliar an attorney, who with his companions Lugg, Tilley, Caſſe, Patrick, Hoar, and Watkins, ſerved for informers. Knight and Helliar came frequently with a multitude of boys and rude rabble to diſturb the meetings of the Quakers; and then they carried them to the priſons, which grew ſo full, that about fifty perſons were crouded into one room, which was ſo naſty, that one of the aldermen, viz. ſir Robert Cann ſaid, if he had a dog which he loved he would not put him there. And though ſir Thomas Earl, mayor of the city, and ſome juſtices and aldermen, at the requeſt of others, ſhewed themſelves inclined to allow the priſoners a better place, yet the power of the aforeſaid ſheriff John Knight was ſuch, that he hindered it.

The meetings of other Proteſtant diſſenters were now alſo diſturbed, but they fainted and gave way; whereas the Quakers ſtood firm, how much ſoever vexed; which often was done in a very outrageous manner: for their meetings were not only diſturbed often with the noiſe of drums and fiddles, but liberty was given to the vileſt fellows to commit all kind of inſolency without ſhewing any regard to thoſe of the female ſex, whoſe hoods and ſcarves were torn; and Helliar, to give the boys a ſign to attack the women, was uſed to ſay to theſe, have a care of your hoods and ſcarves; for then the boys fell upon them, and both aged women and ancient men were carried to priſon, and forced to go faſter than they well could, by puſhing them, and pinching their arms black and blue; and when once a girl ſpoke a word againſt this cruelty, ſhe was pulled by the hair, and haled to priſon; nay, little boys were beaten on the head till they grew giddy, and then they were carried to Bridewell, where Helliar charged the keeper to get a new cat of nine tails, endeavouring to terrify the children, by making them believe they ſhould be whipped, unleſs they would promiſe to come no more to

meetings: but this ſucceeded not; for his extravagant malice did not ſubdue the conſtancy of theſe children.

With ſuch diabolical rage they perſecuted this people at Briſtol, and not a ſtone was left unturned to afflict them. Once they were nailed up in their meeting-houſe, and thus kept about ſix hours; which could not but be very hard to nature, ſince there were alſo women of no mean families, and among theſe the widow of the upper ſheriff Lane. So many alſo were taken priſoners, that at length there was no more room in the gaols. By theſe proceedings many families were ruined: for their goods were taken from them, not only on the account of meeting, but when any were believed to be of good eſtates, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them. At court it ſeems they were the more offended againſt the Quakers, becauſe in the election of members of parliament ſome had voted for ſuch as they believed to be moderate, and no favourers of popery; and therefore it was ſaid underhand, that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers not to vote at elections of parliament men, there ſhould be no further perſecution of them.

In the mean-while the behaviour of the perſecutors in the meetings was brutiſh in the higheſt degree; inſomuch that a certain woman, ſeeing that the attorney Helliar lifted up her child by the hair of his head, and aſking him, why he ſo abuſed her child, was therefore ill treated herſelf by him. And by order of the ſaid Helliar a laſs was committed to Bridewell, becauſe ſhe gave an impudent boy, that would have turned up her coats, a box on the ear; for which defending of her modeſty, this brutiſh Helliar called her a rioter and ſeditious perſon: for he was, as hath been ſaid already, a leader of inſolent and ſaucy boys, which he from time to time took along with him to diſturb the meetings of the Quakers. And ſheriff Knight did often with his cane very violently beat thoſe that were met together, and once grievouſly abuſed an ancient man called Britton; and ſome women were pinched violently in their arms. Suſannah York, an aged woman, was thrown down to the ground; Mary Hooper was very roughly handled by Helliar, had her ſcarf torn

off her back, and was ſo thruſt and flung about, that ſhe was much out of order long after; and Mary Page, being big with child, was ſo violently haled out of the meeting, that her life was endangered by it. With Helliar it became cuſtomary to call men rogues, and the women whores, jades, carrions, and damned bitches: he alſo bid the boys to tear their ſcarves and take up dirt, and throw upon them. Of this his beaſtly rage there were many witneſſes; for theſe abominable dealings diſpleaſed many people of other perſuaſions: but it ſeems theſe enraged fellows had encouragement at court, whereon they durſt rely: for the ſheriff John Knight was knighted, and thereby grew more inſolent. Once it happened that Helliar having diſturbed a meeting, drove the women along the ſtreets as if they had been cattle; and being aſked, whether he made beaſts of them, he anſwered, 'Ye are worſe than beaſts; for beaſts will be driven, but you will not.'

This diſturbing of meetings continued till almoſt all the men belonging thereto were clapped up in priſon; and ſome of them ſending a petition to the mayor and juſtices of the city, that they might be pleaſed to let them have larger rooms, ſince not only their health, but their lives alſo were endangered, the ſaid magiſtrates ſhewed themſelves inclined to allow the priſoners ſome eaſe or enlargement: but the power of ſheriff Knight was ſuch, that whatever they ſaid or did, all proved in vain. The mayor alſo ſignified to the ſheriff, that he would have all convictions made above board, and not in ale-houſes and taverns; and that he would have the diſtrained goods brought into a publick warehouſe, and not in a bye-lane. But though the mayor *ex officio* might have commanded the ſheriff, yet this officer was ſo countenanced, that he did not care for whatever the mayor ſaid; nay, ſo exorbitant was he, that his adherents began to threaten the mayor, he ſhould not be a parliament man; inſomuch that he was forced to comply in ſome degree. In the mean-while the havock and ſpoil was ſo enormous, that generally twice as much was taken as the fine amounted to. The priſoners, ſome of which lay on the floor, others in hammocks, and ſome in a cold and open room, expoſed to the wind, and injury

of the weather, ſuffered great inconveniencies, and the gaoler Iſaac Dennis imagining that nothing could be too bad for them, would not ſhew them any favour, but at a very unreaſonable rate; and his wife ſhewed herſelf no leſs unreaſonable than he, ſo that one extortion was at the heels of another. Four phyſicians of Briſtol, viz. John Griffith, William Turgis, J. Chauncy, and T. Bourn, ſeeing how ſtraitly the priſoners were penned up and thronged together, gave a certificate under their hands, in which they declared, that they reſenting their condition with compaſſion, and conſidering what dangerous conſequence ſuch cloſe confinement might be of, were moved to certify, that the priſoners being deſtitute of room for reſt, it had a ready tendency to breed infectious diſtempers, to the endangering of their lives, &c. But all this did not avail them, it being not counted worth the while to be concerned for them. Nay, ſo deſperately wicked was the gaoler, that when the priſoners complained for want of room, he ſaid to his man, if he could but ſhut the door, it would be well enough. But in due time we ſhall ſee what anguiſh and horror befel him.

After moſt of the people called Quakers at Briſtol were in priſon, the women who continued to keep up their religious meetings, were alſo ſeized, and confined to that degree, that at length few or none but children, that ſtaid with the ſervants in the houſes of their parents were left free. The number of the priſoners for the ſake of their religion amounted now to one hundred and fifteen, and ſome of them were confined in Bridewell, among whom were alſo Barbara Blaugdon, (ſeveral times mentioned before, (and Catharine Evans, who had learned at Malta what it was to ſuffer a tedious and hard impriſonment. It is very remarkable that children under ſixteen years of age now performed what their parents were hindered from: for theſe children kept up their religious meetings as much as was in their power. But though they were not within the reach of the law, yet once nineteen of theſe youths were taken and carried to the houſe of correction, where they were kept for ſome time. And though they were threatened with whipping if ever they returned to

the meeting, yet they continued valiant without fainting, although they ſuffered exceedingly from the wicked rabble. But ſo great was their zeal, that they deſpiſing all reproach and inſolence, remained ſtedfaſt; and thus ſhewed in ſpite of their enemies, that God would not ſuffer that the Quakers' meeting ſhould be altogether ſuppreſſed, as it was intended. This perſecution continued till the next year, as it did in ſeveral other places alſo; for there wanted no informers, who continually lay in wait for prey even to ſuch a degree, that I find that ſome of thoſe called Quakers, being come from other places to a market, and being gone into an inn to refreſh themſelves, a ſnatching informer did not ſtick to declare upon his oath, that the Quakers had kept a meeting there.

But before I leave Briſtol, I muſt give ſome account of a ridiculous act, performed on one Eraſmus Dole, who bore the name of a Quaker. He having ſaid that he ſcrupled not to declare the contents of the oath of allegiance, it was contrived that he ſhould ſpeak after the clerk, and ſkip over ſuch words he diſliked, and pronounce another in its room, as I declare, inſtead of I ſwear. This went on, and whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, the gaoler held his hand to the book, and when Eraſmus had ſaid all, put it to his mouth, to make this paſs for kiſſing it. With this the court ſeemed ſatisfied; and the biſhop of Briſtol ſeeing theſe apeiſh tricks, told the court, that altered it not from being an oath, at which they gloried, as having obtained a conqueſt. But this was but a pitiful one; for Eraſmus being a man of an irregular life, the Quakers had but little cauſe to regret the loſs of ſuch a member, who grew ſo diſſolute, that in proceſs of time they found themſelves neceſſitated to deny him, becauſe of his offenſive converſation.

In Glouceſterſhire the people called Quakers were alſo under great ſufferings by impriſonment, for keeping their meetings; and the wife of one John Boy, being at a peaceable meeting at Little Badmanton, was through inſtigation of the prieſt of the pariſh, in a violent manner dragged out of the meeting by the lord Herbert's footmen; through which abuſes the woman fell ſick and miſcarried,

to the endangering of her life; and her huſband, who was alſo taken priſoner at the ſame place, was not ſuffered at his requeſt to ſee his wife.

In Leiceſterſhire it went no better: one Elizabeth Hill being in a meeting at Broughton, was by the rude boys dragged out, and ſo abuſed, that ſhe was ſeemingly quite ſpent, and near dead; and laying in the dirt, one of the boys, to try whether ſhe was ſtill alive, put his finger into her mouth, and perceiving her to breathe, ſaid, 'Let us at her again. The devil is yet in her, and we will ſqueeze him out.' Theſe cruel abuſes made a neighbourly woman to cry out, 'What, will you kill the woman?' To which the boys ſaid, 'What care we? Mr. Cotton bid us do ſo.' 'Did he indeed?' aſked the woman. 'Aye, indeed,' replied the boys. 'Then,' ſaid ſhe, 'he may be aſhamed of it.' Thus theſe boys openly ſaid, that it was the parſon, viz. Thomas Cotton who was the prieſt of the pariſh, encouraged them to this exceſſive wickedneſs; and his man ſaid in plain terms, his maſter was one of the beſt men in England; for if every one would ſerve them ſo, this hereſy would be rooted out. And this man, whoſe name was Thomas Ambroſe, did not ſtick to ſay, that nothing would drive the Quakers away, but either fire or water; and if the houſe was his (meaning the houſe where they met together) he would burn it on their heads. More inſtances of ſuch exorbitant wickedneſs which happened at ſundry places, I could mention, if I did not ſtudy brevity.

George Fox being this year at London about the time of chooſing new ſheriffs for the city, he writ a few lines to thoſe who, ſtanding candidates for that office, deſired his friends to give their voices for them. And he ſaid in the concluſion, 'Shall we be free to ſerve and worſhip God, and keep his commands, if we give our voices for you? For we are unwilling to give our voices for ſuch as will impriſon and perſecute us, and ſpoil our goods.' The conſtables now at London were ſent ſometimes with warrants to diſturb the Quakers' meetings; but it was eaſily ſeen that they would rather have been freed from ſuch a commiſſion: for coming there, they would bid George Fox or others that preached, to give over ſpeaking; but they and

the ſoldiers who ſometimes came along with them, generally behaved themſelves moderate, ſufficiently ſhewing that they were not for perſecution, and that what they did was for the ſake of their office. Sometimes indeed they hindered the friends going into their meetings; but theſe then being thus kept out, the number notwithſtanding increaſed.

Once it happened that George Fox was ſtopped by the conſtables from going into Devonſhire-houſe meeting; and after having ſtood awhile in the yard, till he was weary, one gave him a ſtool to ſit on; after a while he ſtood up and preached, and in his declaration ſaid, 'Ye need not come againſt us with ſwords and ſtaves, for we are a peaceable people, and have nothing in our hearts but good-will to the king and magiſtrates, and to all people upon the earth. And we do not meet under pretence of religion, to plot againſt the government, or to raiſe inſurrections; but to worſhip in ſpirit and in truth.' When he had ſpoken what was upon him at that time, he ſate down, and after a while concluded the meeting with prayer, at which the conſtables and ſoldiers as well as others put off their hats; and when the meeting was finiſhed, a conſtable putting off his hat, ſeriouſly ſaid, 'The Lord bleſs you;' and all were ſuffered to paſs away unmoleſted.

Thus this year came to an end. All other Proteſtant diſſenters were now ſuppreſſed: for they were reſtrained from exerciſing any publick worſhip; and ſome there were who, in their nocturnal meetings would pray God, that it might pleaſe him to keep the Quakers ſtedfaſt, that ſo they might be as a wall about them, in order that other diſſenters might not be rooted out. And yet theſe, to render the Quakers odious, formerly had been very active in ſetting them forth in very ill colours. But the ſaid people continued now ſo valiant, and without fainting, that ſome of their perſecutors have been heard to ſay, that the Quakers could not be overcome, and that the devil himſelf could not extirpate them.

In the year 1683, perſecution continued in many places; and by computation it appeared that above ſeven hundred of thoſe called Quakers yet ſuffered impriſonment in England. I could mention ſeveral inſtances of perſecution in

Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, and elſewhere; but to avoid being prolix, I will only take a turn again to Briſtol, where perſecution continued ſtill; for if ſometimes any of the people called Quakers came to a meeting, they preſently were committed to priſon; among theſe was one Richard Lindy, a blind man, of about fourſcore and ten years of age, who was carried to gaol, and forced to ſit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if ſome convenient place to lie down on had been allowed him. Some of the priſoners, being tradeſmen, would willingly have worked in priſon, to earn ſomething for their ſuſtenance: but the goaler Iſaac Dennis, would not permit them that liberty. Other priſoners fell ſick of the ſpotted fever, and ſome died of it: yet all this did not ſoften the ſaid hard-hearted gaoler. But at length a heavy ſtroke from heaven fell upon him. About the middle of the month October he fell ſick, and was ſeized with terrible anguiſh of mind. Then he wiſhed he had never ſeen the inſide of the gaol; and he deſired ſome of the Quakers to pray for him, and to forgive him for what he had done. To which they anſwered, that they forgave him; but he ſhould aſk forgiveneſs of God. But ſtill his anguiſh increaſed; and when the phyſicians ordered him to be let blood, he ſaid, no phyſick would do him good, his diſtemper being another thing; and that no man could do him good, his day being over; and there was no hope of mercy from God for him. Some of thoſe called Quakers ſeeing him in this woeful condition, ſignified, that they deſired, if it was the will of the Lord, he might find a place of repentance. And it was told him, they hoped his day was not over, becauſe he had ſuch a full ſenſe of his condition. To which he anſwered, 'I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith to believe.' And he further ſaid, 'Faith is the gift of God.' Whatever was ſpoken to him, he continued in ſaying, that his day was over, and there was no mercy for him. Such a gnawing worm is the guilt of conſcience; and in this deſperate ſtate he continued above a month, and died the laſt of November, without any viſible ſigns of forgiveneſs; but the judgment thereof we muſt commit to God.

Although the people called Quakers were oppreſſed by ſufferings all over the country, yet generally they continued valiant; and as George Fox did not omit from time to time to encourage them by letters to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs, ſo ſeveral others of their teachers did not neglect to exhort them to perſeverance both by word and writing: and what was indeed remarkable, thoſe who travelled to and fro in the country, and publickly preached in the meetings of their friends generally went free; and the informers were often diſappointed of catching a preacher. I find it left upon record by Charles Marſhall, who was none of the leaſt, that though in the time when perſecution was moſt hot, he travelled through the nation, yet none laid hands on him, or fined him for his preaching, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he being a very zealous man, was uſed to lift up his voice in a very powerful manner.

William Dewſbury, who was now grown ancient in his impriſonment at Warwick, had writ an epiſtle of conſolation to his ſuffering friends, which was thought fit to be reprinted, and is as follows:

'Dear brethren and ſiſters,

'Hear the word of the Lord. Thus ſaith the Lord, 'Though you now drink the cup of adverſity, and eat the bread of affliction, and are trampled upon, as though you were not worthy to live upon the earth, yet notwithſtanding all the fury of men, you are reſolved in the ſtrength of my Spirit for ever to be deprived of the ſweet enjoyments of wife, huſband, tender children, parents, and outward poſſeſſions, liberty, and life, before you deny the teſtimony of my name before the ſons of men. Oh! you dear and tender children, who love not your lives unto death this day, that you may finiſh a good teſtimony for the glory of my name, ſaith the Lord God; lift up your heads in the light of my covenant, and believe in my name, for I am near unto you, ſaith the mighty God of ſafety; and let not any weight or burthen lie upon you; for I will be more than huſband to wife, and more than wife to huſband, or parents to children, or children to parents; yea, I will

be a huſband to the widow, and a father to the children who are deprived of their tender parents for my name's ſake: I will enlarge your borders in the life of my righteouſneſs; you that ſuffer in true innocency, will I refreſh with the depth of my mercies; yea, I will guard you with the angel of my preſence, and all that deviſe miſchief againſt you ſhall be confounded before the glory of my power, with which I will keep and preſerve you in the word of my patience, and ſafety, in my preſence, ſaith the Lord God.

'Therefore, you dear children, who drink the deepeſt in ſufferings, think it not hard, for it is my purpoſe unto you all that have not any eye to ſelf, but alone ſeek my glory in all you do; I will make you more and more honourable in the glory of my life, and double my bleſſings upon you and yours; for I have beheld your integrity, and my bowels are mightily moved with compaſſion towards you; therefore am I riſen for your ſakes this day, to declare unto you, my ſuffering people, that not an hair of your head ſhall periſh, neither ſhall you be detained in priſons and deſolate holes any longer than I have determined ſhall be for your eternal good, and the glory of my name for ever; therefore in my life ſtand faithful, in reſiſtance of every evil thought, or whatever would cauſe you to murmur, or deſire any thing but what you know will advance the glory of my name, and the exaltation of my truth, over all that riſeth up againſt it, in your being truly ſubject to the meaſure of my light and life, that will not let any ſeek a pre-eminence or eſteem amongſt men; neither let ſelf-ſtriving nor ſelf-ſerving have power in any; but in true humility, love and meekneſs watch one over another; and let the ſtrong take the weak by the hand, that you may all gently, in love, meekneſs, and holy fear, dread my name, and ſerve one another; that your love may be manifeſt unto me, ſaith the Lord your God, and one unto another in the naked ſimplicity of your ſpirits; then will I make my dwelling amongſt you, and with you; and my dreadful and glorious preſence you ſhall all feel mightily in you, and amongſt you, moving in the exerciſe of my Spirit, to the renown of my name, and the comfort of one another;

and I will crown you with heavenly bleſſings, and the glory of my powerful life; and you ſhall praiſe my name for ever that I made you my jewels, and counted you worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of my name. I will go before you through all the waters and floods of afflictions; and I will appear with you before all the counſels of the ſons of men; and my ſaving power ſhall compaſs you about in your hot and ſharp afflictions, all you who have your confidence alone in me, the Lord your God. Therefore, truſt in my name, ye my dear children, and caſt all your care upon me; and if any of you joyfully ſuffer the ſpoiling of your goods, I will ſupply with what is needful for you and yours; and if any of you ſeal your teſtimony in the word of my patience with your blood, I will take care of your tender wives and children, or parents, for whom your ſouls have been poured forth in prayers unto me for their good.

'Therefore hear my word which is ſounded unto you from the throne of my grace and eternal glory: rejoice not too much in ſpirits being made ſubject, but throw down your crowns before me, that there be not a ſelf-ſeeking ſelf-ſerving ſpirit in the family of my people, but all feel the birth immortal raiſed up in the reſurrection of my life in you all, which truly makes ſelf of no reputation, ſo that all loftineſs be laid low, and all haughtineſs bowed down in every one, that I the Lord God in you all may be loved, obeyed, and exalted; who is taking, and will take to me my great power, to exalt the meek upon the earth, and reign over all the pride of the children of men (that is exalted above my witneſs in their conſcience) that ſo my ſons may be brought from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, in the ſight of all people, whom I will make to confeſs, in ſubjection to my power, that you are the beloved people of the moſt high God, and of the righteous ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed; and not any weapon formed againſt you ſhall proſper, but come to nought, which will be haſtened for your comforts, and certainly performed according to what is here declared, to your eternal joy; and you ſhall aſſuredly know the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.

'The word of the Lord, before expreſſed, came to me in the priſon-houſe in Warwick, the 13th day of the Firſt month, 1664, which conſtrained me to ſend it to be read amongſt you, dear, faithful, and ſuffering people of the Almighty God, in whom I remain your brother and companion in tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'William Dewſbury.'

Whilſt perſecution was on foot in England, there was ſome diviſion among thoſe called Quakers, which had its riſe ſome years before. Thoſe who firſt appeared to head it, were John Wilkinſon and John Story, preachers among them, who ſhewed themſelves diſcontented againſt George Fox, chiefly about the management of church affairs, becauſe things went not always ſo as they would have it: and ſince George Fox had been the firſt inſtitutor of good order amongſt his friends, he was the chief object of the envy of the mal-contented. And becauſe in the beginning there were no ſuch meetings or diſcipline, and yet they had lived in mutual peace and unity; it was aſſerted, that ſuch meetings were needleſs, and that every one ought to be guided by the Spirit of God in his own mind, and not to be governed by rules of man. By which it appeared, that they were againſt the eſtabliſhing any order of government in the church. But they were greatly bent againſt the women's meetings, who, as deaconeſſes, met together at ſet times, to provide for poor families, and ſick people that were in want. It is true, it was objected that in thoſe meetings ſometimes was debated what was not ſo convenient in every reſpect; becauſe young women were admitted there alſo to ſee and learn how matters were treated by the grave and ancient women: and what if ſome had been a little too forward to meddle with affairs properly belonging to the men? The creeping in of a wrong uſe can by no means juſtify the abrogating what is really uſeful; and that honeſt and ancient women took care for the poor and indigent members of the church, was indeed laudable. But as in great communities generally are found ſome men who love to govern, without being fit for it; ſo ſome of theſe

ſoon adhered to Wilkinſon and Story; beſides ſeveral others, who in time of perſecution, rather would have met privately, than come into publick meetings, and ſo be expoſed to the fury of their enemies; and ſuch alſo as rather would pay tithes to the prieſts, &c. than ſuffer ſpoil or impriſonment for the refuſal thereof.

Hence roſe a ſchiſm or rent firſt in the north of England, and ſome who went under the denomination of Separatiſts, began to keep meetings by themſelves, and ſo to leave their former friends, though they pretended to agree with them in matter of doctrine. To theſe ſeparatiſts afterwards reſorted ſuch as were not ſtrict livers, and therefore were unwilling to ſubmit to church diſcipline: for this was now became the common ſaying of theſe people, that every one having received a meaſure of the Spirit of God, ought to regard that leader, without minding any rules preſcribed by others.

In proceſs of time William Rogers and Thomas Criſp appeared in print againſt their quondam brethren, and upbraided them with every imprudent behaviour, or inconſiderate act; beſides that, on mere hearſay they publiſhed a multitude of untruths, and decried even lawful things; an inſtance of which appeared when Rogers in paltry verſes ſcornfully reviled them, that ſome ſuſtenance had been given from the publick caſh to indigent preachers, who, to ſhun the neglect of their publick miniſtry, could not duly mind their private affairs; though this ſupply never exceeded neceſſary proviſion. To this it was anſwered, that if it pleaſed God to call to his miniſtry perſons of mean eſtate, the church was not warranted to hinder it, and let ſuch ſuffer want; ſince he, as ſovereign of the univerſe, could not be limited in the diſtribution of his gifts. Rogers would continually appeal to the primitive times, and to give ſome colour to what they aſſerted, he and his adherents publiſhed a paper with Edward Burrough's name to it, who had been dead above twenty years; but G. Whitehead and others gave good proofs, that that apoſtate John Perrot, had been the author of that ſo much applauded paper. At length this rent appeared alſo in London, where likewiſe mal-contents were not wanting,

who not being ſtrictly conſcientious, would rather live without any reſtraint; and even ſome that were honeſt, were by fair words perſuaded to ſeparation; for among the ſeparatiſts one Charles Harris preached, who was pretty fluent in ſpeech, and not unelegant in his expreſſions, as I have ſeen and heard myſelf. But how ſpecious ſoever the pretence of theſe ſeparatiſts was, and whatever endeavours were made, yet they were not able to continue and ſubſiſt firmly; but at length they decayed, and vaniſhed as ſnow in the fields; for the beſt among them came in time to ſee that they had been deceived; and the leſs honeſt grew worſe; for among themſelves they were not free from diviſion: and though George Keith (whoſe apoſtacy will be mentioned in the ſequel) endeavoured to ſkulk among them, yet he got no adherents there. I have often wondered how Wilkinſon, Harris, and Keith (all which I have known) could apoſtatize to ſuch a degree as they did: but yet this is not ſo exceeding ſtrange as ſome may think it to be; for we find on record, that even in the primitive apoſtolical church, was an Alexander the copperſmith, and an Hymeneus and Philetus, who made ſhipwreck of the faith, and cauſed a rent, inſomuch that it is ſaid, their words would eat as did a canker.

At London the meetings this year were often diſturbed; but the magiſtrates themſelves ſeemed not to approve of it, for they clearly ſaw there was nothing to be feared from the Quakers, and yet they were loath to give offence to the court party which then prevailed. G. Fox coming once to the meeting in Gracechurch-ſtreet, and being kept out by the conſtables, ſtood up in the court and preached to the people; but a conſtable plucked him down, and afterwards let him go free. At another time having been in the meeting at the Savoy, and being brought to a juſtice, there was one Gabriel Shad, an informer, who was ſo full of impertinent talk, that the juſtice grew angry; and yet he thought himſelf bound to do ſomething; and ſo aſked G. Fox if he did not preach in the meeting; to which he warily anſwered, that he did confeſs what Chriſt had done for his ſoul, and did praiſe God; and that he thought he might have done that in the ſtreets, and in all

places; and this he was not aſhamed to confeſs, neither was this contrary to the liturgy of the church of England. To this the juſtice ſaid, the laws were againſt ſuch meetings as were contrary to the church of England; and at length ſpoke of ſending G. Fox to Newgate, and ſaid, he would make a mittimus after he had dined; but the conſtable coming then, the juſtice bid him come again after the evening ſervice; which the conſtable doing, the juſtice told him, he might let G. Fox go: and next day he ſignified to one of G. Fox's friends, that by ſome accident he had been diſappointed of fining him.

Thus G. Fox was freed, and was now much at London, where a plot was ſaid to be on foot againſt the king and the duke of York, of which the duke of Monmouth was ſaid to be the head. This deſign, whatever it was, coſt the lives of ſeveral perſons, among whom was the earl of Eſſex, who unfortunately periſhed in the Tower, and the lord Ruſſel, who was fain to ſtoop to the axe.

Now ſince perſecution continued with ſome colour of juſtice, thoſe called Quakers drew up the following addreſs to the king:

## TO THE KING.

The humble Addreſs of the people commonly called Quakers.

'O King,

'The King of kings, and Lord of the whole earth, incline thy heart to that which is juſt and merciful in his ſight, and to make ſuch clear and equal diſtinctions, as that the innocent may not ſuffer in any caſe for the guilty; that it may ever redound to thy honour and ſafety, and the peaceable ſubject's comfort.

'Our innocency, love, and good-will to thy perſon and government that God has committed to thee, encourage us in this our humble addreſs and application.

'Whereas the plot againſt the king, and his brother the duke of York, &c. is made an occaſion to perſecute many of us for our religious meetings, more ſeverely than formerly; we do ſolemnly declare that it is known to the Divine Majeſty, and the all-ſeeing wiſdom whereby kings

reign, and princes decree juſtice, that our manifold, extreme, and continued ſufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the leaſt motive or provocation to us to deſire, much leſs to contrive the leaſt hurt, either to thy perſon or government, or to the perſon of thy brother the duke of York, &c. We are clear in the ſight of God, angels, and men, from all helliſh plots, traiterous conſpiracies, and from all murderous deſigns and undertakings againſt the king, his brother, or any perſon on earth whatſoever, being works of the devil and darkneſs; having contrarywiſe learned of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, by his light and grace in our hearts, not ſo much as by force to defend, much leſs avenge ourſelves from the injuries done us, but to commit the cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly, as peaceable followers of our Saviour and Redeemer, in his patient example and ſufferings, who is the Prince of Peace.

'O king, we do farther declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge, and actually to obey magiſtracy (as his ordinance) in all things not repugnant to his law and light in our conſciences, which is certainly agreeable to the holy Scripture, and admits not of any immoral or injurious actions, and that even where, through tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot conform, it is our duty patiently to ſuffer, and not to rebel, nor ſeek revenge; and we hope, by his divine grace, ever to demean ourſelves as peaceable minded Chriſtians, in our converſations under the civil government; and as we do ſincerely and with reverence, confeſs to Divine power and Providence in thy reſtoration and preſervation of thy perſon hitherto; ſo our prayers and ſupplications are to the Almighty for thy future ſafety and peace, and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayeſt be thereby obliged to ſhew mercy, and relieve the oppreſſed from under theſe unmerited afflictions and perſecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable ſubjects do even at this day ſuffer under, in our perſons and eſtates; not only by laws made againſt, but alſo by laws never intended againſt us; and which is more extreme, divers ſeverities of late have been, and ſtill are inflicted, for which no colour or pre-

tence of law hath been, or can be alledged; ſeveral gaols being ſo filled, as that they want air, and many innocent perſons held under extreme diſtreſs, without regard to age, ſex, or condition, to the loſs of ſome lives already, and apparent hazard of many more; if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation; and ſo many houſes, ſhops, barns, and fields, ranſacked and ſwept of goods, corn, and cattle; tending alſo to the great diſcouragement of trade and huſbandry, and to the impoveriſhing of a great number of quiet and induſtrious people; and that for no other cauſe, but for their religious worſhip and exerciſe of their tender conſciences towards Almighty God that made them, who is the ſovereign Lord of all, and King in men's conſciences.

'Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king, in princely juſtice, Chriſtian charity and compaſſion, to open our priſon doors, and take off our bonds, where the innocent and oppreſſed in thy land, that fear God, and (in converſation) truly honour the king; and ſuffer not the ruin of ſuch as are quiet in the land, the widow and the fatherleſs for their peaceable conſciences, to lie at the door of a prince profeſſing the tender and compaſſionate religion of Chriſt.'

This addreſs was preſented to the king at Windſor, on the 8th of the month called Auguſt, in this year, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, in behalf of themſelves and their friends; and it was read to him and his brother the duke of York, then preſent with ſome others; but no conſiderable eaſe followed: king Charles, it ſeems, was not to be the inſtrument thereof: and though that prince by nature was not hard-hearted, yet there were ſome that could perſuade him to ſeverity.

I find about this time, that one Gabriel Shad, who had made it his buſineſs to ſerve as informer againſt the Quakers, and who had lately informed alſo againſt G. Fox, as hath been ſaid, being confined in Newgate at London, for ſtealing goods from one William Leman, to the value of three hundred pounds, had been found guilty of felony at the Old Bailey; but he had ſuch friends, that he was

freed from the gallows, and having obtained the benefit of the clergy, was diſcharged with being burnt in the hand. Such infamous perſons were the informers; for honeſt people ſcorned to meddle with ſuch a baſe and abominable work.

This year the princeſs Anne, daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George of Denmark. The duke of Monmouth having been under diſgrace, came into favour again; for the king his father indeed loved him, though he was loath, in prejudice of his brother the duke of York, to declare him his legitimate ſon, as ſome great men wiſhed he had. But the king perſiſted in his declaration, that he never had been married to Monmouth's mother.

In the next year, viz. that of 1684, G. Fox and Alexander Parker, came into Holland to viſit their friends there; and after ſome ſtay, they returned to their native country.

In this year died Thomas Stordy of Moorhouſe in Cumberland, a gentleman who twenty-two years before had been condemned to a premunire, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear: for which ſheriff John Lowther ſeized his eſtate, real and perſonal, for the king's uſe, and kept him priſoner eleven or twelve years, till diſcharged by the king's declaration in 1672, or 73, and his real eſtate reſtored. After which, he ſuffered under great fines and ſpoil for meeting, and after that was proſecuted on the act for twenty pounds a month for not coming to their worſhip; on which he continued priſoner ſeveral years, till he died in December, having been made willing rather to loſe all for Chriſt's ſake, than to be diſobedient to him. This Thomas Stordy releaſed to the land-owners, and their heirs for ever, an impropriation of ten pound per annum, which deſcended to him from his father and grandfather, making conſcience as well of receiving as paying tithes. Not long before his deceaſe, he exhorted thoſe that were come to viſit him, to faithfulneſs; 'For,' ſaid he, 'if ye continue faithful to the Lord whilſt ye live in this world, he will reward you, as now he rewardeth me, with his ſweet peace.' Thus piouſly Thomas Stordy departed this life, ſhewing forth that he was really a gentleman, whoſe chiefeſt nobility

conſiſted in virtue. I could mention ſome other inſtances, or caſes of perſecution; but to make the more ſpeed towards a concluſion, I will not detain my reader with the relation thereof.

Thomas Briggs, who alſo had ſuffered very much, having been one of the firſt preachers among the Quakers, and being become old and weak, about this time writ a letter to G. Fox, in which he ſignified his perſeverance in godlineſs; and not long after, viz. about the beginning of the year 1685, he died.

It was about this time alſo, that the king was ſeized with ſuch violent fits of convulſion, that he died in the month called February. The throne by his death being become vacant, was filled again by his brother James the ſecond, who ſucceeding him, was the ſame day proclaimed king. Now I cannot but take notice, that perſecution went on to the death of king Charles, and continued hot to that very inſtant; and he being gone off the ſtage, many ſeemed to fear that worſe times were at hand, and that burning of hereticks would come in vogue again, as in the former age: yet ſome there were who imagined that caſe was like to follow; and that they gueſſed not amiſs, time ſhewed.

King James had not been long at the helm of the government, but the diſſenters applied to him for liberty of worſhip, and among theſe were alſo the Quakers, who made the following petition:

To the King and both houſes of Parliament, the ſuffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conſcience towards Almighty God, humbly preſented.

'Shewing, that of late above one thouſand five hundred of the ſaid people, both men and women, having been detained priſoners in England, and part of them in Wales (ſome of which being ſince diſcharged by the judges, and others freed by death, through their long and tedious impriſonment) there are now remaining, according to late accounts, about one thouſand three hundred, eighty and three; above two hundred of them women. Many under

ſentence of premunire, both men and women, and more than three hundred near it; not for denying the duty, or refuſing the ſubſtance of allegiance itſelf, but only becauſe they dare not ſwear: many on writs of excommunication and fines for the king, and upon the act for baniſhment: beſides above three hundred and twenty have died in priſon, and priſoners, ſince the year 1660, near one hundred whereof, by means of this long impriſonment, as it is judged, ſince the account delivered to the late king and parliament, in 1680; thereby making widows and fatherleſs, and leaving them in diſtreſs and ſorrow: the two laſt hard winters reſtraint, and the cloſe confinement of great numbers in divers gaols, unavoidably tending towards their deſtruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

'And here in London, the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within theſe two years (ſometimes near twenty in one room) to the prejudice of their health; and ſeveral poor innocent tradeſmen, of late, have been ſo ſuffocated by the coldneſs of the priſon, that they have been taken out ſick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

'Beſides theſe long continued and deſtructive hardſhips upon the perſons of men and women, as aforeſaid, great violences, outrageous diſtreſſes, and woeful havock and ſpoil have been, and ſtill are frequently made upon our goods and eſtates, both in and about this city of London, and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs informers, and their proſecutions upon the conventicle act; many being convicted and fined, unſummoned and unheard in their own defence. As alſo on *qui tam* writs, at the ſuit of informers, who proſecute for one-third part for themſelves, and on other proceſſes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of eſtates, ſeized for the king; all tending to the ruin of trade, huſbandry, and farmers, and the impoveriſhing of many induſtrious families, without compaſſion ſhewn to widows, fatherleſs, or deſolate: to ſome not a bed left to reſt upon; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or ſeed, nor tools to work withal: the ſaid informers and ſheriffs bailiffs in ſome places being outrageous

and exceſſive in their diſtreſſes, and ſeizures, breaking into houſes, and making great waſte and ſpoil. And all theſe and other ſeverities done againſt us by them, under pretence of ſerving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or ſatisfaction of our tender conſciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of.

'The ſtatutes on which we, the ſaid people ſuffer impriſonment, diſtreſs, and ſpoil, are are as followeth:

'The 5th of Eliz. ch. 23. *De excommunicato Capiando.*

'The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1, for twenty pound per month.

'The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6. for continuation.

'The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1. for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

'The 1ſt of Eliz. ch. 2. for twelve pence a Sunday.

'The 3d of K. James I. ch. 4. for premunire, impriſonment during life, and eſtates confiſcated.

'The 13th and 14th of K. Charles II. againſt Quakers, &c. tranſportation.

'The 22d of K. Charles II. ch. 1, againſt ſeditious conventicles.

'The 17th of K. Charles II. ch. 2, againſt nonconformiſts.

'The 27th of Hen. VIII. ch. 20. ſome few ſuffer thereupon.

'Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed againſt our peaceable religious aſſemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c. many, both men and women, thereupon fined, impriſoned, and detained for non-payment, ſome till death. Inſtance, the city of Briſtol, what a great number have been theſe divers years ſtraitly confined and crowded in gaol, moſtly above one hundred on ſuch pretence, about ſeventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682 and 83, about ſeventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardſhips have been, and are in other places. So that ſuch our peaceable meetings are ſometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exerciſe, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c. when nothing of that nature

could ever be proved againſt them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, againſt the perſon or property of any other whatſoever.

'The during and tedious impriſonments, are chiefly on the writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines, ſaid to be for the king.

'The great ſpoil and exceſſive diſtreſſes and ſeizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pound a month, two-thirds of eſtates, and on *qui tam* writs. In ſome counties divers have ſuffered by ſeizures and diſtreſſes above eight years laſt paſt, and writs iſſued out for farther ſeizures in ſeveral counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thouſands of pounds, ſometimes ſeizing for eleven months at once, and making ſale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of houſehold goods, beds, ſhop-goods, moveables, cattle, &c. and proſecution hereupon ſtill continued, and in divers counties much increaſed; ſo that ſeveral, who have long employed ſome hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid conſiderable taxes to the king, are greatly diſabled from both, by theſe writs and ſeizures, as well as by long impriſonments. So many ſerge-makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, diſabled by impriſonment. Many in the county of Suffolk, under a long impriſonment, ſentenced to a premunire, one whereof employed at leaſt two hundred poor people in the wollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other inſtances, that we may not ſeem too tedious, theſe may evince how deſtructive ſuch ſeverities are to trade and induſtry, and ruinous to many poor families.

'On the conventicle act, within theſe two years laſt paſt, many in and about this city of London, have been extremely oppreſſed, impaired, and ſpoiled in their eſtates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants, made againſt them in their abſence, upon the credit of informations ſworn by concealed informers, divers of them impudent women, who ſwear for their profit in part of the fines and ſeizures, their huſbands being priſoners for debt through their own extravagancies. The warrants commonly made to break open and enter houſes, which is done with rigour

and great ſpoil, not ſparing widows, fatherleſs, or poor families, who are ſuſtained by their daily care and induſtry, not leaving them a bed to reſt upon. The fines upon one juſtice's warrants amounting to many hundreds of pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds, executed upon one perſon; and three warrants at once from another juſtice, for ſixty pounds upon another perſon, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads; and five warrants at once for fifty pounds upon another, &c. beſides what we have ſuffered by others in the like kind. And in this deſtructive courſe the informers have encouragement, and are ſuffered ſtill to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods: divers ſo diſcouraged and diſabled, that they are forced to give over their ſhops and trades.

'Theſe informers being accepted for credible witneſſes, yet parties, ſwearing for their own profit and gain, in the abſence of the perſons proſecuted: this we think, is very hard, and undue proceeding, and not conſiſtent with common law or juſtice.

'As alſo convicting and fining us upon their depoſitions, unſummoned and unheard in our own defence, and ſo keeping us ignorant of our accuſers (unleſs upon traverſe of our appeals). This procedure appears contrary to the law of God, common juſtice and equity, and to the law and juſtice of the ancient Romans, and of nations.

'And although it has been openly manifeſted, upon trial of appeals, at ſeveral quarter-ſeſſions, both for Middleſex and London, and other places, that the depoſitions of divers informers have been falſe in fact; yet the great trouble and charge in the traverſe of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the moſt warrants, hath been a diſcouragement to many from ſeeking ſuch difficult remedy, conſidering alſo the treble coſts againſt the appellant, in caſe he ſucceeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial: whereas there is no coſts nor reſtitution awarded nor given againſt the informers, for unjuſt proſecution. Some alſo have refuſed to grant appeals, others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals: which, whether this be equal or juſt, pray conſider, ye that are wiſe and

judicious men: and whether it be for the king's honour, and the people's intereſt, that idle, drunken, extravagant informers, ſhould either be encouraged or ſuffered to go on thus to ruin trade, huſbandry, and families, or to command and threaten juſtices of peace, with the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions, and iſſue out warrants upon their late informations, and uncertain depoſitions, frequently in the abſence of the accuſed.

'And laſtly, one-third part of the fines being aſſigned to the king, he can only remit that; but the informers and poor being aſſigned two-third parts, ſeems not to allow him to remit them, how much cauſe ſoever may appear to him, to extend his favour in that caſe. Is not this againſt the king's prerogative, to reſtrain his ſovereign clemency? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is ſcandalous thereto, for beggarly rude informers (ſome of them confident women) not only to command, threaten, and diſquiet juſtices, peace-officers, &c. but to deſtroy the king's honeſt, induſtrious and peaceable ſubjects, in their properties and eſtates, is worthy of your ſerious conſiderations: and whether the ſaid conventicle act ought not therefore juſtly to be repealed? A noted inſtance of the like caſe, we have, concerning the ſtatute of the 11 Hen. VII. ch. 3. (for determining certain offences and contempts only upon informers proſecutions) being repealed in the firſt year of K. Hen. VIII. ch. 6. though that, in ſome reſpects, was more tolerable than this.

'Be pleaſed to make our caſe your own, and do to us, as you would be done unto; as you would not be oppreſſed or deſtroyed in your perſons or eſtates, nor have your properties invaded, and poſterities ruined for ſerving and worſhipping Almighty God (that made all mankind) according to your perſuaſions and conſciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof: ſo we intreat you to allow the ſame liberty to tender conſciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourſelves; and to diſannul the ſaid conventicle act, and to ſtop theſe devouring informers, and alſo take away all ſanguinary laws, corporeal and pecuniary puniſhments, merely on the

ſcore of religion and conſcience; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherleſs, and innocent families, lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great truſt repoſed in you for the proſperity and good of the whole nation, but alſo do profeſs Chriſtianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'And notwithſtanding all theſe long ſuſtained extremities, we, the ſaid ſuffering people, do ſolemnly profeſs and declare in the ſight of the all-ſeeing God, who is the ſearcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any ſeditious or treaſonable deſigns (they being wholly contrary to our Chriſtian principle and profeſſion) ſo we have nothing but good will, and true Chriſtian affection to the king and government, ſincerely deſiring his and your ſafety, proſperity and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom.

'Having thus given you, in ſhort, the general ſtate of our ſuffering caſe, in matter of fact, without perſonal reflection, we, in Chriſtian humility, and for Chriſt's ſake, intreat that you will tenderly and charitably conſider of the premiſes, and find out ſome effectual expedient or way for our relief from priſons, ſpoil, and ruin.

The following application was likewiſe preſented.

To King JAMES the ſecond.

The humble application of the people called Quakers.

'Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king Charles the ſecond, and to preſerve thee peaceably to ſucceed; we thy ſubjects heartily deſire, that the giver of all good and perfect gifts, may pleaſe to endue thee with wiſdom and mercy in the uſe of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good: and it being our ſincere reſolution, according to our peaceable principles and converſation, (by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) to live

peaceably and honeſtly, as becomes true and faithful ſubjects under the king's government, and a conſcientious people, that truly fear and ſerve God; we do humbly hope that the king's tenderneſs will appear and extend, with his power to expreſs the ſame; recommending to his princely clemency, the caſe of our preſent ſuffering friends hereunto annexed.

## TO THE KING.

The diſtreſſed Caſe and requeſt of the ſuffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly preſented.

'Shewing,

'That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the ſaid people, both men and women, are continued priſoners in England and Wales, only for tender conſcience towards Almighty God that made them; many under ſentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refuſing the duty or ſubſtance of allegiance itſelf, but only becauſe they dare not ſwear; others under fines upon the act of baniſhment, many on writs of excommunication; beſides ſome hundreds have died priſoners; many by means of this long impriſonment ſince the year 1680, (as it is judged) thereby making widows and fatherleſs, and leaving poor innocent families in diſtreſs and ſorrow; theſe two hard winters confinement, tending alſo to the deſtruction of many in cold holes and gaols, their healths being greatly impaired thereby; beſides the violence and woeful ſpoil made by mercileſs informers on the conventicle act, upon many, convicted, unſummoned, and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country, as alſo on *qui tam* writs, and other proceſs, on twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of eſtates ſeized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade, huſbandry, and induſtrious families; to ſome not a bed left; to others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk; nor corn for bread or ſeed; nor tools to work withal. And alſo theſe and other ſeverities done under pretence of ſerving the king and church, thereby to force

us to violate our conſciences, and conſequently to deſtroy our ſouls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God, and our own conſciences, though accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter: and notwithſtanding all theſe long ſuſtained extremities, we the ſaid people do ſolemnly profeſs and declare in the ſight of the heart Searcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his ſafety, and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any ſeditious or treaſonable deſigns, as being wholly contrary to our Chriſtian principles and holy profeſſion.'

'And knowing that where the word of a king is, there is power, we in Chriſtian humility, and for Chriſt's ſake, intreat, that the king will pleaſe to find out ſome expedient for our relief in theſe caſes, from priſon, ſpoil, and ruin, and we ſhall (as in Chriſtian duty bound) pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happineſs in that which is to come.'

An account of the number of the ſaid priſoners called Quakers, in the ſeveral counties.

| | Priſoners. |
|---|---|
| Bedfordſhire | 30 |
| Berkſhire | 37 |
| Briſtol | 103 |
| Buckinghamſhire | 19 |
| Cambridgeſhire | 8 |
| Ely | 11 |
| Cheſhire | 9 |
| Cornwall | 32 |
| Cumberland | 22 |
| Derbyſhire | 1 |
| Devonſhire | 104 |
| Dorſetſhire | 13 |
| Durham | 39 |
| Eſſex | 10 |
| Glouceſterſhire | 66 |
| Hertfordſhire | 18 |
| Herefordſhire | 1 |
| Huntingdonſhire | 10 |
| Kent | 16 |
| Lancaſhire | 73 |
| | 622 |

| | Priſoners. |
|---|---|
| Leiceſterſhire | 37 |
| Lincolnſhire | 12 |
| London and Middleſex | 66 |
| Norfolk | 52 |
| Northampton | 59 |
| Nottinghamſhire | 6 |
| Oxon | 17 |
| Shropſhire | 18 |
| Somerſetſhire | 36 |
| Southampton | 15 |
| Staffordſhire | 1 |
| Suffolk | 79 |
| Surry | 29 |
| Suſſex | 17 |
| Warwickſhire | 31 |
| Weſtmorland | 5 |
| Wiltſhire | 34 |
| Worceſterſhire | 15 |
| Yorkſhire | 279 |
| Wales | 30 |
| | 838 |
| | 622 |
| Sum of Priſoners | 1460 |

Delivered to the king the 3d of the Firſt month called March, 168$\frac{4}{5}$.

This liſt, with the aforeſaid petition to the king and parliament, was not altogether ineffectual: for there was much talk now of liberty of conſcience; but ſince all the liberty that was enjoyed was only precarious, it could be but little depended upon; yet many ſeemed to be in expectation that ſome grant of that liberty would be publiſhed in print; and thus it became a common ſaying, that liberty of conſcience was in the preſs, which being of an equivocal

ſignification, ſometimes afforded matter of ſport. But many of the Epiſcopal church were ſo ſtrongly bent to withhold that liberty from other Proteſtants, that there were no ill grounded reports, that ſome in authority had promiſed the king, to give their vote for liberty of conſcience to the Papiſts, provided it was not granted to other diſſenters. Nevertheleſs the aboveſaid petition of the Quakers had ſuch effect, that the king reſolved to eaſe them from the burthen of their oppreſſion, by way of pardon; for thus far his power reached; but the abrogating of laws could not be done without the conſent of the parliament, which grew jealous, that by the repeal of thoſe laws, the Papiſts, who now had a king of their own religion, would become too powerful. In the mean-while the king publiſhed the following proclamation:

'James R.

'Whereas our moſt entirely beloved brother the late king deceaſed, had ſignified his intentions to his attorneys general for the pardoning ſuch of his ſubjects who had been ſufferers in the late rebellion for their loyalty, or whoſe parents or neareſt relations had been ſufferers in the late rebellion for that cauſe, or who had themſelves teſtified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were proſecuted, indicted, or convicted for not taking, or refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, or one of them, or had been proſecuted upon any writ, or any penalty, or otherwiſe, in any of the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, or in any of the eccleſiaſtical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the ſacrament:

And whereas the ſeveral perſons, whoſe names are mentioned in the ſchedule annexed to this our warrant, have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and ſufferings of them and their families:

'Now in purſuance of the ſaid will of our ſaid moſt dear brother, and in conſideration of the ſufferings of the ſaid perſons, our will and pleaſure is, that you cauſe all proceſs and proceedings, *ex officio*, as well againſt the ſaid perſons mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule hereunto annexed, as againſt all other perſons as ſhall hereafter be produced unto you,

to be wholly ſuperſeded and ſtayed; and if any of the ſaid perſons be decreed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been ſo certified, or are in priſon upon the writ *de excommunicatio capiendo*, for any of the cauſes aforeſaid, our pleaſure is, that you abſolve, and cauſe ſuch perſons to be abſolved, diſcharged, or ſet at liberty, and that no proceſs or proceedings whatſoever be hereafter made in any court againſt any of the ſaid perſons for any cauſe before-mentioned, until our pleaſure therein ſhall be further ſignified.

'Given at our court at Whitehall, this 18th of April, 1685, in the firſt year of our reign.

'To all archbiſhops and biſhops, to their chancellors and commiſſioners, and to all archdeacons and their officials, and all other ordinaries and perſons executing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

'By his majeſty's command,
'Sunderland.'

This was the king's firſt ſtep towards liberty of conſcience, as well for Papiſts, as other perſons mentioned in the ſchedule annexed, which put an effectual ſtop to perſecution, and the power of the informers was thereby much broken. And ſince the moſt of theſe were generally baſe fellows, and profligate perſons, who did not care what they did, provided they might enrich themſelves, they often dealt treacherouſly even with the perſecuting juſtices; who alſo were eager for having part of the prey, and yet by the artifices of theſe rapacious wretches were deprived of it, which ſome of them now ſmarted for. Among the reſt, I find that one John Hilton was committed to gaol, as may appear from this warrant of the recorder.

To the keeper of Newgate.

'Receive into your cuſtody the body of John Hilton, herewith ſent you, being charged upon oath before me, for compounding ſeveral warrants under my hand and ſeal, for levying of ſeveral ſums of money on perſons convicted

for being at ſeveral conventicles in Kent, London, and Middleſex; and being alſo indicted for the ſame in the ſeveral counties aforeſaid, and the bills found againſt him; and alſo that he the ſaid John Hilton, hath refuſed to obey the right honourable ſir Edward Herbert, lord chief juſtice's warrant. And him ſafely keep, until he ſhall be diſcharged by due courſe of law. And for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Dated the 23d of December, 1685.

'Tho. Jenner, recorder.

'Let notice be given to me before he be diſcharged.'

Thus the informers met with a ſtop, and the perſecuted Quakers got ſome reſt; for perſecution not only ceaſed, but many, who for religion ſake had been ſeveral years kept in priſon, obtained liberty by the favour of a popiſh prince, which they had not been able to get from his brother, king Charles the ſecond. Now many of the fierce perſecutors came to ſhame, ſome to poverty, and others to a miſerable end, of which no ſmall number of inſtances might be produced, if I were minded to enlarge; however I will mention one or two.

One Edward Davis, who once profeſt to be a Quaker, but not being ſincere, found that way too narrow for him, and ſo left his friends, whom afterwards being become keeper of the gaol of Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, he vexed moſt grievouſly; and from mere malice fettered ſome, ſaying to John Whiting, and another, whom he had hand-bolted together, thoſe bolts ſhould not be taken off if lice did eat them up. And his comrade Joſeph Newberry was but little better, for when ſomebody told him, that their hands did ſwell with the irons, he ſaid, he did not care if their hearts did ſwell alſo. And when one John Dando once aſked Davis, what he thought would become of him when he came to die; he anſwered, that he knew what would become of him then, and therefore he would make the beſt of his time now. Alſo, that he knew where he went out, and where he muſt come in again, if ever he was ſaved; and if he thought he ſhould never return again, he would be as wicked as he could. Truly a moſt deſperate ſaying, juſt as if the door of mercy

always continued open for man, and the day of the viſitation of God's love never paſt over his head, though he perſevered in rebellion. But this Davis came to a moſt pitiful ſtate, ſo that he fell into poverty, and was himſelf impriſoned for debts, of which more hereafter. And Newberry fell into a ſad condition, being taken with a ſevere palſy, and yet he did not leave off curſing and ſwearing, talking of the devil in a dreadful manner. And by lying long in bed, the fleſh rotted on his back, and he who had formerly ſaid concerning the hand-bolted priſoners, he did not care if their hearts did ſwell, got now ſuch a ſore tongue, that it ſwelled out of his mouth, and grew black, and ſo he died miſerably on the 10th of December. Thus God ſometimes puniſheth the wicked even in this life. And though perſecutors come not always to ſuch a miſerable end, yet many of theſe fell into poverty, and others were diſcontented becauſe they ſaw that thoſe whom they had cruelly perſecuted, now enjoyed an undiſturbed liberty; for the king who was now on the throne, continued to give liberty to thoſe that had been oppreſſed for religion.

But before I ſay more of this I cannot but mention ſomething of the deſign of the unhappy duke of Monmouth, who at the death of his father king Charles the ſecond, was gone to Bruſſels, and being come from thence into Holland, he was ſpurred on ſo vigorouſly by ſome hot-headed Engliſhmen, that having got money and aſſiſtance of mal-contents, he went over to England with three men of war and ſome forces, having given forth a declaration againſt king James, which vented a fiery paſſion toward that prince, and was written, as I have been credibly told, by the violent Robert Ferguſon. Monmouth being landed with his forces in the Weſt of England, near Lime, and afterwards routed by the king's troops, was taken priſoner by the perfidiouſneſs of a certain lord, who thereby obtained pardon for himſelf; but Ferguſon eſcaped by a cunning artifice, crying along the road where he came galloping on horſeback, 'The rebels are routed, the rebels are routed!' Juſt as if he had been a courier ſent on purpoſe to court and elſewhere. But thus he eſcaped, and being come again

into Holland, he told this crafty trick to his acquaintance. Monmouth having been declared guilty of high treaſon by a bill of attainder, as ſoon as the news came of his deſign, was but two or three days after his arrival at London, beheaded. I count it not unworthy to be mentioned, that he undauntedly received the news of the dead warrant's being come; and on the ſcaffold on Tower-Hill, he told the biſhops that accompanied him, 'If I had no true repentance, I ſhould not be ſo free from the fear of death.' And when it was objected, that he ought not to rely too much on that, ſince that might be the effect of natural courage, he ſaid, 'No; I do not aſcribe this to my nature; for naturally I am more fearful than others; but now I am freed of fear; becauſe I feel ſomething in me, which gives me aſſurance that I ſhall go to God.' The executioner gave him ſeveral ſtrokes with the axe, before the head was ſevered from the body; and ſome eccleſiaſticks afterwards ſaid, he died an enthuſiaſt: for not ſhewing himſelf very ready to comply with their ſervice, and his ſaying that ſomething within him aſſured him that he ſhould go to God, ſeemed to them an enthuſiaſtical tenet. But whatever it was, yet it ſeems very probable to me, that he was a true penitent, and ſo died in peace; for though I cannot but diſapprove his deſign, yet by true repentance he might not only have obtained forgiveneſs of God, but alſo have had a full aſſurance of it.

The earl of Argyle, who rebelled in Scotland againſt king James, had no better lot; but I will not detain my reader therewith, neither with a relation of the diſmal execution of many, who having been found guilty of high treaſon, either for actual rebellion, or for having been abetters of Monmouth, were ſentenced to death by the infamous Jeffries, who then was lord chief juſtice, and afterwards chancellor; the fierceneſs or cruelty of this judge being ſuch, that ſome loſt their lives only for having given ſome hay or victuals to Monmouth's ſoldiers. But this not being within my circuit, I will paſs it by, and go over to the year 1686.

Therefore leaving England, I will take a turn to Embden, in Eaſt Frieſland, where a ſmall company of thoſe called

Quakers had been under a ſevere perſecution for ſeveral years, as I have hinted before. But the magiſtrates having perſecuted by the inſtigation of their preachers, the citizens began to be diſpleaſed with it. And ſince the Proteſtants in France were now perſecuted violently, and a Popiſh prince had mounted the Engliſh throne, thoſe at Embden grew more inclined to moderation. Probably the decay of trade alſo contributed a little to this change; for it appeared that the magiſtrates were for getting more inhabitants into their town, though they ſhould be Quakers: and this was counted a matter of ſuch moment, that the common council deliberated on the ſubject; and two of the members of that board, viz. Polman and Bonhuyren, were ſent to Magdalena van Loar, an inhabitant of Embden, deſiring her to write to England and Holland, that the magiſtrates of the city had reſolved to give liberty to the people called Quakers, to live, trade, and traffick there; which grant they proffered to confirm with the city ſeal. According to their deſire notice was given to thoſe of that perſuaſion at Amſterdam, from whence an anſwer being returned to the ſaid Magdalena van Loar, ſhe gave it to the counſellor Polman, and he delivered it to the ſenate. After ſome deliberation, the magiſtrates with the council of forty, and the eccleſiaſtical court met together, and came to a reſolution, of which a copy was ſent to Amſterdam. In this writing were mentioned ſome conditions on which the magiſtrates at Embden were willing to grant liberty to the Quakers to live in their city. But thoſe of that ſociety at Amſterdam, having weighed and duly conſidered the thing, found that the propoſal contained ſome expreſſions which by others, who afterwards might come to the helm, and not be ſo moderate as theſe at preſent, might be uſed as ſnares againſt the Quakers, if they now ſhould enter upon ſuch terms as were preſcribed. Therefore it was thought more ſafe not to enter into any engagement, whereby great inconvenience might afterwards attend their friends, when the magiſtracy came to be in other hands. Yet the concluſion was, to acknowledge the good intention of the magiſtrates of Embden, by drawing up the following letter, and ſending it to them.

To the Lords, Burgomaſters, Counſellors, and Rulers of the city of Embden.

'Theſe are to acquaint you with due reſpect, that a ſcheme or plan of yours, dated the $\frac{16}{26}$ of February, 1686, is come to our hands, which having been peruſed by us, we have thought it convenient in the fear of the Lord, to ſend you the following anſwer.

'Firſt, we thank God Almighty for the eaſe and liberty which our friends at preſent enjoy under your government, and are like to enjoy in the future. And, ſecondly, we cannot but acknowledge very acceptably your clemency and meekneſs, which ye ſhew by taking notice of the ſtate of a deſpiſed and oppreſſed people, who becauſe of their way and worſhip, differing from the many ways in the world, are gainſayed every where. And therefore it is that we are the more ſtirred up in our minds to pray fervently to the Lord God for your peace and proſperity, and the continuance of your good reſolution; that ſo all thoſe who ſerve the Lord in uprightneſs of heart may lead a peaceable and godly life among you, by ſhewing forth the fruits of true Chriſtianity in truth, ſincerity, and righteouſneſs. Now as to what ye have been pleaſed to declare, that ye were willing to confirm the aforeſaid your good reſolution by a publick act, we let you know, that we are ſo well ſatisfied with your word and oral declaration concerning the aforementioned thing, that this is more to us than any thing we could further deſire, as knowing that good men think themſelves bound by their good words to perform what is good. And ſince ye are ſenſible on what ground ye came to the aforeſaid reſolution, and declared yourſelves thus, we doubt not but the ſame perſuaſion and reaſon continuing with you, will prove a more ſtrong engagement to you to perform the ſame, than any outward ſeal can be. And in that engagement we were willing to acquieſce, and ſhould not have mentioned any other, unleſs ſome among you, as we have been informed, firſt had made mention thereof. And as to what ye demand of us, we declare in the nakedneſs and ſimplicity of our hearts, that in regard of our temporal converſation and deportment,

we deſire no further protection, than when we deal righteouſly to all, and walk according to that golden rule, that we do unto all men, what we deſire ſhould be done to us. And concerning our religion and worſhip, which we believe we owe to Almighty God, it is thus: That ſince it differs from other perſuaſions, it makes us obnoxious not only to the mockings and revilings of ignorant people, but expoſeth us alſo to the malice and envy of many, who hate us without a juſt cauſe; and therefore it is that we ſtand in need of your favourable interpretation, and your beſt conſtruction of what we do, and what we leave undone. And if we ſhould err in thoſe matters, we ſhall be the greateſt loſers by it; and if truth be on our ſide, then our adverſaries ſhall not be able to prevail; for truth is the ſtrongeſt, and it is not good for any to fight againſt it. Howſoever then it may be with us in this matter, yet we hope that ye will be pleaſed, if we behave ourſelves peaceable and honeſt towards you and all men, to let us be partakers with our peaceable neighbours, of your general protection. And though ye might pleaſe to give us a publick act of your aforeſaid reſolution, yet we clearly foreſee, that it would be hardly poſſible to uſe ſuch expreſſions, that our enemies, by ſome wreſtling or other of the words, or a wrong interpretation of the expreſſions contained therein, ſhould not be able to make us eſteemed guilty of tranſgreſſion, and ſo find matter againſt us. And therefore we think it very ſafe, to rely on your word and good reſolution, in which it hath pleaſed you to declare, that we ſhall enjoy liberty to live and trade in your city, provided we pay cuſtom and taxes, which other citizens are ſubject to; and that then we ſhall be at liberty to meet together to worſhip God in ſuch a way as he hath convinced us we ought to do, and to call upon him, and to exhort one another to love and good works, and a Chriſtian converſation. And on your behalf it will tend to the praiſe of the magiſtrates, that ye favour us in this. And it will alſo be to the promoting of God's glory; and will oblige us to pray for you, that the Lord God may be pleaſed to preſerve you, and to make you continue in ſuch

a good, wholeſome, and well-grounded reſolution. We are, and reſt,

'Your true friends and well-wiſhers,

'Barent van Tongeren,
William Sewel,
Jacob Claus,
Stephen Criſp,
John Roelofs,
John Claus,
Peter Hendrikſz.'

Amſterdam, the $\frac{9}{19}$ of the Third month, alias March, 1686.

In anſwer to this, the ſenate ſent the following reſolution to the ſubſcribers of the aforeſaid letter, being, as appears by the contents, the decree of the ſenate, ſo as it was entered into their records, of which the authentick copy, ſigned by the city's ſecretary, is in my cuſtody.

*Lunæ* $\frac{15}{25}$ *Martii*, 1686.

'Received a letter on the $\frac{12}{22}$ inſtant, written at Amſterdam the $\frac{9}{19}$ of the ſame month, and ſigned by Barent van Tongeren, William Sewel, Jacob Claus, Stephen Criſp, John Roelofs, John Claus, Peter Hendrikſz, in anſwer to our reſolution of the $\frac{16}{26}$ of February laſt, with thanks for the promiſed admiſſion and protection of this city, in their free trade, and the exerciſe of their religion, without offending any; ſignifying thereby alſo, that they will be content without an act under our ſeal, and willing to rely on our words. This having been under deliberation, it was thought meet, and reſolved, that our word ſhall effectually be kept to the reſcribers, and all others of their perſuaſion, and that the promiſed protection ſhall be really performed.

'*Ad mandatum ſenatus ſpeciale*,
'O. Hillings, Sec.

Thus it pleaſed the ſenate of Embden to give, to thoſe called Quakers, liberty to dwell among them, with the free exerciſe of their religion. Sometime after it happened, that the burgomaſter Andrews, coming to the houſe of Magdalena van Loar, and the preacher Alardyn, to the houſe of her daughter Magdalena Haaſbaant, deſired both that they would cauſe what the ſenate had reſolved, to be writ to England, that ſo it might be known there, that if any of the Quaker's perſuaſion would come over, and ſettle at Embden, they ſhould be well received there.

Hereby we ſee how God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and that he turneth them whitherſoever he will: for the magiſtrates of Embden, had ſome years before from a blind zeal, kindled by thoſe who ought to have ſtopped it, given forth very ſevere edicts againſt the Quakers, and perſecuted them fiercely; but now they allowed them an entire liberty.

But leaving Embden, I turn again to England, where perſecution by this time alſo came to a ſtand, inſomuch that the king ordered that all ſuch impriſoned Quakers as it was in his power to releaſe, ſhould be ſet at liberty: for thoſe that were in priſon, for not paying tithes, &c. were under the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which was out of the king's reach. But many others who had been in cuſtody ſeveral years, appeared now at London in the annual meeting of their friends, to the great joy of their brethren; and when ſome of theſe went to thank the king for his favour, they were kindly admitted; and thereby he drew their inclination towards him; for his endeavours were now, as he ſaid, to bring about a complete liberty of conſcience. What his aim was, I am not to inveſtigate, for he never attained to it. In the mean-while he made perſecution generally to ceaſe, not only in England, but alſo in other places of his dominions: for having heard that the Quakers in the iſle of Barbadoes, in the Weſt-Indies, were very much moleſted, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not bear arms, he ordered ſome of the members of his council to write the following letter:

'After our hearty commendations, his majeſty having been pleaſed to refer unto us the petition of the Quakers

inhabiting in the Barbadoes, we have thought fit hereby to pray and require you to examine the allegations of the ſaid petitions and papers hereunto annexed. And in as much as his majeſty having lately extended his favour to thoſe people here, may be inclined to continue the ſame towards them in this particular, we deſire you to report unto us what eaſe may be given them in reference to the militia act, and the penalties thereby impoſed, as far as it may conſiſt with the ſafety of the iſland, and the preſerving of the militia according to the intention of the ſaid act. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

'Your loving friends,

'Jefferies,
'Craven,
'Albemarle,
'Middleton,'

From the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 23d July, 1686.

From this letter it appears plainly that the king endeavoured to relieve the Quakers from that burthen of perſecution they were under. The following letter is alſo a proof of it, written by the earl of Sunderland (then, as I think, preſident of the privy council) to the earl of Huntington, to ſtop the perſecution in Leiceſterſhire and Nottinghamſhire, where one John Smith had acted moſt grievouſly:

'My lord, Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

'The king being informed that one John Smith, a common informer, doth very vexatiouſly perſecute the Quakers in the county of Leiceſter, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majeſty being pleaſed to extend his favour to thoſe of that perſuaſion, his majeſty would have your grace direct the juſtices of peace to give no ſort of countenance to the ſaid John Smith, and his proſecution, againſt the Quakers.

'My lord, I am for his grace the duke of Newcaſtle,

'one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy coun-
'cil, &c.

'Your grace's moſt faithful and humble ſervant,
'Sunderland, P.'

To the right honourable the earl of Huntington, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, chief recorder of Leiceſter, cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Leiceſter.

The king being thus inclined to give liberty to priſoners, thoſe who were in cuſtody for religion, neglected no opportunity to obtain it; of which the following petition is an evidence:

To chief juſtice Herbert, and judge Wright, aſſigned to hold aſſizes and gaol-delivery for the weſtern circuit, at Wells for the county of Somerſet, the thirtieth of the month called March, 1686.

Several of the people called Quakers, now priſoners to the gaol at Ivelcheſter, in the county of Somerſet, on behalf of themſelves and many others of the ſame people, in humility ſhew,

'That ſince the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things, hath ordered your employment in this honourable ſervice, to relieve the oppreſſed, and deliver the captives; and ſince king James II. that now is, hath committed part of his clemency to your cuſtody, to diſtribute the ſame, according as the Lord hath inclined his heart; and having taken particular notice of our ſufferings, and ſignified his will and pleaſure, that we, the people commonly called Quakers, ſhould receive the full benefit of his general pardon, with all poſſible eaſe; which grace and favour we, with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge to God as the chief author, who hath the hearts of kings at his diſpoſal; and to the king, as being ready herein to mind that which the Lord inclined his heart unto; and not without hope to find the like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for

the full accompliſhment of that which our God allows, and the king ſo readily grants us; and alſo hearing the report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty truſt committed to you, we are emboldened thus to addreſs ourſelves, though in plainneſs of ſpeech, yet in ſincerity of heart, to lay before you, that we have for ſeveral years been priſoners to the gaol aforeſaid, not for any plotting againſt the king or government, or harm done to his ſubjects; our peaceable lives have manifeſted our fidelity to the king, and love to our neighbours, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwiſe; but only for conſcience ſake, becauſe in obedience to Chriſt Jeſus we dare not ſwear at all, or forbear to worſhip God, as he hath ordained, nor conform to thoſe worſhips which we have no faith in; which to omit the one, or practiſe the other, we ſhould therein ſin, and ſo wound our conſciences, and break our peace with God: and what good then ſhould our lives do us, if we might enjoy never ſo much of the world's favour and friendſhip.

'Our humble requeſt therefore to you is, to conſider and compaſſionate our ſuffering condition, and improve the power and authority that God and the king hath entruſted you withal, for our relief and liberty; we ſtill reſolving, and hoping (through God's aſſiſtance) for the future, to manifeſt our fear to God, honour to the king, and honeſty to all his ſubjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable converſation. The particular cauſes of our impriſonments are herewith atteſted, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers, and envious proſecutors againſt us, only for conſcience ſake, may, according to your wiſdom and prudence, be diſcouraged from proſecuting ſuch actions; by which many induſtrious and conſcientious families and perſons are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our reſpective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our induſtry; and ſo ſhall we be the better enabled to perform with chearfulneſs the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide

you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do juſtice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our deſire and prayer.'

This petition was ſigned by ſixteen perſons, ſome of which had been impriſoned fifteen, others ten, and ſome fewer years; and to the time of their impriſonment was added, on what account, viz. on premunire, excommunication, and for tithes, &c. And it had ſuch effect, that chief juſtice Herbert diſcharged theſe priſoners; but before this was done, ſeveral of thoſe that had been impriſoned there, died. Many alſo were ſet at liberty by the king's proclamation; and it was indeed an unuſual thing to enjoy ſuch a free liberty, that the malicious perſecutors were reſtrained by the higher power.

George Fox was now moſtly in and about London, endeavouring to bring all things among his friends into good order; and therefore he writ ſeveral papers ſince he could not be every where in perſon, and diſcharge himſelf by word of mouth. And leſt careleſſneſs ſhould creep in, by reaſon of the liberty that was now enjoyed, he writ the following epiſtle to his friends:

'Friends!

'The Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king to open the priſon doors, by which about fifteen or ſixteen hundred are ſet at liberty; and hath given a check to the informers: ſo that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my deſires are, that both liberty and ſufferings, all may be ſanctified to his people; and friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who ſtilleth the raging waves of the ſea, and allayeth the ſtorms and tempeſts, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to truſt in the Lord, and caſt your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in your gaols and priſons, then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and ſanctified them to you, (and unto ſome he had made them as a ſanctuary;) and tried his people, as in a furnace

of affliction, both in priſons and ſpoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that the earth was the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof; and that he is in all places; who crowneth the year with his goodneſs, Pſalm lxv. Therefore let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean; and to ſerve God, and Chriſt, and one another, in the glorious peaceable goſpel of life and ſalvation; which glory ſhines over God's camp; and his great prophet, and biſhop, and ſhepherd is among or in the midſt of them, exerciſing his heavenly offices in them: ſo that you his people may rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that deſtroyeth the devil and his work, and bruiſes the ſerpent's head, is all God's people's heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets and apoſtles rock in days paſt, and is now a rock of our age; which rock and foundation of God ſtandeth ſure. And upon this the Lord God eſtabliſh all his people. Amen.

'George Fox.'

London, the 25th of the Seventh month, 1686.

In this year David Barclay died at Ury in Scotland. Before his departure he uttered many excellent expreſſions indeed. I may not omit to mention ſome particulars. In the latter end of September, being paſt the 76th year of his age, he was taken with a fever, which continued two weeks; and being much troubled with the gravel, his ſickneſs was accompanied with pain in making water. Two days before his death, feeling his weakneſs, and being in an agony, he ſaid to his ſon Robert, who was with him, 'I ſhall now go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me.' On the 11th of October, very early in the morning, he growing weaker, the ſaid Robert Barclay ſignified to him, that his travail was, that He that loved him might be near him to the end. To which he anſwered, 'The Lord is nigh;' and ſaid further to thoſe about him, 'Ye are my witneſſes in the preſence of God, that the Lord is nigh.' And a little after he ſaid, 'The perfect diſcovery of the day-

ſpring from on high, how great a bleſſing it hath been to me and my family!' Robert Barclay's wife aſking if he would have ſomething to refreſh him, he ſaid it needed not; and laying his hand upon his breaſt, he ſaid he had that inwardly that refreſhed him. A little while after, he was heard ſeveral times to ſay, 'The truth is over all:' and taking his eldeſt ſon to him, he bleſſed him, and ſaid, he prayed God he might never depart from the truth. Then his ſon's eldeſt daughter coming near, he ſaid, 'Is this Patience?' (for that was her name) 'Let Patience have its perfect work in thee.' And after kiſſing the other four of his ſon's children, he laid hands upon them, and bleſſed them. His apothecary that attended him coming alſo near, he took him by the hand, and ſaid, 'Thou wilt bear me witneſs, that in all this exerciſe I have not been curious to tamper nor to pamper the fleſh.' To which the apothecary ſaid, 'Sir, I can bear witneſs that you have always minded the better and more ſubſtantial part; and I rejoice to ſee the bleſſed end the Lord is bringing you to.' To this the ſick man replied, 'Bear a faithful and true witneſs: yet it is the life of righteouſneſs, the life of righteouſneſs it is, that we bear teſtimony to, and not to an empty profeſſion.' Then he called ſeveral times, 'Come, Lord Jeſus, come, come!' And ſaid alſo, 'My hope is in the Lord.' Afterwards he ſlept now and then for ſome hours; and ſeeing a carpenter coming into the room, he ſaid to his ſon, 'See thou charge him to make no manner of ſuperfluity upon the coffin.' In the afternoon ſeveral of his friends came to ſee him, which he having obſerved, ſaid they were come in a ſeaſonable time; and after ſome words were ſpoken, and that Patrick Livingſtone had prayed, which ended in praiſes, the ſick old man held up his hands, and ſaid, 'Amen, amen, for ever!' And after thoſe that were preſent ſtood up, he ſaid, 'How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love to one another! thereby ſhall all men know that ye are Chriſt's diſciples, if ye love one another. How precious a thing it is to ſee brethren to dwell together in love! my love is with you; I leave it among you.' Several of his friends, pretty late at night, ſtanding abou

the bed, and perceiving ſome of them to weep, he ſaid, 'Dear friends, all mind the inward man, heed not the outward. There is one that doth reward, the Lord of Hoſts is his name.' Next morning, after he had heard the clock ſtrike three, he ſaid, 'Now the time comes. And a little after he was heard to ſay, 'Praiſes, praiſes, praiſes to the Lord! Let now thy ſervant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my ſoul, ſpirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth as it is in heaven.' Theſe ſentences he ſpoke by little intervals, one after another; and ſoon after five in the morning, the 12th of October, he ſlept in peace and quiet, there being preſent at his end above twenty perſons, who were witneſſes to what hath been here related. His corpſe was attended to the grave by numerous followers; and though he had ordered not many to be called to his burial, yet a great number of the gentry came uninvited, from an eſteem they bore to his memory.

In this year alſo Anne Downer departed this life, one of the firſt of thoſe called Quakers at London; ſhe had been married firſt to Benjamin Greenwel, and was afterwards wife to George Whitehead. Being taken ill, ſhe removed to a place out of London, and her ſickneſs increaſing, ſhe perceived it was like to take her away. Her ancient friend Mary Stout viſiting her, aſked her, if ſhe knew her, ſhe ſaid, 'Yes, very well, it is Mary Stout. I have my memory very well, and my underſtanding is clear, though I am very weak; but I am given up unto the will of the Lord, whether to die, or to live; for I have been faithful to him in what I knew, both in the life and death.' Perceiving ſome to be troubled concerning her, ſhe ſaid, 'There is no cauſe for you to be troubled or concerned; for I am well, and in peace.' Many Chriſtian exhortations ſhe gave on her dying bed, and ſaid to ſome of her friends who came to viſit her, 'What do you come on purpoſe to ſee me? I take it as an effect of the love of God, and I pray God bleſs your children.' To another ſhe was heard to ſay, 'If I never ſee thy face more, it is well with me: God doth know my integrity, and how I have been, and walked before him.' The

evening before she died, she said to her husband, George Whitehead, &c. 'The Lord is with me, I bless his name. I am well; it may be you are afraid I shall be taken away; and if it be, the will of the Lord be done. Do not trouble yourselves, nor make any great ado about me; but, my dear, go to bed; go to rest; and if I should speak no more words to thee, thou knowest the everlasting love of God.' She was heard also to say, that she had done with all things in this life, and she had nothing troubled her, but was at true peace and ease every way. And a few hours before she departed, she said, 'Though I am in a dying condition, yet it is a living death; for though weakness seizes the body, yet my understanding is as clear, as when in health.' Thus she departed this life quietly, about the age of sixty-three years, having been a woman well gifted, and very serviceable to the church, not only with wholesome exhortations, but also by her Christian care for the sick and poor, and for widows and orphans, who by her decease lost an eminent mother.

About this time George Fox writ several general epistles (some of which were pretty large) to his friends, exhorting them to shun strife, to keep to mutual love and unity, and to mind true piety. He writ many other edifying papers; and since the Papists now appeared barefaced, and performed their worship publickly, and there was much talk of their praying to saints, and by beads; in the year 1687, he emitted the following paper concerning prayer, not fearing to contradict openly that which he judged to be superstition, though the king himself was of the popish religion.

'Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, "When ye do pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. Christ doth not say, that they should pray to Mary the mother of Christ; nor doth he say, that they should pray to angels, or to saints, that were dead. Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to sing by outward organs: but the apostle said, he would

ſing and pray in ſpirit: for the ſpirit itſelf maketh interceſſions; and the Lord, that ſearcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the ſpirit.

'To take counſel of the dead, was forbidden by the law of God; but they were to take counſel of the Lord: and he hath given Chriſt in the new covenant; in his goſpel-day, to be a counſellor and a leader to all his believers in his light. And men are not to run to the dead for the living: for the law and teſtimony of God forbids it. Thoſe Jews, that refuſed the running waters of Shiloah, the floods and waters of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity: and they that refuſe the waters of Chriſt, they are overflown with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedneſs. They that aſked counſel of ſtocks and ſtones, their ſtate was in the ſpirit of error and whoredom; and they were gone a whoring from God, Hoſ. iv. 12. And they that joined themſelves to Baal-Peor, and ate the ſacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's diſpleaſure upon them, Pſal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may ſee, the ſacrifices of the dead were forbidden. "The living know that they ſhall die; but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten," Eccleſ. ix. 5. "Wo to the rebellious children, ſaith the Lord, that take counſel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my ſpirit, that they may add ſin to ſin." Iſa. xxx. 1.

'George Fox.'

On the 20th of the month called March, being the 1ſt month, Robert Widders, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers, died; and G. Fox was now much at London; but he grew more and more weak in body, having endured many hardſhips in cruel impriſonments for the truth. Sometimes he went into the country to take the freſh air, and at other times he was a while at the country-houſe of his ſon-in-law, William Mead, who married one of his wife's daughters. In the mean-while he writ much, for he was of a laborious temper, and did not omit under all his buſineſs to viſit the meetings of his

friends, and to edify them by his admonitions and exhortations. For now they were ſuffered to keep their meetings unmoleſted, ſince the king, in the month called April, publiſhed his long expected declaration for liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects, which contained, That henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, for not coming to church, for not receiving the ſacraments, or for any other nonconformity with the eſtabliſhed religion, or for performing religious worſhip in any other way, ſhould be ſuſpended, &c.

It would indeed have been more acceptable if this liberty had been eſtabliſhed by the king and parliament, this being granted as yet only by virtue of his royal prerogative: but however it was, liberty was enjoyed. The friends therefore of the church at London, ſeeing how thoſe of other perſuaſions preſented addreſſes of thanks to the king, for his declaration for liberty of conſcience, which was now publiſhed, and whereby the Diſſenters were permitted to perform their worſhip freely, provided their preaching did not tend to make the minds of people averſe to the government, thought it convenient to draw up an addreſs alſo, and preſent it to the king; which was as followeth:

To king JAMES II. over England, &c.

The humble and thankful addreſs of ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, commonly called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themſelves and thoſe of their communion.

'May it pleaſe the King,

'Though we are not the firſt in this way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great favours we are come to preſent the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for; ſince no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our priſon-doors, as by his late excellent and Chriſtian declaration for liberty of conſcience; none having more ſeverely ſuffered, nor ſtood more generally expoſed to the malice of ill men, upon the account

of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a perſecuted and grateful people; yet we muſt needs ſay, it doth the leſs ſurprize us, ſince it is what ſome of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as ſince he came to the throne of his anceſtors.

'And as we rejoice to ſee the day that a king of England ſhould from his royal ſeat ſo univerſally aſſert this glorious principle, that conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor people forced for matters of mere religion; (the want of which happy conduct in government, has been the deſolation of countries, and reproach of religion) ſo we do with humble and ſincere hearts, render to God firſt, and the king next, our ſenſible acknowledgments; and becauſe they cannot be better expreſſed than in a godly, peaceable, and dutiful life, it ſhould be our endeavour (with God's help) always to approve ourſelves the king's faithful and loving ſubjects; and we hope that after this gracious ſtep the king hath made towards the union of his people, and ſecurity of their common intereſt, has had a due conſideration, there will be no room left for thoſe fears and jealouſies that might render the king's reign uneaſy, or any of them unhappy.

'That which remains, great prince, for us to do, is to beſeech Almighty God (by whom king's reign, and princes decree juſtice) to inſpire thee more and more with his excellent wiſdom and underſtanding, to purſue this Chriſtian deſign of eaſe to all religious diſſenters, with the moſt agreeable and laſting methods: and we pray God to bleſs the king, his royal family and people, with grace and peace; and that after a long and proſperous reign here, he may receive a better crown amongſt the bleſſed.

'Which is the prayer of,' &c.

This addreſs was received favourably, and therefore thoſe of the yearly-meeting, which ſome time after was held at London, alſo drew up an addreſs, and ſome deputies of that meeting went to Windſor, where the court then was, and where W. Penn, one of thoſe that had been

choſen to preſent the addreſs, made the following ſpeech to the king:

'May it pleaſe the King,

'It was the ſaying of our bleſſed Lord to the captious Jews, in the caſe of tribute, "Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's." As this diſtinction ought to be obſerved by all men in the conduct of their lives, ſo the king has given us an illuſtrious example in his own perſon that excites us to it; for while he was a ſubject, he gave Cæſar his tribute; and now he is a Cæſar, gives God his due, viz. the ſovereignty over conſciences. It were a great ſhame then for any Engliſhman that pretends to Chriſtianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his diſtreſſed ſubjects from their cruel ſufferings, and raiſed to himſelf a new and laſting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble reſolution, for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Chriſtianity, and the goodneſs of civil ſociety on its ſide; a ſecurity to him beyond all the little arts of government.

'I would not that any ſhould think, that we came hither with deſign to fill the gazette with our thanks; but as our ſufferings would have moved ſtones to compaſſion, ſo we ſhould be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

'Now, ſince the king's mercy and goodneſs have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales, our general aſſembly from all thoſe parts met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do by this addreſs, with all the affection and reſpect of a dutiful ſubject.'

After W. Penn had thus delivered himſelf, he preſented the addreſs to the king, which that prince kindly receiving, gave it him again to read; which W. Penn did, and it was as followeth:

To king JAMES II. over England, &c.
The humble and grateful acknowledgments of his peaceable ſubjects called Quakers, in this kingdom.
From their uſual yearly-meeting in London, the 19th day of the Third month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

'We cannot but bleſs and praiſe the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his ſuffering ſubjects for conſcience-ſake; and we rejoice, that inſtead of troubling him with complaints of our ſufferings, he hath given us ſo eminent an occaſion to preſent him with our thanks. And ſince it hath pleaſed the king out of his great compaſſion, thus to commiſerate our afflicted condition, which hath ſo particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants laſt year, whereby above twelve hundred priſoners were releaſed from their ſevere impriſonments, and many others from ſpoil and ruin in their eſtates and properties, and his princely ſpeech in council, and Chriſtian declaration for liberty of conſcience, in which he doth not only expreſs his averſion to all force upon conſcience, and grant all his diſſenting ſubjects an ample liberty to worſhip God in the way they are perſuaded is moſt agreeable to his will; but gives them his kingly word the ſame ſhall continue during his reign; we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the king our humble, Chriſtian, and thankful acknowledgments, not only on behalf of ourſelves, but with reſpect to our friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God with all our hearts, to bleſs and preſerve thee, O king, and thoſe under thee in ſo good a work: and we can aſſure the king it is well accepted in the counties from whence we came; ſo we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and proſperity of the kingdom, will produce ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity in after times; and while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour, through God's grace, to demean ourſelves as in conſcience to God, and duty to the king, we are obliged.

'His peaceable, loving,

'And faithful ſubjects.'

After William Penn had read the ſaid addreſs, the king ſpoke as followeth:

'Gentlemen,

'I thank you heartily for your addreſs. Some of you know, I am ſure you do, Mr. Penn, that it was always my principle that conſcience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conſciences. And what I have promiſed in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope before I die, to ſettle it ſo, that after ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter it.'

Here we ſee what the king declared to be his intention; but perhaps that prince did not conſider, that if ſuch a general liberty had been procured, he ſhould not have been able to make it continue longer than the Popiſh clergy would have thought it convenient. For who is ignorant what an unlimited power the Roman prelates have uſurped, not only in the eccleſiaſtical but alſo in the political ſight? Inſomuch, that though the king's intention might have been really ſincere, yet it is like it would have been thwarted, though he might have been willing that it ſhould be otherwiſe. That his meaning was ſincere, ſeveral I know that were not of his perſuaſion, have believed, and among theſe there were ſuch, who thought that liberty of conſcience might have been ſo eſtabliſhed, that it ſhould not have been in the power of the Papiſts to break it. But time hath ſhewn that king James was not to be the inſtrument for ſettling ſuch a liberty of conſcience; and that the repealing of the penal laws was reſerved for another prince. Yet the king was by ſome thought to do what he could to ſtop rapacious perſecutors, and to reſtrain their power, with reſpect to impoſing of oaths. It is true, it was ſaid that the king might not do ſo; for by granting this liberty to the Quakers, he opened a door for the Romaniſts to bear offices, without taking the required oaths. Now that he diſcharged the Quakers from theſe oaths, may appear by the following order to the lord mayor of London:

Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1687.

'My Lord,

'The king being informed that Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferſon, and Joſeph Tomlinſon, being Quakers, are by Mr. Barker, ſteward of Southwark, put upon ſeveral offices, as conſtables and the like, which they are willing to do; but the oaths being tendered to them, from which they think themſelves exempted by the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience, they are threatened to be fined and otherwiſe moleſted, for their refuſal to take them: his majeſty commands me to let your lordſhip know, that his pleaſure is, that the ſaid Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferſon, and Joſeph Tomlinſon, and all other Quakers, ſhould now, and for the future, either be allowed to ſerve the ſaid offices, without taking any oaths, or elſe that they be not fined or otherwiſe moleſted upon that account; and his majeſty would have you give order therein accordingly.

'I am, my Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

'Sunderland.'

Now whereas in ſome places goods taken from the Quakers lay ſtill unſold, the king ordered thoſe goods to be reſtored to them, as may appear by the following letter, written to the mayor and aldermen of Leeds in Yorkſhire:

Whitehall, Dec. 14, 1687.

'Gentlemen,

'The king being informed that ſome goods belonging to John Wales, and other Quakers of Leeds, which were ſeized and taken from them upon the account of their religious worſhip, do remain unſold in the hands of John Todd, who was conſtable at the time of the ſeizure, or in the hands of ſome other perſons; and his majeſty's intention being, that all his ſubjects ſhall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conſcience, his majeſty commands me to ſignify his pleaſure to you, that you cauſe the goods belonging to the ſaid John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds, which were heretofore ſeized upon the account of religious worſhip, and are unſold, in whoſe

hands ſoever they remain, to be forthwith reſtored to the reſpective owners, without any charge.

'I am, gentlemen,
'Your affectionate friend and ſervant,
'Sunderland.'

By ſuch means ſome got their goods again, that had been taken from them upon the account of religious worſhip; for in many places they lay long unſold, becauſe few would buy goods ſo taken. And that the king by theſe his favours, drew the love and affection of many of his ſubjects towards himſelf, none need to wonder; for whatever his religion was, he delivered them from that grievous burden, under which they had been oppreſſed ſo many years. To this may be added, that he uſed them kindly in all reſpects; and would not ſuffer his ſervants to moleſt any for not pulling off their hats, when they came near his royal perſon. Nay, ſo far went his condeſcenſion, that a certain countryman of the Quakers' perſuaſion, coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat, and held it under his arm; which the other ſeeing, ſaid, 'The king needs not keep off his hat for me.' To which that prince returned, 'You do not know the cuſtom here, for that requires that but one hat muſt be on here.' I have been told of more ſuch like occurrences, which I paſs by; but it appears from thence that the king endeavoured to have among the Quakers the repute of a mild and courteous prince. And this year he gave alſo full liberty of conſcience in Scotland, and freed thoſe that were ſtill under ſufferings, granting them the free liberty of their religious meetings. The ſaid liberty he alſo allowed to the Preſbyterians, provided they ſhould not meet in the fields, or in ſheds, as ſome did.

The king having thus granted liberty of conſcience to people of all perſuaſions, did whatever he could to introduce popery in England; for he permitted the Jeſuits to erect a college in the Savoy at London; and ſuffered the friars to go publickly in the dreſs of their monaſtical orders. This was a very ſtrange ſight to Proteſtants in England, and it cauſed no ſmall fermentation in the minds of people,

when the fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford, were by the king's order diſpoſſeſſed, to make way for Romaniſts. This was ſuch a groſs uſurpation, that W. Penn, who had ready acceſs to the king, and who endeavoured to get the penal laws and teſt abrogated, thinking it poſſible to find out a way whereby to limit the Papiſts ſo effectually, that they ſhould not be able to prevail, did, for all that, not omit to blame this uſurpation at Oxford, and to tell the king that it was an act which could not in juſtice be defended, ſince the general liberty of conſcience did not allow of depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do, as the fellows of the ſaid college appeared to have done. But this could not cool the king's zeal for popery, for he drove on ſo faſt, without diſguiſe, to that degree, that the pope's nuncio, D'Ada, this ſummer made his publick entry at Windſor, in very much ſtate.

Great endeavours were now made to repel the penal laws and teſts; for when this point was gained, then Papiſts might be admitted into the government as well as others: and ſuch a general liberty of conſcience making an alluring ſhew, ſeveral diſſenters, as Baptiſts and others, ſerved the king with their pens on this account: and W. Penn, who always had been a defender of liberty of conſcience, was alſo not unactive in this affair, though with a good intent, howbeit he might have failed in his expectation. I remember when in thoſe days the patrons of the church of Rome aſſerted liberty of conſcience to be a Chriſtian duty, I heard ſomebody ſay, "Can the Ethiopian change his ſkin, or the Leopard his ſpots?" The king laboured alſo to perſuade the prince and princeſs of Orange, to give their aſſent to the repealing of the teſt and penal laws; but this could not be obtained of them. And ſince the king cauſed the advocate James Stuart, to write concerning this matter to the heer Fagel, counſellor and chief penſionary at the Hague; Fagel anſwered this paper in a letter to the ſaid James Stuart, wherein he declared the judgment of the prince and princeſs in this caſe; and ſignified that they were willing to aſſent to the repealing of the penal laws, as far as they had any tendency to the exerciſe of worſhip; but as for thoſe that debarred Papiſts from ſitting in parlia-

ment, of which the teſt was not the leaſt, they could not give their aſſent to the repealing of ſuch limitations. This letter was generally approved by the Proteſtants in England, but the king for all that went on with the introducing of popery; and about the beginning of the year 1688, he not only put in ſeveral Romaniſts to be fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, but endeavoured alſo to uſher thoſe of his perſuaſion into the magiſtracy; and the better to cloak this deſign, he would have other diſſenters alſo choſen: but they generally rejected this offer, as did alſo Stephen Criſp, at Colcheſter, who was too circumſpect to be caught thus, and therefore he declined the offer.

The king's declaration for liberty of conſcience was, on the 27th of the month called April, publiſhed again, to ſhew that he was firm and conſtant in his reſolution, and that his intentions were not changed ſince he iſſued it out, to excite his ſubjects to join in it, and to chuſe ſuch members of parliament as might do their part to finiſh what he had begun. Hereto was annexed an order of the council, for reading this declaration in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom; and ordering the biſhops to ſend and diſtribute the declaration throughout their ſeveral dioceſes, to be read accordingly. But they refuſed to do ſo, pretending it was not legal (though ſome there were who thought it was) becauſe they were againſt liberty of conſcience. Now the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſix other biſhops, petitioned the king not to inſiſt on the diſtribution and reading of his declaration; alledging that their great averſeneſs to the diſtribution and publication of it in their churches proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majeſty, nor yet from any want of due tenderneſs to diſſenters; but becauſe it was founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power, as had been often declared illegal in parliament.

This refuſal the king ſo reſented, that he ſent theſe biſhops to the tower. Whilſt they were thus confined there was much diſcourſe every where about this matter; and ſince it was well known that ſome biſhops had been the promoters of the former perſecutions, ſome it ſeems ſpoke alſo in prejudice of theſe that were now under confinement.

This being reported to them, they ſaid that the Quakers belied them, and divulged that they (the biſhops) had been the cauſe of the death of ſome. This gave occaſion to Robert Barclay to viſit the biſhops in the tower; and ſpeaking with them, he gave them undeniable proofs of ſome perſons who, by order of biſhops, had been kept in priſon till death; though they had been told of the danger of thoſe perſons by phyſicians, that were not Quakers. This was ſo evidently manifeſted by R. Barclay, that they were not able to deny it: yet Barclay told them, that ſince they themſelves were now under oppreſſion, the intention of the Quakers was in no wiſe to publiſh ſuch matters, leaſt thereby they ſhould exaſperate the king againſt them. And they were careful indeed not to do any thing that might aggravate the caſe of theſe priſoners; for it was not time now to rub old ſores, ſince the biſhops themſelves ſeemed to be inclined to declare for liberty of conſcience. And ſince this liberty was now enjoyed all over the kingdom, thoſe called Quakers thought it convenient at their yearly-meeting, which was held this ſummer at London, again to draw up an addreſs to the king, and to acquaint him of one thing more, which continued to be troubleſome to them. This addreſs they preſented to him, and was as followeth:

To king JAMES II. over England, &c.

The humble addreſs of the People called Quakers, from their yearly-meeting in London, the 6th day of the month called June, 1688.

'We the king's loving and peaceable ſubjects, from divers parts of his dominions, being met together in this city, after our uſual manner, to inſpect the affairs of our Chriſtian ſociety throughout the world, think it our duty humbly to repreſent to him, the bleſſed effects the liberty he has graciouſly granted his people to worſhip God according to their conſciences, hath had, both on our perſons and eſtates: for whereas formerly we had ever long and ſorrowful liſts brought to us from almoſt all parts of

his territories, of priſoners, and the ſpoils of goods by violent and ill men, upon account of conſcience; we bleſs God, and thank the king, the gaols are every where clear, except in caſes of tithes, and the repairs of pariſh churches, and ſome few about oaths; and we do in all humility lay it before the king, to conſider the hardſhips our friends are yet under for conſcience-ſake in thoſe reſpects; being in the one chiefly expoſed to the preſent anger of the offended clergy, who have therefore lately impriſoned ſome of them till death; and in the other they are rendered very unprofitable to the publick and themſelves; for both in reference to freedoms in corporations, probates of wills and teſtaments, and adminiſtrations, anſwers in chancery and exchequer, trials of our juſt titles and debts, proceeding in our trade at the cuſtom-houſe, ſerving the office of conſtables, &c. they are diſabled, and great advantages taken againſt them, unleſs the king's favour do interpoſe; and as we humbly hope he may relieve us, ſo we confidently aſſure ourſelves he will eaſe us what he can.

'Now ſince it has pleaſed thee, O king, to renew to all thy ſubjects by thy laſt declaration, thy gracious aſſurances to purſue the eſtabliſhment of this Chriſtian liberty and property upon an unalterable foundation; and in order to it, to hold a parliament in November next at fartheſt:

'We think ourſelves deeply engaged to renew our aſſurances of fidelity and affection, and with God's help intend to do our parts for the perfecting ſo bleſſed and glorious a work; that ſo it may be out of the power of any one party to hurt another upon the account of conſcience: and as we firmly believe that God will never deſert this juſt and righteous cauſe of liberty, nor the king in maintaining of it; ſo we hope by God's grace, to let the world ſee we can honeſtly and heartily appear for liberty of conſcience; and be inviolably true to our own religion, whatever the folly or malice of ſome men on that account may ſuggeſt to the contrary.'

This addreſs being preſented to the king, was well received. Some have been ready to think, that the latter part of this addreſs concerned the office of magiſtrates,

which not without reaſon, it is believed that a Chriſtian might ſerve, with no more diſparagement to an inoffenſive life, than it is inconſiſtent for a pious father to give due correction to his rebellious child: for though our Saviour charges not to reſiſt evil, but to love enemies: and that he reproving Peter, who from a forward zeal cut off the high prieſt's ſervant's ear, ſaid to him 'Put up thy ſword into the ſheath:' and that alſo the apoſtle James diſapproves war and fighting, yet we find in ſacred writ, that the apoſtle Paul calls the magiſtrate, the miniſter of God, and a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil: and he ſaith in plain terms, that he beareth not the ſword in vain.

But to return to my relation, and to take up again the thread of this hiſtory, from which I have been diverted a little by this digreſſion; I know there were ſome in thoſe days, who thought that if people of all perſuaſions in England had a ſhare in the government, proportionable to their number, a means might have been found out to hinder any party, eſpecially the Papiſts, from exalting themſelves above the others. But to me it ſeems not improbable, that if this had effect, and a higher hand had not cut off the way thereto, it would have appeared that thoſe men did not reckon well. But it never came to this paſs, for the king's power was tottering already, though he endeavoured to ſupport it, even with good means; for to be helpful to his ſubjects, who, though free-born men, were deprived of their freedom, merely becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not ſwear; and to help them to this right to which they were entitled as well as others, could not be judged undue means, unleſs under it had been hidden an intent to introduce this liberty alſo in favour of the Papiſts, though they did not believe ſwearing unlawful.

There were now at Norwich, about forty of the people called Quakers, who having petitioned the king, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe them to be made freemen, obtained the following order from him:

To our truſty and well-beloved our Attorney-General.

'James R.

'Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: whereas we have received a good character of the loyalty of our well-beloved ſubjects, Thomas Howard, Peter Launce, William Booly, Henry Jackſon, Edward Pears, John Jenn, Nicholas Comfit, John Harridence, John Gurney, Samuel Waſay, Edmund Cobb, Philip Pain, Joſiah Sherringham, Anthony Alexander, Thomas Darmar, John Cadee, John Fiddeman, William Kiddle, James Pooley, John Defrance, jun. Daniel Sharpin, William Milchar, William Brown, John Sharpen, jun. Samuel Kettle, Stephen Ames, Richard Roſe, Benjamin Stud, Edward Monk, John Corniſh, John Hodſon, James Polls, Michael Parker, Richard Brown, Daniel Dye, jun. John Elſegood, John Pike, and John Allen, we have thought fit hereby to require you, forthwith to make all and every the perſons abovementioned, freemen of that our city of Norwich, with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, without adminiſtering unto them any oath, or oaths whatſoever, with which we are graciouſly pleaſed to diſpenſe in their behalf; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant: and ſo we bid you farewel. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of July, 1688, in the fourth year of our reign. By his majeſty's command.

'Sunderland.'

It was now ſaid commonly that the king might not do thus; and thoſe who grudged the Quakers this liberty, did not ſtick to ſet forth this diſpenſation in very ill favoured colours; nay, they ſaid that William Penn adviſed the king to do what he could not do without breaking his promiſe. Yet if the king had made no greater infringement, his reign it may be would have laſted longer: but the diſpoſſeſſing of the fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, the impriſonment of the biſhops, and the publick admittance of jeſuits and monks, cauſed a ferment in the minds of people. Now the biſhops were tried at the

king's bench bar, in Weſtminſter-Hall; but they were acquitted, and ſo releaſed. The king alſo had appointed ſome eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; but many looked upon this as a kind of inquiſition, and it ſeemed not well to agree with liberty of conſcience, which if he had maintained juſtly, according to the advice of the Quakers in their addreſs, it is not likely that he would have come to ſuch a ſtrait, as now he was put to.

Not long before his time, one Theophila Townſend, a woman of years and underſtanding, publiſhed a book, wherein ſhe gave a relation of the grievous perſecution her friends in Glouceſterſhire had ſuffered, by impriſonment and ſpoil of goods, and how ſhe herſelf had alſo undergone many ſufferings, and had been impriſoned in the caſtle of Glouceſter more than three years. Among other caſes, ſhe relates alſo, how ſome time before her impriſonment, it happened, that by order of the juſtices, Thomas Cutler and James George, ſhe being ſeized in the ſtreet, ſaid to the latter, that the Lord would plead her cauſe, and that what meaſure he meted, ſhould be meaſured to him again. And it thus happened, that before ſhe was releaſed, the wife of the ſaid George, who took her from her huſband, was by death taken from him. Afterwards this George came with the biſhop of Glouceſter into a meeting, where Theophila was on her knees praying; at which the biſhop aſking him whether ſhe was the woman he ſpoke of, and he anſwering 'Yes, my lord;' the biſhop took her by the arm with ſuch violence, that he had almoſt pulled her down backward, ſaying, 'Give over, woman, and obey the king's officers.' But ſuch was her zeal, that it could not be ſtopped; for the more oppoſition ſhe met with, the more ſhe felt herſelf encouraged, and inſpired, to praiſe God for his goodneſs: and though the biſhop ſtirred up the juſtice, yet it ſeemed not in his power to break off the current of her ſpeech; ſo that they let her alone, till ſhe having diſcharged herſelf, ſtood up. Then the names of thoſe that were met, were taken in writing; and ſome time after, ſhe, though aged and weakly, was in winter-ſeaſon led three or four miles through the ſnow, and committed to gaol at Glouceſter,

where ſhe was kept three years and four months, and then releaſed by king James.

Afterward ſhe publiſhed a book, as hath been ſaid already, in which ſhe gave an account how ſome of her friends had been beaten, punched and abuſed to that degree, that they died of it, as ſhe teſtified to have ſeen herſelf: 'Yet,' ſaid ſhe, 'though many died who were ſtronger than I, it hath pleaſed the Lord to preſerve my life, that I may ſpeak to the praiſe of his name, and tell of his wonders, and put you, perſecutors, once more in mind what belongs to your peace. Bleſſed be the Lord, he is riſen for Zion's ſake, which ye have plowed long as a field; and when her enemies have done their worſt, then the Lord ſhall make his Zion to be an everlaſting glory, and Jeruſalem the praiſe of the whole earth. And as ye ſee now in others that perſecution is evil, ſo ſee it alſo in yourſelves: repent in duſt and aſhes. Remember who it was that ſaid, the wiſe man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkneſs. The eyes of fools look out for miſtakes in others, and they blame in others what they are guilty of themſelves. Methinks the eye-lids of the morning, that is now dawned and riſing before you, ought to bring you to a true ſight of your condition in this matter.' Going on thus, ſhe reproves the informers who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of their neighbours; and ſhe alſo relates how the prieſt of Glouceſter had put his name to a petition to the king, in which juſtice George, and others, deſired that the meeting-houſe of the Quakers might be given to the town, to make a workhouſe of for the poor. 'But,' ſaid ſhe, 'this is like Judas, who, when the woman came with an alabaſter-box of very precious ſpikenard, ſaid, 'Why was this waſte made? Why was not the ointment ſold, and the money given to the poor?' But the ſcripture ſaith, that this he ſaid, not that he cared for the poor, but becauſe he was a thief, and had the bag. Thus the prieſt made it appear by what he did, that he was not a true miniſter of the goſpel; for he came ſhort of the works of the law, which ſaith, 'Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.' And Chriſt commands to do unto men what we would

have them do to us; by which it is plain that ſuch doings are contrary to the law and the goſpel. Thoſe now who will have ſuch blind ſleepy watchmen to be their teachers, let them pay them, and not conſtrain others (who know them to be blind) to pay them alſo.

Then ſpeaking to thoſe who had a hand in the ſpoiling of goods, and ſetting forth the odiouſneſs of that work, ſhe ſaith at laſt, 'I do not write this from a ſpirit of revenge againſt any, but it is in the love of God, to warn you, and to exhort you to repentance, that ye may find mercy with the Lord, which is the real deſire of my ſoul: I can truly ſay, in the preſence of the Lord, that I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to the worſt of our enemies, and this in purity of heart, and in ſincerity of mind. I deſire really your eternal peace and well-being, though ye have hardened your hearts againſt the Lord, and his truth and people. Turn to the Lord, I beſeech you; bow before the Almighty, who will plead with all fleſh, and ſhall call all to an account, and reward every one according to what he hath done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Conſider this therefore whilſt ye have time, and mind the things that belong to your peace, before they be hid from your eyes: for the long ſuffering of the Lord will come to an end, who ſaid, 'My ſpirit ſhall not always ſtrive with man.' Therefore whilſt the ſpirit of the Lord, his light, his grace, yet ſtrives in your hearts, to turn you off from your evil ways, be willing to embrace it, believe in it, take counſel of it, ſubmit to it with all your heart, be willing to be led and guided by it, and incline your hearts to follow it in all things, and then it will lead you to reſt and peace with the Lord for ever.' Yet more ſhe ſaid; but I break off. By ſuch kind of emphatical ſpeeches, ſometimes perſecutors have been ſo touched to the heart, that they themſelves became harmleſs Chriſtians.

I am come now almoſt to a concluſion of my relation concerning perſecution: of which I could have written much more, but that I was unwilling to extend my work beyond what I ſhould have been well able to complete. Yet before I altogether part with this matter, I will mention ſomething concerning Theophilus Green, of whom

mention hath been made before. He lived at Batterſea, not far from London, and was a man beloved of his neighbours, becauſe of his honeſt converſation; yet he was much perſecuted, both for attending meetings, and for preaching. Once it happened that ſome officers came to his houſe to ſee whether there was a meeting, and they behaved themſelves moderately: for what they did ſeemed againſt their mind, it being only in obedience to the order of juſtice Duke, who, on account of a former offence, had iſſued out warrants to make diſtreſs. The officers not ſatisfied in the caſe, and ſeeing no meeting, went their way, and returned the warrant; and T. Green went afterwards to the ſaid juſtice, and ſpeaking to him, ſaid amongſt the reſt, 'Conſider what that mouth and tongue of thine hath ſaid formerly, viz. that I had been very kind to thee; and is this the way of requiting it? know for certain, that that God whom I have ſerved, and for whoſe cauſe I now ſuffer, will avenge me; for vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it one way or other, except thou ſpeedily repenteſt.' At this ſaying the juſtice began to tremble, and crying out, ſaid, 'I will do you no more hurt than I will do my own ſoul. Pray go to the officers, and tell them I will never trouble them any more upon the account of you.' Green did ſo; and they were glad of it. And Duke being upon ſome complaint diſmiſſed, one Sir John Broadrick ſucceeded in his room; and he was ſo moderate, that he prevented the informers, by keeping Theophilus and his friends out of their meeting-houſe, which was for about two years and a half.

Afterwards they were ſuffered again to go into their meeting-houſe, but then juſtice Forſter came once, and taking their names, fined Theophilus 10l. as a preacher. And afterwards he with others coming with a conſtable to ſeize for the fine, the conſtable being come to the door of the houſe, ſaid, 'Neighbour Green, where are you? we are come to ſeize your goods, if you will let us in. But this ſo diſpleaſed the juſtice, that going down the yard, and ſeeing ſome oars and poles, he required the conſtable to take them away. To which he anſwered, 'I am no porter.' 'Then,' ſaid the juſtice, 'command ſome others

to do it.' To which the conſtable returned, 'I command you to do it.' This ſo enraged the juſtice, that he fined him. Some time after the ſaid juſtice coming again with an high conſtable, and another petty conſtable, ſeized a barge, and had it carried away, and ſeveral times offered it to ſale, but none would buy it. And after it had been carried about from place to place for ſale, at length it was found adrift by one who knew not of its being ſeized; and hearing that it was Theophilus's barge, he brought it to him. But Theophilus went to the conſtables, and told them how it came to him, and where he had it, ſaying, ſince it was come to him again he was willing to keep it; but if they took it away again he would not hinder them. This account being given to the juſtice, he ſent a warrant, and committed Theophilus to the Marſhalſea priſon. After three weeks the ſeſſions was held at the Marſhalſea; and the laſt day the ſaid juſtice came to him in the priſon, ſaying he came out of love to ſee him, and to adviſe him for his good; which was, that he would have him pay his fine; 'for,' ſaid he, 'I am ſure the grand jury hath found the bill againſt you; and if you ſhould come off, I have ſuch an influence with the judge, as to cauſe the oath to be tendered to you; and I know you will not take it; and then you will be run to a premunire, and are not like to come out as long as you live.' To which Theophilus anſwered, 'Thou ſaidſt thy coming was in love, to adviſe me for my good; but by what thou haſt ſaid, it appears the contrary; for now I perceive thou haſt deviſed as much miſchief as thou canſt againſt me. As to the fine, if it were but ten pence, nay ten farthings, I would not pay it. And if the Lord ſhould permit thee to do as thou haſt ſaid, and ſo be the cauſe of bringing my grey hairs the ſooner to the grave, my blood will be at juſtice Forſter's door, and it will cry vengeance againſt thee.'

The next day the two conſtables being called before the grand jury, were aſked what they had againſt Theophilus Green, that ſtood there indicted: and the high conſtable anſwered, 'As to Theophilus Green, he is as honeſt a man, though a Quaker, as lives about us; and he was lately in office for the poor, and behaved himſelf as well in

it as any hath done theſe twenty years. And touching the barge he is indicted for, when it came to him he came to us, and told how it came, and where he had laid it, ſaying if we would take it away again he would not hinder us. This is all we have to ſay.' Some of the grand jury knowing Theophilus very well, and the cauſe too, did aggravate the matter very high againſt the juſtice: and as to the indictment they brought it in *ignoramus*. So Theophilus was cleared by proclamation: and ſir Richard How, being one of the jury, adviſed him to arreſt the juſtice, there being two good actions, as defamation and falſe impriſonment. But Theophilus ſaid he owned their love, but would leave the thing to the Lord, for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered; for vengeance was the Lord's, and he would repay it. And it was but ſome little time after that the ſaid juſtice Forſter died, as was reported, in great horror and miſery. The time when this happened I do not know exactly, yet I take it to have been ſome years before the time I now deſcribe. We ſee by this inſtance a very ſingular deliverance, ſuch as did not befal every one, but which could not but encourage Theophilus the more.

Before I conclude this year I muſt mention ſomething concerning W. Penn, who, when the government of king James was ſinking, not only bore the blame of many miſcarriages; but by ſome was ſtiled a papiſt, though this was altogether falſe. But he had a great many enemies; and it was no new thing to brand the Quakers with the odious name of jeſuits: for thirty years before this time at Briſtol great endeavours were uſed to perſuade people they were Franciſcans. William Penn patiently bore the ſlander of being decried as a Papiſt, ſaying but little in juſtification of himſelf, till at length he made a return to a letter ſent by one who ſeriouſly begged of him to give an anſwer to thoſe accuſations that had been forged in prejudice of his reputation. In this paper he aſcribed his free acceſs to the king, partly to the relation his father, as admiral, had to the ſervice of the ſaid king, and who was then duke of York, and high admiral of England; and his ſpecial favour alſo in releaſing him out of the tower of London in the year 1669. To this he added, 'My

father's humble requeſt to him, upon his death-bed, was, to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my perſuaſion might expoſe me unto; and his friendly promiſe to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment I addreſſed myſelf to him: I ſay, when all this is conſidered, any body that hath the leaſt pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or generoſity, muſt needs know how to interpret my acceſs to the king.—Is any thing more fooliſh as well as falſe, than that becauſe I am often at Whitehall, therefore I muſt be author of all that is done there, that doth not pleaſe abroad. But ſuppoſing ſome ſuch things to have been done; pray tell me if I am bound to oppoſe any thing I am not called to do: I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are tranſacted. I have had no office or truſt, and conſequently nothing can be ſaid to be done by me; nor for that reaſon could I lie under any teſt or any obligation to diſcover my opinion of publick acts of ſtate: and therefore, neither can any ſuch acts, nor any ſilence about them, in juſtice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments. And unleſs calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occaſions, or my not being turned out of nothing, (for that no office is) be the evidence of my compliance in diſagreeable things, I know not what elſe can with any truth be alleged againſt me.—I am not without apprehenſions of the cauſe of this behaviour towards me; I mean my conſtant zeal for an impartial liberty of conſcience. But if that be it, the cauſe is too good to be in pain about it. I ever underſtood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice, is the religion of him that impoſes it: ſo that liberty of conſcience is the firſt ſtep to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me, I have writ many apologies within the laſt twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as conſtantly declared, that bounds ought to be ſet to this freedom, and that morality was the beſt; and that as often as that was violated under a pretence of conſcience, it was fit the civil power ſhould take place. Nor did I ever once

think of promoting any ſort of liberty of conſcience for any body, which did not preſerve the common proteſtancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government: for to ſay truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.—And till I ſaw my own friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had ſubjected them to, I could with no ſatisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond ſea, and at my great expence here, having in all this time neither had either office, or penſion, and always refuſing the rewards or gratuities of thoſe I have been able to oblige.' From this little abſtract of William Penn's Apology, it appears ſufficiently what kind of liberty he defended; and ſuch a liberty afterwards took place in the reign of the next king.

Of George Fox I have been long ſilent, and I do not meet with any very remarkable tranſactions that concerned him, except that he writ much, both for edification of his friends, and for the inſtruction and admonition of others; for he was continually occupied with the care of the church, and that things might be kept in good order, which to perform the better, he now ſtaid a long while in and about London.

In this year died William Dewſbury, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers; having been a very zealous teacher, and an eminent inſtrument to the converſion of many. He was born in Yorkſhire, and in his youth was a ſhepherd, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier; but when the civil wars broke out, he became a ſoldier and joined with thoſe who ſaid they fought for the goſpel. Now though he was religious according to his knowledge; yet growing more and more ſerious, and turning his mind inwardly, he ſaw there were inward and ſpiritual enemies to encounter with, according to the ſaying of the apoſtle, 'We wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood; but againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs,' &c. And this ſtate was inwardly manifeſted to him in the words of our Saviour: 'Put up thy ſword into the ſheath. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight.' This wrought ſo powerfully upon his mind, that he could

no longer meddle with martial affairs, but left the army; and returned to his former calling, endeavouring to improve in true godlineſs, in which he ſo advanced gradually, that when George Fox in the year 1651, came to Balby in Yorkſhire, and preached the goſpel there, he could not but conſent to the doctrine declared by him, as being the ſame of which he himſelf was already convinced in his mind; viz. that heed ought to be given to the inward Divine reprovings for that which is evil: which doctrine was preached by George Fox under the denomination of the true light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world; and that heed muſt be given thereunto, as being the grace which brings ſalvation, of which the apoſtle ſpeaks in his epiſtle to Titus, ii. 11. ſaying, "That it hath appeared to all men." W. Dewſbury having heard ſuch a ſermon as this, agreed not only with G. Fox in this point of doctrine, but in proceſs of time became himſelf alſo a very zealous preacher of it, for which he fell under great ſufferings; inſomuch that he was priſoner at Warwick nineteen years for religion's ſake, beſides the impriſonments he ſuffered on that account in other places. But being now releaſed, he came in the month called May to London, and preached a ſermon there concerning regeneration, which was taken from his mouth in ſhort-hand, and afterwards printed as underneath.* His intention was to have

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* A Sermon preached by William Dewſbury, at Gracechurch Street, the 6th of the Third month, 1688.

'My friends,

"*Except you be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of God.*"

'THIS is the word of the Lord God to all people this day; this lies not in airy profeſſion, and in vain imagination, and whatſoever elſe it is that you deck yourſelves withal; you muſt every particular man and woman be born again, elſe you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This was the doctrine of Chriſt in that prepared body wherein he appeared in the world, and preached to Nicodemus, that ſtanding doctrine to this moment of time, and will be ſo while any man breathes upon the earth; there is no other way, no other gate to enter into life, but by

been at the yearly-meeting of his friends; but by illneſs he was prevented; and therefore before he grew worſe, he returned to Warwick, where he lived. Being come thither, his diſeaſe increaſed, and lying very ſick in bed,

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this great work of regeneration. Now to enforce people to come to this great work, and to ſet forward from earth to heaven, all being driven out of Paradiſe by the cherubim ſet with a flaming ſword, there is no returning to that bleſſed life, but by the loſs of that life that did grieve the Spirit of God, and which did cauſe man to be driven out; there is no other way of return again but by this new birth. As you are all driven and forced out of Paradiſe, and the flaming ſword and the cherubims are ſet to keep the way of the tree of life, ſo you muſt return into the favour of God again, by the light of Chriſt; and you have line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little, to direct your minds to the light of Chriſt Jeſus. As the firſt Adam was made a living ſoul, ſo the ſecond Adam is a quickening ſpirit. This know for certain, no man or woman can be quickened, and raiſed up into the life of the ſecond Adam, till the life of the firſt Adam be taken away from them.

'So now, let every one of you deal plainly with your own hearts, how you came to be a ſlain people to the life of the firſt Adam, in which life there was a working of the myſtery of iniquity in every part of man. One cries, 'Lo here is Chriſt;' another, 'Lo there is Chriſt;' and every one is following his own imagination about the letter of the Scripture; this is ſtill but the vain ſpirit of man, running and ſtriving to recover himſelf; and this is the cauſe there is ſo much profeſſion of God, and ſo little of his nature appearing among the ſons and daughters of men. Now all of you that come to be regenerated, you muſt come to the light of Chriſt; there is no other way to it. He will ſearch your hearts, and try your reins, and ſet your ſins in order before you, and trace out the iniquities that compaſs you about; therefore you muſt ſee yourſelves a loſt people, a ſinful people, and ſo come to feel the weight of your ſins upon your conſciences, there is no other way to come to life; you will never complain of ſin till you are burthened with it, till you have a trumpet ſounding in your ears, to awaken you, that you may ariſe from the dead, that Chriſt may give you light: there is no other way, dear people, you muſt bring your deeds to the light of Chriſt, and abide in the ſentence of condemnation; if you ſave your lives, you loſe them; if you will loſe your lives for Chriſt's ſake, there is no danger of your eternal life. John the Baptiſt, Chriſt's forerunner, declared, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire: whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire." What is it the better for you to read the Scripture,

and being viſited by ſome of his friends, he ſaid to them in great weakneſs of body, as followeth:

'My God hath yet put it in my heart to bear a teſtimony to his name and bleſſed truth, and I can never forget the

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if you know not this fiery baptiſm, which all muſt know that are regenerated; deceive not yourſelves, Chriſt will appear in flaming fire, and take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

'I ſtand here as a witneſs of the Lord of life this day, there is no way for people to come to ſalvation, but they muſt know Chriſt revealed in all their hearts. What is he doing but rendering vengeance upon the carnal mind, ſelf-pleaſing, and all inordinate affections; he comes with vengeance to take away thy life; he will baptize thee with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. If thou knoweſt not this, thou art not a true Chriſtian, thou wilt never look death in the face with joy, nor go down to the grave with triumph. If thou liveſt at home in the body, and flyeſt for thy life, and wilt not be willing to loſe thy life for Chriſt; if thou art called to it, and if thou wilt not have Chriſt to waſh thee (ſome for ſhyneſs and ſome for ſelf-love will refuſe this), if Chriſt doth not waſh thee, thou haſt no part in him; you muſt come to Chriſt to purify you in the fiery furnace; the day of the Lord ſhall burn as an oven (as the prophet ſpeaks): this is a dreadful day, a day of vengeance, the day of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who redeemeth his people from their ſins. Sion is redeemed with judgment, and eſtabliſhed with righteouſneſs. Do not make the way to heaven eaſier on your minds and imaginations than indeed it is, and think it not ſufficient to live in an outward obſervance of the ways of God. If your own wills be alive, and your corruptions remain unmortified, the judgment of God will be your portion, therefore in the Lord's name come along with me, I am come to declare what I have heard and ſeen of the Father. Come and examine thy conſcience. Haſt thou brought thy deeds to the light? Then thou haſt received condemnation upon thyſelf, and thy haughtineſs is bowed down, and laid low, and thou ſeeſt thyſelf a poor miſerable wretch, before the eternal God. Whatſoever thou knoweſt of the mind of God, haſt thou reformed thy ways? Come along with me, and tell me what is the ground of thy faith, and thy confidence. Is it thy obedience and qualifications? Becauſe thy obedience is right, and thy qualifications right, what uſe doſt thou make of them? Read the book of conſcience; haſt thou no ground for thy faith? Thou haſt put on the reformed faith, and liveth an unreformed life: ſearch and try thyſelf, man or woman. Doſt thou watch over thyſelf, and keep in a ſenſe of thy diſſolution, notwithſtanding all thy qualifications and partial reformation? Doſt thou ſtrive to enter in at the ſtrait gate, and the narrow way? Here is the loſt ſheep thou ſeekeſt, the life of thy will, the life of the firſt Adam; the juſtice of God will not ſuffer thee to make a

day of his great power and bleſſed appearance, when he firſt ſent me to preach the everlaſting goſpel, and proclaim the day of the Lord to all people. Therefore, friends, be faithful, and truſt to the Lord your God; for this I can

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ſaviour of thy duties and qualifications; and to take God's jewels, and to deck thyſelf with them, thou canſt not be ſaved without the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt Jeſus. What ſaith thy conſcience, art thou brought to this change of thy mind, and of thy converſation? Are you all willing to part with your ſins, with your pride and haughtineſs? Are you willing to part with your vile affections? This is the work of God's grace upon you. Doſt thou place thy confidence in thy duties and qualifications, and takeſt God's jewels and ornaments, and deckeſt thyſelf with them? Thou tookeſt my jewels, ſaith the Lord, and didſt play the harlot; if thou return to the Lord, and humble thyſelf, and get through this difficulty, thou wilt be happy for ever. This judgment of God, this flaming ſword that turns every way, will keep thee from returning to ſin, and bring thee to Chriſt, and cut thee off from all hope of ſalvation but by him, and make thee to ſee the abſolute need of a Saviour, and that thy life is hid with Chriſt in God.

'It is God's infinite goodneſs to men that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. This is the condition of poor creatures that are ſlain by the hands of the Moſt High. How may I know when I am ſlain and baptized, and come to have ſincerity? They that have this baptiſm enter into the heavenly life; if you love the light of Chriſt Jeſus, it will be thus with you; God will make ſhort work in the earth. He will ſet thy ſins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holineſs of life and converſation, and make thee abhor thyſelf, and deſpiſe all the pomps and pleaſures and vanities of this world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch for the light, and in the light of Chriſt thou ſhalt ſee light, and that all thou haſt done, and canſt do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughteſt to do; thou art God's creature, and all this will not juſtify thee in order to thy eternal ſalvation, for theſe ſervices thou oweſt unto God. If thou diligently wait, thou ſhalt ſee more light; then the ſword that proceeds out of the mouth of Chriſt, who is called the Word of God, will cut thee off from all thy hopes of ſalvation from any thing thou haſt done, from any of thy qualifications, from any thing that thou canſt do; ſo that thou wilt be a hopeleſs ſoul, nothing in thine own ſenſe and apprehenſion; the power of the firſt Adam muſt die before him, and thou wilt cry out, 'I am a dead, loſt, and undone creature; but there is a life hid with Chriſt in God for me, but I can never have it till I be ſlain into the will of God, and become as a little child, and be ſtripped of all my own excellency that I have attained; I muſt come to a ſenſe of my own miſery, and fall down at the foot of God; when I am become as a little child, humbled and ſlain as to my own will, and confidence in my own righteouſneſs; I

ſay, I never ſince played the coward, but as joyfully entered priſons as palaces, and in the priſon-houſe I ſang praiſes to my God, and eſteemed the bolts and locks upon me as jewels. And, friends, this I muſt once again teſtify to you,

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will not then queſtion but I ſhall live a holy life, but I will give all that life I had, for that life which is hid with Chriſt in God; O! there is none come ſo far that ever miſs of eternal life. All ſhufling people that would have ſalvation by Chriſt, and will not let him exerciſe his heavenly power, his princely glorious power to baptize them into his death, it is they that come ſhort of ſalvation; but all thoſe that yield themſelves up to Chriſt to be redeemed through judgment, and are become as little children, theſe are in a happy ſtate. You know that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt took a little child in his arms, and ſaid, "Whoſoever becomes not as a little child, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; you muſt all of you become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God; you muſt all come to a holy reſignation of your wills to God's diſpoſal: if you come to Chriſt as little children, and depend upon him, you cannot miſs of ſalvation; it is entailed upon ſuch ſouls as hear the voice of Chriſt, they that hear the voice of the Son of God ſhall live.

'I ſtand here as a witneſs for the God of heaven, I never heard the voice of Chriſt (as his follower) till I was ſlain and baptized, and lay as a little child under his heavenly chaſtiſements; as ſoon as ever my ſoul was brought to this in my humiliation, O then the dreadful judgment was taken away, and the book of life was opened unto me, and the Lord ſpake comfortably to me, I have loved thee with an everlaſting love, and I have made a Chriſtian through a day of vengeance, and of burning as an oven; and the haughtineſs and pride of man in me was brought low. Now in this conformity to Chriſt's death, people may die into life, and bleſſed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them. Away with all your own wills, and your pride, and haughtineſs, and your hypocriſy and deceit, and all dependency upon any qualifications of your own; you muſt come to have your life ſeparated from you, elſe you will all periſh. Thoſe that will die with Chriſt, and be willing to die for him, he is revealed as a Saviour to them. He was before us in the days of his fleſh, and complied with his father's will; he was nailed to the croſs. The Son of God, when he was come to the depth of his ſufferings, what was his cry? "My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?" This was for thy ſake, and my ſake, and every man and woman's ſake that do believe in him; he drank the cup which his father gave him to drink. If it was done thus to the green tree, what ſhall be done unto the dry? He went before us, and when he cometh again he will take us to himſelf, and take us from the filth of ſin, that we may be made new creatures.

in the name of the Lord God, that what I ſaw above thirty years ago, ſtill reſts as a teſtimony to leave behind me, that a dreadful terrible day is at hand, and will certainly come to paſs; but the time when, I cannot ſay; but all

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'Now except we be born again, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and there is no becoming new creatures, till we be ſlain to the old man. Thou muſt be ſlain to thy pride and haughtineſs, and the corruption of thine own will, and all ſelfiſhneſs thou muſt have God to burn it up in thee: the Holy Ghoſt will deſtroy, and burn up nothing in thee, but that which will bring an eternal fire upon thy ſoul. Shew me thou whom my ſoul loveth; where is the path of life, the footſteps of the flock of thy companions? Why ſhould I be as one that goes aſide? Now every one that lives at home in the boſom of ſelf, take this with you, though you profeſs the truth, and live in an outward conformity thereunto, yet if you ſecretly indulge your corrupt wills, and live a fleſh-pleaſing life, and conſult with fleſh and blood, and are not rent off from your luſts, you cannot enjoy the Lord of life; while I am at home in the body, I am abſent from the Lord.

'The body of ſin is a loadſtone to draw you from the life of God, and from glorying in the croſs of Chriſt: this is fleſh and blood, and fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. For the Lord's ſake, for your ſoul's ſake, and for the ſake of your eternal happineſs, put not off this work, but purſue it, and it will be perfected. See how Chriſt is revealed in you by the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. God will redeem you by the ſpirit of judgment and burning; it is not ranging abroad in your minds, but you muſt know Chriſt is in you except ye be reprobates; if he hath ſet your eyes and hearts upon himſelf, and made you to water your couch with your tears; if he hath broken your ſleep, ſo as you have cried out, 'I ſhall be damned, and never come to ſalvation;' (this will be your cry, it was once my cry), O let not your eyes ſlumber, nor your eye-lids take any reſt, till you be ſure the Lord is your God; if you find theſe qualifications, you are on your way, otherwiſe you will be like a deceitful bow, and never abide in judgment; if you reject the counſel of God againſt yourſelves, and refuſe to be crucified with Chriſt, and to be baptized with baptiſm, you will never have life; but by his baptiſm, and through the heavenly operation of his Spirit, if thou haſt faith in Chriſt's name, thou ſhalt be married to him in everlaſting righteouſneſs; ſalvation ſhall be brought to us, and eternal life be beſtowed upon us; even that life which is hid with Chriſt in God, he will give to every poor mournful ſoul that ſubmits to his bleſſed will, and believeth in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: this is not a faith of our own making, nor a garment of our own embroidery, but that which the Lord hath given to us. O happy man or woman, that obtaineſt this gift of God! O, who will not loſe their lives for this everlaſting life? Who will not die for this eternal life? Now the matter lies in the death of your own wills; when you have done the will of God, then watch that your own wills

put on ſtrength in the name of the Lord, and wait to feel his eternal power, to preſerve you through the tribulations of thoſe days that approach very near. This I have further to ſignify, that my departure draws nigh. Bleſſed be my

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be ſlain, and that your curſed ſelf take not the jewels of God, and his bracelets and ornaments, and beſtow them upon ſelf, and paint and deck curſed ſelf: and take not the members of Chriſt, and make them the members of an harlot; if you be dead to your own wills, you are riſen with Chriſt, and ſhall receive a reſurrection to eternal life: crucify ſelf, and ſet the world at nought, and trample upon it, and all things of it, and count them as droſs and dung in compariſon of Chriſt; that the Father hath revealed to be our life, in the days of our ſorrow and mourning, in the day of our calamity, in the day when we cried our hope is loſt.

'Thus it hath been with the holieſt people on earth; it is not by works of righteouſneſs of thy own that thou canſt be ſaved; Chriſt comes to cut all theſe down, that thou mayeſt be ingrafted into him, and juſtified by his grace. Do not make this matter of talk, and ſay, I have heard this and that; but look into your own hearts, and ſee what heavenly workings are there; what there is of the power of the Lord Jeſus, that hath made you to loathe this world, and the inordinate love of the creature, that you may enjoy all theſe things, as if you enjoyed them not. We cannot when we are ſlain and crucified to this world, but ſay, my life is in Chriſt, when we come to aſcribe nothing to ourſelves, and all to Chriſt: here is a bleſſed harmony, broken hearts, melted ſpirits, and yet joyful ſouls; poor creatures that were mourning and ſighing, and crying before the Lord in retired places, and yet rejoicing in Chriſt Jeſus, I am riſen with Chriſt, I ſaid, my hope is cuſt off, I will lie down in thy will, O God; do what thou wilt with me, it is in thy ſovereign pleaſure and free gift, whether thou give me life or deny it to me: there muſt be a reſignation of ourſelves to the will of God; it was ſo with the Lord Jeſus, and it is ſo with every true ſaint of God; you muſt be humbled as little children before the judgment be taken away, and the loving kindneſs of God ſealed up to your ſouls; if you ſeek this work of God, you will find it; if you ſeek it upon your beds, in all your labours and concernments, in all your ſtations and relations; if you preſs after the new birth, you muſt uſe this world as if you uſed it not, and live a married life, as if you were unmarried, for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away. This is not rantiſm.

'But let me tell you, a new world comes by regeneration, a man is not lifted up in his own mind, but laid low in his own eyes, he waits for the wiſdom of God to govern him, and he is as a ſteward of the grace of God, to give to them that ſtand in need. When a man is regenerated and born again, he is as contented with bread and water, as with all the enjoyments of this world: what is the matter? His own

God, I am prepared, and I have nothing to do but die, and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this fleſh that hath ſo many infirmities; but the life that dwells in it, aſcends out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave;

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will is gone, and put down under his feet, and whatſoever it is that gives life to all his vain deſires and affections, there is a harmony of all within, a man praiſing of God, and bleſſing his holy name; there are no entanglements ſhall draw away the heart from ſerving of God, and ſeeking his glory; and if God ſhall call the huſband from the wife, or the wife from the huſband, for the glory of his name, there is no whining and complaining, and crying out, but giving them up, and a praiſing and bleſſing God, when they are called to ſuch an exerciſe; and if they are not called to that, then they ſet their hearts to glorify God in their ſeveral places and ſtations; then they have a full content in a bleſſed reſignation. Here their wills are ſlain, but they praiſe God they have no deſire, but Lord thy will be done, always praiſing God, always having the fear and the glory of God before their eyes. All the miſchief is hatched in pleaſing men's own wills: that is, the counſel of every heart that Chriſt doth not govern. Will you live as the Quakers? Then you muſt live contemptibly, the miſtreſs and the maid are hail-fellows well met. No, every one muſt walk in humility, and live in acquaintance with the God of heaven; ſhe that is wrought upon by the ſame ſpirit, muſt with all diligence behave herſelf as becomes a ſervant of the Lord. Here is now a new world, and the faſhions of the old world are gone; all pride, haughtineſs, croſſneſs, and trampling upon one another are all gone, all ſlain through the operation of Chriſt.

'What remains now, Chriſt is in me, and we are all one in him; Chriſt laid down his life for thee and me; now he reigns in me, and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my ſin. It is a kind of fooliſh profeſſion, to make profeſſion of Chriſt, and live in covetouſneſs, profaneneſs, ſenſuality, and the like; they that are come to this heavenly birth, ſeek the things that are above, thou canſt do no other; make the tree good, and the fruit will be good. You muſt be ingrafted into the vine of God's righteouſneſs: O! ſlight not the day of your viſitation. What was it to me to read of any being born again, till I was ſlain, and knew the heavenly baptiſm of Chriſt Jeſus? Till I ſaw the flaming ſword ready to ſlay me in every way, in every turning. The light of Chriſt convinced me of ſin, and his righteouſneſs juſtified me, and thoſe works were abominable to me, that hindered my ſoul's paſſage to Chriſt; Chriſt Jeſus in marrying my ſoul to himſelf ſeized upon me, and did work effectually in me: there is the teſtimony of Chriſt in me, he hath ſealed up my ſoul to the day of my redemption. Here is a certain paſſage, and a certain way which never any miſs of, that loſe their lives for Chriſt; if you be not ready and willing to loſe your lives for Chriſt, you ſhall never come here; the gate is ſtraight, and the way is narrow, none

and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever. Therefore you that are left behind, fear not, nor be diſcouraged, but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and bear a faithful and living teſtimony for him in your

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come hither but thoſe that die into an heavenly oneneſs with Chriſt. O, friends, let us empty ourſelves, that Chriſt may fill us; let us be nothing in our own eyes, that we may be all in him, and receive of his fullneſs.

'Now I commend you to God's witneſs, that you may remember what hath been ſpoken among you; but conſider, if you do not hearken to it, it will follow you, and be a plague to you to all eternity; if you will not yield up yourſelves to Chriſt this day that burns like an oven, this fire you muſt dwell with when out of the body, there will be no quenching of this fire for ever; but if you be ſo wiſe for your ſouls, as to reſign yourſelves up to Chriſt, and come to him as little children, this will not hinder your earthly concerns, though the world may account thee a fool, yet thou haſt that part of heavenly wiſdom to do what thou doſt as unto God: thou carrieſt to thy wife, as in the ſight of God, that ſhe may be ſanctified to thee, and thou to her; and thou carrieſt becomingly to thy children and ſervants, and thou wilt abound in grace, and in every good work, which will be for thine eternal welfare.

'O, I beſeech you people, for the Lord's ſake, wait for the light of Chriſt to guide you; learn of him to be meek and lowly, then happy are you; for he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off. This new birth, which is a true work, a ſincere and heavenly work, it will make you for ever. O make room for Chriſt in your hearts, or elſe he is never like to dwell with you; he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite ſpirit, he abhors the proud, he will empty your ſouls, that he may fill them.

'And ſo I commend you to God. I have been long held in durance under great weakneſs; and I was reſtleſs, till I could come up to this great city of London, to preach the everlaſting goſpel among you, and you ſee I am among you here; pray every one of you turn inward; let not theſe words, paſſing through a mean veſſel, be as a bare empty diſcourſe of truth to you, which you only hear, and take no farther care of your ſalvation. Take heed of deſpiſing the light that ſhines in the midſt of you, and be preſſing forward to the heavenly work that is laid in the power of Chriſt Jeſus, even through judgment into death, and then he will give eternal life; the Lord confirm this, that it may reſt upon your hearts, that you may be dead to the things of the world: we are not come to Mount Sinai, that genders to bondage, but we are come to Mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly, and church of the firſt-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of ſprinkling, that ſpeaketh better things than that of Abel. This is the inheritance of the

day. And the Lord will proſper his work in your hand, and cauſe his truth to flouriſh and ſpread abroad. For it ſhall have the victory, and no weapon formed againſt it ſhall proſper.'

Thus fervent in ſpirit was W. Dewſbury in his latter end, and he prayed to God very earneſtly for all his friends, eſpecially thoſe that were met at the annual aſſembly at London. And ſo he very piouſly departed this life at his houſe, in a good old age, in the month called June, in this current year. He was indeed a man of a remarkable zeal and perception. He ſpoke ſometimes to young lads as to men, telling them that the bleſſing of the Lord would reſt upon them if they lived a godly life: ſome of which being ſince come to man's eſtate, have experienced the truth of his ſaying.

Two days before the deceaſe of William Dewſbury, Rebecca Travers departed this life at about the age of ſeventy-nine years. She was a woman exceedingly well gifted; and ſpoke not only ſometimes in publick for edification of the church, but writ alſo ſeveral books for the advancement of piety; in one of which ſhe ſignified, that though ſhe had been a reader of the Scriptures from a child of ſix years old; yet when by the power of the eternal goſpel ſhe was turned from darkneſs to light, the Scriptures then became much more plain to her, as not wanting interpretation. She was an excellent open-hearted woman, and took great care of the poor: ſhe had ſeveral times been impriſoned for religion, but perſevered conſtantly in the faith, and ſo piouſly entered into eternal reſt.

As to ſtate affairs, there now appeared a wonderful agitation in England, ſince it was reported that the queen was

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redeemed of the Moſt High, bleſſed be the name of the Lord; let us reſt in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowneſs of mind, that he may clothe us with heavenly glory, according to his promiſe, I will beautify my houſe with glory, ſaith the Lord. This is the portion of a poor people, that caſt down themſelves before the Lord, that he may lift them up, and be all in all to them, in whoſe bleſſed preſence they ſhall have joy, and rivers of pleaſures at his right hand for evermore.'

big with child. And the endeavours for introducing popery, beſides the incroaching upon ſome rights and privileges, cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that William the third, prince of Orange, and ſtadtholder (or lord deputy) of Holland, &c. was intreated and invited by the Engliſh Proteſtants, to come to their aſſiſtance. This at length he did, and came over with a fleet, and a conſiderable number of forces. What was the iſſue of this expedition, is very amply deſcribed by other pens, and not properly my province to relate; wherefore I think it ſufficient to my purpoſe to ſay, that the prince after ſome difficulty at ſea, came into England; where having many adherents, the king, many of whoſe forces deſerted him, reſolved to go to France, whither the queen with the young child was gone ſometime before. Accordingly he went over, where he was well received by the French king, who provided him a court at St. Germain's. In the mean-while the prince of Orange came to London, and was ſaluted there by the great ones as the deliverer of England. The lord mayor of the ſaid city, with the aldermen and the ſheriffs, having congratulated him, the prince ſent for ſome of the members of former parliaments to come to him, and ſignified to them, that he had deſired them to meet to adviſe him in the beſt manner how to purſue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, the reſtoring of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that they might not be in danger of being again ſubverted.

In anſwer to this, thanks were given to the prince for his care and pains in defence of the people, their religion and laws. And all things took a favourable turn for him.

In Holland a good while before a paper was publiſhed in print, called, 'A Copy of a Letter written by a Quaker at London to his Friend at Rotterdam.' In which forged letter were mentioned ſeveral things that were not altogether untrue, and the prince's going over to England, was alſo in a manner predicted. Who was the author of the ſaid letter, I could never learn, but of this I am fully ſatisfied, that he was no Quaker; for it never was their way to ridicule princes, and to characterize them with ridiculous

denominations, as in the ſaid letter we find mentioned, of James of Great Britain, Mary of Modena, William of Orange, and Mary of England, his wife. This was no more the language of Quakers, than the following expreſſions that are found in this letter. 'The Spirit hath inſpired me to tell thee, I ſhould not be able to declare my opinion, before the Spirit ſhall have revealed it to me. If the Spirit doth dictate it to thee, go and ſpeak with him. Dentſch hath had a revelation, and the Spirit hath aſſured him,' &c. This fooliſh language betrays itſelf, and ſerves for a palpable evidence, that it never proceeded from the pen of any of the people called Quakers. But perhaps the author of that letter knew a ſecret of ſtate, whereof (to remain unknown) he would acquaint the world in a ridiculous way; that under the cloak of being a Quaker, he ſhould beſt continue undiſcovered, and that by this device the letter would ſpread the more, as indeed it did; for it had a very quick vent.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

## THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

I PROCEED now to the year 1689, in the beginning of which the peers of the realm, &c. offered the adminiſtration of the government to the prince of Orange, which he accepted of. Not long after he called a convention of the commons; for a parliament it could not be named, ſince in England none but a king has power to call a parliament. In the mean-while the prince had cauſed the princeſs his conſort, to come over from Holland into England; and at length the convention, after many great debates, came to this reſolution, that the throne was vacant; the conſequence of which was, that the prince and princeſs of Orange were declared by the names of William the third, and Mary the ſecond, king and queen of England, &c. and accordingly were afterwards crowned. A large relation thereof is to be found in ſeveral books. By the way I will only ſay, that the coronation was performed by the biſhop of London, the archbiſhop of Canterbury having refuſed to act in that ſolemnity; at the performance of which the king and queen were aſked by the biſhop, 'Will you

ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed to, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame?' To which the king and queen having anſwered, 'I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do;' the biſhop aſked, 'Will you to your power cauſe law and juſtice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?' Anſwer was made, 'I will.' The next queſtion was, 'Will you to the utmoſt of your power maintain the law of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and the Proteſtant Reformed religion eſtabliſhed by law? And will you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and privileges as by law do or ſhall appertain to them, or any of them?' To which the king and queen anſwered, 'All this I promiſe to do.' After this they laying each of them their hands upon the book of the goſpel, ſaid, 'Theſe things which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God.' Under theſe punctual and nice queſtions was more hidden than ſome would think. For the king having anſwered ſo as hath been ſaid, could not now free any from paying tithes to the clergy, without violation of his oath.

Not long after William and Mary were thus made king and queen of England, they were alſo in Scotland declared king and queen of Scotland. And ſomebody in Holland denoted the year of his being made king in this manner: 'VVILheLMVs tertIVs angLIæVInDeX.' Not long after this a war was proclaimed againſt France, and the late king James, ſupported by the French king, went over to Ireland, from whence in proceſs of time he was driven away by king William, after the bloody battle near the river Boyne; but that not belonging to this hiſtory, I will not detain my reader with a relation thereof.

A king having now mounted the throne, the convention was turned into a parliament; and then this auguſt aſſembly made it their buſineſs to reſtrain the forcing of conſcience; and an act paſſed for exempting Proteſtant diſſenters from the penal laws, by which ſome diſſenters, and eſpecially the Quakers, had ſuffered and been perſecuted many years.

Yet care was taken to keep that law in force by which Papiſts were excluded from ſitting in parliament. And thoſe penal laws, of which mention hath been made heretofore in due place, were now reſtrained, except the teſt act, properly required for ſerving in high offices, and to keep out the Papiſts. The aforeſaid act gave alſo liberty to diſſenters to keep religious meetings, provided the doors were not locked, barred or bolted, during the time of ſuch meeting. But none of theſe diſſenters were freed from paying tithes, or other church duties ſo called, to the clergy, nor from being cited before biſhops' courts. But this liberty of keeping publick meetings was not allowed to Papiſts; for all that would participate of the ſaid liberty, were required to take the oath of allegiance; yet to comply with the people called Quakers, who for conſcience-ſake ſcrupled to take any oath, this act enjoined that they ſhould ſubſcribe the following declaration:

'I *A. B.* do ſincerely promiſe and ſolemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary; and I do ſolemnly profeſs and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I declare that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm.'

Beſides this they were obliged to ſubſcribe alſo another, with reſpect to their orthodox, and for excluding Socinianiſm.

'I *A. B.* profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God, bleſſed for evermore: and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration.'

And leſt any Papiſt might make uſe of this declaration, there were required ſufficient Proteſtant witneſſes that the declarer was a Proteſtant diſſenter. Beſides no congregation or aſſembly for religious worſhip was permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of ſuch meeting ſhould be certified to the biſhop of the dioceſe, or to the archdeacon of the archdeaconry; or to the juſtices of the peace at the general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which ſuch meeting ſhould be held, and regiſtered in the ſaid biſhop's or archdeacon's court reſpectively, or recorded at the ſaid general or quarter-ſeſſions: for which the regiſter or clerk ſhould not take greater fee or reward than ſixpence.

By this we now ſee the religion of the Quakers acknowledged and tolerated by an act of parliament; and themſelves releaſed from all perſecution for performance of their publick worſhip, and their refuſal of the oath of allegiance. This was a work reſerved for that great prince king William, who being born in a country where force upon conſcience was abrogated, when a Proteſtant government was ſettled there, now alſo according to his ability introduced the like Chriſtian liberty in England: but to releaſe from the payment of tithes was beyond his reach, how unreaſonably ſoever the clergy acted in this caſe; whereof about this time a notable inſtance was publiſhed in print, of one John Biſhop, a countryman at Wortham, from whom for two years tithes there had been taken, horſes, kine, and ſheep, to the value of ſeventy-ſix pounds, according to the eſtimate of impartial perſons, though rated by himſelf at eighty-three pounds. And yet the prieſt, Thomas Thurlow, had declared upon his oath, that he believed that the tithes of every year's growth of the ſaid Biſhop, did amount one year with another, to three pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence; but the charges were reckoned ſo high, and the rating of the diſtrained goods was ſo very much beneath the real value, that the loſs thereby ſuſtained was exceeding great.

In Barbadoes in the Weſt Indies, where the inhabitants were marſhalled to bear arms, the Quakers, notwithſtanding what had been ordered in their favour by king James,

continued yet under hard ſufferings, of which more in the ſequel. They now that were thus oppreſſed ſent over a petition to the king, wherein they ſet forth how they were moleſted, and prayed for relief; which had ſuch effect, that the king iſſued forth the following order:

At the Council at Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1689.
Preſent the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

'Upon reading a petition of the people called Quakers, inhabiting the iſland of Barbadoes, ſetting forth, that becauſe the ſaid Quakers could not bear arms, nor take an oath in any caſe, they have ſuffered much by virtue of an act made to ſettle the militia in the ſaid iſland; as in the petition hereunto annexed is more at large expreſſed; his majeſty in council is graciouſly pleaſed to refer the matter of the ſaid petition to the examination of James Kendal, eſq. his majeſty's governor of Barbadoes for the time being, who is to give the petitioners ſuch relief in relation to the militia, as to him ſhall ſeem juſt and reaſonable to anſwer their particular circumſtances, and to make report thereof to his majeſty.

'Richard Collinge.'

This year deceaſed Alexander Parker, ſometimes mentioned in this hiſtory, being a man not only of a godly life and converſation, but alſo of a goodly mein and grave deportment. In the following year, viz. that of 1690, Robert Barclay alſo departed this life; a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but alſo well verſed in the writings of the ancient fathers, and other eccleſiaſtical writers, and furniſhed with a great underſtanding, being not only of a ſound judgment, but alſo ſtrong in arguments, and cheerful in ſufferings. Beſides, he was of a friendly and pleaſant, yet grave, converſation, and eminently fitted for compoſing of differences; and he really lived up to what he profeſſed, being of an unblameable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of thoſe he converſed with. And in this happy ſtate it pleaſed God to take him away out of this vale of tears, into a glo-

rious immortality, in the prime of his age, having not lived much above half the life of a man, as it is commonly accounted, viz. in his 42d year, on the third of October, at his houſe at Ury in Scotland, where he died of a ſickneſs which did not laſt long; yet he ſignified with a good underſtanding, that it was well with him as to his ſoul.

This year Stephen Criſp writ an epiſtle of tender love and brotherly advice to all the churches of Chriſt throughout the world, in which he exhorted them more particularly to charity; and ſince therein ſeveral remarkable duties are held forth and recommended, I cannot well omit to inſert a copy of it here, which is as followeth:

'Dearly beloved friends and brethren, gathered out of the world by the eternal arm and power of the mighty God, to bear his holy name in your generation; my love and life in the fellowſhip of the univerſal ſpirit ſalutes you all, and my prayer to God is, you may be kept ſtedfaſt and immoveable in the grace of God, and in the communion of his holy Spirit, that ye may bring forth fruit in abundance, according to the abundant mercy and grace beſtowed upon you, to the glory of God, and to your mutual joy, comfort, and edification.

'And that you may ſo do, let your eye be kept daily to the Lord, and behold and take notice of the wondrous works that he hath wrought in you, and for you, ſince the day ye were firſt quickened by his immortal word, and ſtirred up to ſeek after him, and to wait upon him; how good and gracious he hath been to you, in bringing you from the barren mountains, where your ſouls languiſhed for the heavenly nouriſhment; where you knew not the Lord, nor one another, but were without a comforter, or any to ſympathize with you in your mournings; Oh, how hath he pitied your groanings, and had compaſſion on your ſighings, and brought you into acquaintance with thoſe that were in the like exerciſes; and then he taught you to believe on him that was able to help you: and thoſe that were thus taught of the Father, and felt his drawing cords of love prevailing upon them; theſe came

to Chriſt their Saviour, and in him began to feel an unity one with another, in the faith you had received in him; whereby you believed he would give you of his ſpirit to teach and guide you in the way of truth, righteouſneſs, and peace; and thus was the foundation of your holy communion laid, and a lively hope raiſed in each particular ſoul, that he that had begun this bleſſed work would carry it on; and this hope made you that were not aſhamed to make a publick profeſſion of his name before the world; but cheerfully to take up his croſs, and deny yourſelves of your former pleaſures, friendſhips, and delights of this world: this hope hath been your ſupport in many ſharp trials, and bitter combats you have had with the enemy of your ſoul's peace within, and with the enemies of God's holy way and truth without; and in all your conflicts you have found him nigh at hand, to put forth his power on your behalf, as you have depended upon him for aſſiſtance; and by theſe experiences of his goodneſs, your faith hath been ſtrengthened; and by the ſame word of life that quickened you, many more have been reached unto, ſo that you have ſeen a daily addition of ſtrength in the particular, and alſo an addition to your number, to your great comfort and encouragement; and many have come to wait upon the Lord among you; and many are daily inquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. Theſe things are worth your remembrance and ſerious conſiderations, that you may look upon theſe great mercies as obligations upon your ſouls, to walk humbly before the Lord, and to be devout and fervent in your teſtimony, for that God that hath done thus great things for you.

'And, friends, conſider of the great works that this mighty arm of the Lord hath brought to paſs in the general, as well as in the particular; how many contrivances have been framed, and laws and decrees made to lay you waſte, and to make you ceaſe to be a people, and how have the wicked rejoiced thereat, (for a ſeaſon) crying, 'Ah, ah! thus would we have it; they are all now given up to baniſhments, to impriſonments, to ſpoils and ruins; now let us ſee if that inviſible arm they truſt in can deliver

them.' Oh friends! how hath your God been your ſupport in the midſt of all theſe exerciſes? and when he hath pleaſed, how he hath quieted the ſharpeſt ſtorms, and turned back the greateſt floods and torrents of perſecution that ever you met? and how hath he confounded his and your enemies, and brought confuſion upon the heads of them that ſought your hurt? were not theſe things wrought by the power of God? did your number, your policy, your intereſt, or any thing that might be called your own, contribute any thing to theſe your great preſervations and deliverances? if not, then let God have the glory, and acknowledge, to his praiſe, theſe have been the Lord's doings, and are marvellous in our eyes.

'Again, dear friends, conſider how the wicked one hath wrought in a myſtery among yourſelves, to ſcatter you, and to lay you waſte from being a people as at this day; how many ſeveral ways hath he tried, raiſing up men and perverſe minds, to ſubvert and to turn you from the faith, and from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; and to ſeparate you from that inviſible power that hath been your ſtrength, and to ſeparate you one from another, and by ſubtile wiles to lead you into a falſe liberty above the croſs of Chriſt; and ſometimes by ſowing ſeeds of hereſy and ſeditions, endeavouring to corrupt the minds of whom they could with pernicious principles; but oh, how have their deſigns been fruſtrated, and the authors thereof confounded and brought to nought: and how have you been preſerved as a flock under the hand of a careful ſhepherd, even unto this day, which miniſters great cauſe of thankſgiving unto all the faithful, who have witneſſed the working of this preſerving power in their own particulars.

'Alſo, my friends, it is worth your conſiderations, to behold how that by this inviſible power ſo many faithful watchmen are raiſed up upon the walls of your Zion; that in moſt of your meetings there be men and women, upon whom God hath laid a concern to be taking care for the good of the whole; and to take the overſight upon them, to ſee all things kept in good and decent order, and to make due proviſion for the comforting and relieving the

neceſſities of the needy and diſtreſſed; that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable; and theſe have not been, nor are brought under this charge by any act of yours, but God hath raiſed up paſtors and teachers, elders and deacons of his own election and choice, and bowed their ſpirits to take upon them the work and ſervice to which they are appointed, for the Lord's ſake, and for the body's ſake, which is the church; to whom it may truly be ſaid, as in Acts xx. 28. "Take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers," &c. And ſuch ought to be hearkened to in the diſcharge of their truſt, as thoſe that muſt give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their ſeveral works and ſervices in the church.

'And by theſe ways and means hath the Lord eſtabliſhed among you a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preſerved from generation to generation, a people fitted for the glory that is, and ſhall daily more and more be revealed among and upon the faithful, who delight in that power that called them to be ſaints, and to bear a profeſſion for the holy name of God, againſt the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have ſet up, that the name of the Lord alone may be exalted.

'And dear friends and brethren, I intreat you, that the conſideration of theſe great and weighty things which God hath wrought for you, and among you, may have that deep and weighty influence upon your ſouls, that ye may find yourſelves engaged to anſwer the love and mercy of God in your lives and converſations, and in all you have to do in this world; that ye may ſhew forth the honour of God in all things, that the light which hath ſhined in you, may ſhine forth through you unto others, who yet ſit in darkneſs; that all men may know by your innocent and harmleſs converſations, and by your cloſe keeping to the Lord, that ye are a people who are aſſiſted and helped by a ſupernatural power, which governs your wills, and ſubjects them to his bleſſed will; and that guides and orders your affections, and ſets them upon heavenly and divine objects, and that gives you power to deny your own private inte-

reſts, where they happen to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of truth; for theſe, and theſe only, will be found the true diſciples of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who can deny themſelves, take up a croſs daily, and follow him in the guidance of his regenerating power; which brings death upon ſelf, and crucifies the old nature, with its affections and luſts, and raiſeth up a birth in you, that hath a holy will and deſire to ſerve the Lord, and do his will in the earth; and ſuch as theſe are inſtruments in the hand of God for him to work by, and to do works of righteouſneſs, of juſtice, of charity, and all other the virtues belonging to a Chriſtian life, to the honour of God, and for the comfort and benefit of his church and people.

'And all you, dear friends, upon whom the Lord hath laid a care for his honour, and for the proſperity of the truth; and gathered you into the good order of the goſpel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a ſingle eye to the Lord, to do the Lord's buſineſs in the leadings of his Spirit, which is but one, and brings all (that are given up to be governed by it) to be of one mind and heart, at leaſt in the general purpoſe and ſervice of thoſe meetings; although through the diverſity of exerciſes, and the ſeveral degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not ſee or underſtand alike in every matter, at the firſt propounding of it; yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders the brotherly-kindneſs, but puts you often upon an exerciſe and an inward travelling, to feel the pure peaceable wiſdom that is from above to open among you; and every one's ear is open to it, in whomſoever it ſpeaks, and thereby a ſenſe of life is given in the meeting, to which all that are of a ſimple and tender mind join and agree; but if any among you ſhould be contrary minded in the management of ſome outward affair, relating to the truth, this doth not preſently break the unity that ye have in Chriſt; nor ſhould weaken the brotherly love, ſo long as he keeps waiting for an underſtanding from God, to be gathered into the ſame ſenſe with you, and walks with you according to the law of charity. Such a one ought to be borne with and cheriſhed, and the ſupplications of your ſouls ſhall go up to God for

him, that God may reveal it to him if it be his will; that no difference may be in underſtanding, ſo far as is neceſſary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God; for, my friends, it is not of abſolute neceſſity that every member of the church ſhould have the ſame meaſure of underſtanding in all things; for then where were the duty of the ſtrong bearing with the weak? Then where were the brother of low degree? Where would be any ſubmitting to them that are ſet over others in the Lord; which all tend to the preſerving unity in the church, notwithſtanding the different meaſures and different growths of the members thereof; for as the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets; ſo are the ſpirits of all that are kept in a true ſubjection to the ſpirit of life in themſelves, kept in the ſame ſubjection to the ſenſe of life given by the ſame ſpirit in the church; and by this means we come to know the one maſter, even Chriſt, and have no room for other maſters in the matter of our obedience to God; and while every one keeps in this true ſubjection, the ſweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon Aaron's head, but it reacheth the ſkirts of his garment alſo; and things are kept ſweet and ſavory, and ye love one another from the greateſt to the leaſt in ſincerity, and (as the apoſtle ſaith) without diſſimulation; and this love excludes all whiſperings of evil things; all back-biting, tale-bearing, grudgings, and murmurings; and keeps friends minds clean one towards another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preſerve each other's reputation; and their hearts are comforted at the ſight of one another; and in all their affairs, both relating to the church and to the world, they will be watchful over their own ſpirits, and keep in the Lord's power, over that nature and ground in themſelves that would be apt to take an offence, or conſtrue any word or action to a worſe ſenſe than the ſimplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned will allow of.

'And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, ſome may have a different apprehenſion of a matter from the reſt of their brethren, eſpecially in outward or

temporal things; there ought to be a Chriſtian liberty maintained for ſuch to expreſs their ſenſe with freedom of mind, or elſe they will go away burdened; whereas if they ſpeak their minds freely, and a friendly and Chriſtian conference be admitted thereupon, they may be eaſed, and oftentimes the different apprehenſion of ſuch an one comes to be wholly removed, and his underſtanding opened, to ſee as the reſt ſee; for the danger in ſociety doth not lie ſo much in that, that ſome few may have a differing apprehenſion in ſome things from the general ſenſe; as it doth in this, namely, when ſuch that ſo differ, do ſuffer themſelves to be led out of the bond of charity, and ſhall labour to impoſe their private ſenſe upon the reſt of their brethren, and to be offended and angry if it be not received; this is the ſeed of ſedition and ſtrife that hath grown up in too many, to their own hurt.

'And therefore, my dear friends, beware of it, and ſeek not to drive a matter on in fierceneſs or in anger, nor to take offence into your minds at any time, becauſe what ſeems to be clear to you, is not preſently received; but let all things in the church be propounded with an awful reverence for him that is the head and life of it; who hath ſaid, "Where two or three are met in my name, I will be in the midſt of them." And ſo he is, and may be felt by all who keep in his ſpirit; but he that follows his own ſpirit, ſees nothing as he ought to ſee it. Therefore let all beware of their own ſpirits and natural tempers (as they are ſometimes called), but let all keep in a gracious temper; then are ye fit for the ſervice of the houſe of God, whoſe houſe ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation that God hath laid; and he will build you up, and teach you how to build up one another in him, and as every member muſt feel life in themſelves, and all from one head; this life will not hurt itſelf in any, but be tender of the life in all; for by this one life of the word ye were begotten, and by it ye are nouriſhed, and made to grow into your ſeveral ſervices in the church of God; it is no man's learning, nor artificial acquirements; it is no man's riches, nor greatneſs in this world: it is no man's eloquence and natural wiſdom, that makes him fit for government in the

church of Chriſt; unleſs he, with all his endowments, be ſeaſoned with the heavenly ſalt, and his ſpirit ſubjected, and his gifts paſs through the fire of God's altar, a ſacrifice to his praiſe and honour; that ſo ſelf be crucified and baptized in death, and the gifts made uſe of in the power of the reſurrection of the life of Jeſus in him; and when this great work is wrought in a man, then all his gifts and qualifications are ſanctified, and they are made uſe of for the good of the body, which is the church; and are as ornaments and jewels, which ſerves for the joy and comfort of all who are partakers of the ſame divine fellowſhip of life in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord; and thus come many to be fitted and furniſhed to good works, which are brought forth in their due ſeaſons, for edification and building up the weak, and for repairing the decayed places, and alſo for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.

'Oh friends! great is the work the Lord hath called you to, and is a fitting you for, who innocently wait upon him; and the Lord hath opened my heart unto you, and laid it upon me to exhort and beſeech you to have a care that ye quit yourſelves as ye ought, in what God requires of ye; and for the more particular expreſſing what lies before me in the matter, I ſhall ſet down a few particular obſervations for your benefit and advantage; and my ſoul's deſire is, that my labour of love may have a good effect in all your boſoms, that God may be honoured thereby. And, friends, ye know the chief buſineſs, to which ye are called in your particular men and women's meetings, is under theſe two heads, juſtice and charity; the firſt, to ſee that every one hath right done him; and the other, to take care there be nothing lacking to the comfort of the poor, that are made partakers of the ſame faith with you.

'And when ye meet about theſe things, keep the Lord in your eye, and wait to feel his power to guide and direct you, to ſpeak and behave yourſelves in the church of God, as becomes the peaceable goſpel: and beware of all brittleneſs of ſpirit, and ſharp reflections upon each others words; for that will kindle up heats, and create a falſe fire; and when one takes a liberty of a ſharp word ſpoken out of

the true fear and tenderneſs, it oftentimes becomes a temptation to another; and if he hath not a great care, it will draw him out alſo, and then the firſt is guilty of two evils, firſt, being led into a temptation, and then ſecondly, he becomes a tempter to others; therefore all had need be upon their watch, neither to tempt, nor be tempted; and let none think it a ſufficient excuſe for them that they were provoked; for we are as anſwerable to God for every evil word ſpoken upon provocation, as without provocation; for, for that end hath the Lord revealed his power to us, to keep and preſerve us in his fear and counſel in the time of our provocations; and therefore if any man through want of watchfulneſs, ſhould be overtaken with heat or paſſion, a ſoft anſwer appeaſeth wrath, ſaith the wiſe man; and therefore ſuch a time is fitteſt for a ſoft anſwer, leſt the enemy prevail on any to their hurt, and to the grief and trouble of their brethren; for it is the proper duty of watchmen and overſeers to ſpare the flock; that is, let nothing come nigh them that will hurt them, and wound and grieve them; nay, the good apoſtle was ſo careful over the flock of believers, that if there were any doubtful matters to be diſputed of, he would not have them that were weak in the faith at ſuch diſputes; much leſs ought they that are weak, to ſee thoſe that are ſtrong, deſcend from their ſtrength, and go into the weakneſs where they are not able to bear; for that is certainly the weak that cannot bear; thoſe that really live in the ſtrength and power, they can bear even burdens for them that cannot bear their own. The apoſtle in the place before-mentioned, when he ſent for the elders of Epheſus to Miletus, and left a charge with them, before he ſaid, take heed to the flock of God; he ſaid, "Take ye heed to yourſelves." And indeed we are none of us like to diſcharge ourſelves well towards others, but by taking heed to ourſelves, to be kept in that ſober innocent frame of ſpirit, which the truth calls for.

'In the next place, my dear friends, when ye are called upon in point of juſtice, to give a ſentence of right between friend and friend, take heed that neither party get poſſeſſion of your ſpirit aforehand, by any way or means whatſoever,

or obtain any word or ſentence from you in the abſence of the other party, he not being yet heard: there is nothing more comely among men than impartial judgment; judgment is a ſeat where neither intereſt, nor affection, nor former kindneſſes may come; we may make no difference of the worthineſs or unworthineſs of perſons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good man be miſtaken, hath a bad cauſe, or a bad man a good cauſe, according to his cauſe muſt he have ſentence. It was a good ſaying, he that judged among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it. Therefore let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to anſwer it in his preſence; and although ſome may for a time be diſcontent thereat, yet in time God ſhall clear up your innocency as the ſun at noon-day; and they that kick at ſound judgment will find but hard work of it; they do but kick againſt that which will prick them; and however ſuch through their willfulneſs, and their abounding in their own ſenſe may hurt themſelves, yet you will be preſerved, and enjoy your peace and ſatisfaction in the diſcharge of your conſciences in the ſight of God.

'And as concerning practical charity, ye know it is ſupported by liberality, and where liberality ceaſeth, charity waxeth cold, yea, ſo far ceaſeth; where there is no contribution, there is no diſtribution; where the one is ſparing, the other is ſparing; and therefore let every one nouriſh charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind; a heart that looks upon the ſubſtance that is given him, as really beſtowed upon him for the ſupport of charity, as for the ſupport of his own body; and where people are of this mind, they will have a care of keeping back any of God's part, for he hath in all ages, in a moſt ſingular manner, eſpouſed the cauſe of the poor, the widow, and fatherleſs; and hath often ſignified by his prophets and miniſters, a ſpecial charge upon rich men that had this world's goods, that they ſhould look to it that they were faithful ſtewards of what they poſſeſſed, and that they might be found in good works, and might not ſuffer their hearts ſo to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the ſervice God had given them the things of this life for: either to give them

up when called for in a teſtimony of his worthy name, or to communicate of them to thoſe that were in neceſſity.

'Now as concerning the neceſſities of the poor, there is great need of wiſdom when ye meet together about that affair; for as I ſaid before, though the worthineſs or unworthineſs of perſons is not to be conſidered in judgment, yet in this it is; and you will find ſome that God hath made poor, and ſome that have made themſelves poor, and ſome that others have made poor, which muſt all have their ſeveral conſiderations; in which you ought to labour to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one perſon more than another; but every one to love every one in the univerſal ſpirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifeſtations thereof, according to the meaſure that the Lord in his wiſdom working in you, ſhall meaſure forth to them.

'And as to thoſe who by ſickneſs, lameneſs, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of Providence; theſe are your peculiar care and objects pointed out to you, to beſtow your charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it; for as the earth is the Lord's, and the fullneſs of it, he hath by his ſovereign power commanded in every diſpenſation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, ſhould be thus employed. The Iſraelites were not to reap the corners of their fields, nor to gather the gleanings of the corn nor vintage; it was for the poor; and in the time of the goſpel, they were to lay apart on the Firſt-day of the week, a part of what God had bleſſed them with, for the relief of thoſe that were in neceſſity; nay, they did not confine themſelves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an univerſal eye through the whole church of Chriſt, and upon extraordinary occaſions, ſent their benevolence to relieve the ſaints at Jeruſalem in a time of need; and all that keep in the guidance of the ſame univerſal Spirit, will make it their buſineſs to be found in the ſame practice of charity and good works. To do good, and communicate, forget not, ſaith the apoſtle: ſo they that forget not this Chriſtian duty, will find out the poor's part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandizings, as well as the old Iſraelite

did the corners and gleanings of his field; and in the diſtribution of it, will have a regard to comfort the bowels of ſuch, who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying thoſe outward comforts of health, and ſtrength, and plenty, which others do enjoy; for while they are partakers of the ſame faith, and walk in the way of righteouſneſs with you, ſubmitting themſelves patiently to the diſpenſation of God's providence towards them, they are of your houſehold, and under your care, both to viſit and to relieve, as members of one body, of which Chriſt Jeſus is head; and he that giveth to ſuch poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.

'But there is another ſort of poor, who make themſelves poor through their ſloth and careleſſneſs, and ſometimes by their wilfulneſs, being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and making a flouriſh for a ſeaſon, and then, through their own neglects, are plunged down into great poverty. Theſe are a ſort the primitive churches began to be troubled withal in the early days of the goſpel; for the apoſtle took notice of ſome that would not work at all, and ſharply reproved them, and ſaid, they that would not work, ſhould not eat; and theſe are commonly a ſort of buſy-bodies, and meddlers with others' matters, while they neglect their own, and run into a worſe way than the unbelievers, while they profeſs to be believers, yet do not take a due care for thoſe of their own houſehold.

'The charity that is proper to ſuch, is to give them admonition and reproof, and to convince them of their ſloth and negligence; and if they ſubmit to your reproof, and are willing to amend, then care ought to be taken to help them into a way and means to ſupport themſelves; and ſometimes by a little help of this kind, ſome have been reclaimed from the ſnares of their ſoul's enemy: but if they will not receive your wholeſome counſel and admonitions, but kick againſt it, either in their words or actions, friends will be clear of ſuch in the ſight of God; for it is unreaſonable to feed them that will not be ruled by you, they break the obligation of ſociety by their diſorderly walking; for our communion doth not ſtand only in frequenting meetings,

and hearing truth preached, but in anſwering the bleſſed principle of truth, in life and converſation, and therein both the rich and the poor have fellowſhip one with another.

'There are another ſort that are made poor by the oppreſſions and cruelties of others. Theſe oppreſſed poor cry loud in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time avenge their cauſe; but in the mean-time there is a tenderneſs to be extended to them, not knowing how ſoon it may be our turn; and if there be need of counſel and advice, or if any applications can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppreſſors; in ſuch caſes let all that are capable be ready and willing to adviſe, relieve, and help the diſtreſſed; and this is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to ſuch in their ſharp afflictions, and their ſouls will bleſs the inſtruments of their eaſe and comfort.

'And, my dear friends, as God hath honoured you with ſo high and holy a calling, to be his ſervants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in ſetting forth his praiſe and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the ſcattered ſeed in this and other nations; oh, let the dignity of your calling provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon this work and ſervice you are called to, and let not your concerns in the world draw you from obſerving the times and ſeaſons appointed to meet together; but you that are elder, ſet a good example to the younger ſort, by a due obſervation of the hour appointed, that they that come firſt one time, may not by their long ſtaying for others be diſcouraged, ſo as perhaps they may be laſt another time; but when the time is come, leave your buſineſs for the Lord's work, and he will take care your buſineſs ſhall not ſuffer, but will add a bleſſing upon it, which will do more for you than the time can do that might be ſaved out of his ſervice.

And when you have to do with perverſe, and froward, or diſorderly perſons, whom ye have occaſion to reprove, and to rebuke for the truth's ſake, and you find them ſtout and high, and reflecting upon ye; then is a time for the Lamb's meekneſs to ſhine forth, and for you to feel your

authority in the name of Chriſt, to deal with ſuch an one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wiſdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wiſdom. And in this frame of mind you labour together to pull the entangled ſheep out of the thicket, and to reſtore that which is gone aſtray, to the fold again, if you can; but if you cannot, yet you ſave yourſelves from the guilt of his blood; and if ſuch do periſh, his blood will be on his own head: but on the other hand, if ye ſuffer their perverſe ſpirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, ſo as to kindle your ſpirits into a heat and paſſion, then you get a hurt, and are uncapable to do them any good; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be ſtiffened and ſtrengthened thereby, and you miſs the ſervice that you did really intend. Therefore, dearly beloved, keep upon your watch, keep on your ſpiritual armour; keep your feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavours with good ſucceſs, to your joy and comfort, and will bring up his power over your adverſaries and oppoſers more and more, to which many ſhall bow and bend in your ſight; and will bring ſhame and confuſion upon the rebellious, who harden their hearts and ſtiffen their necks againſt the Lord, and his Chriſt, and kingdom; which he will exalt in the earth, notwithſtanding all that Satan, and all his evil inſtruments can do to hinder the growth and progreſs of his bleſſed truth; for of the increaſe of the government, and of the peace of the kingdom of Chriſt, there ſhall be no end.

'And now, friends, I have cleared my conſcience of what lay upon me for ſometime, to write by way of remembrance, and as the exhortation of my life unto you, I remain travailing in ſpirit for the welfare of Zion: and although the outward man decays, yet in the inward man I am comforted, in beholding daily the great things that our God hath done, and is ſtill doing for thoſe that have their ſole dependance upon him. So committing you to the grace of God, for your director and preſerver, in theſe and all your ſeveral ſervices unto which God hath called you, that by the operations of his mighty power ye may

be kept blameleſs and unſpotted of the world, to his honour and your comfort, and to the univerſal comfort and edification of the church, that ſo praiſes and thankſgivings may fill your hearts and mouths, your families, and your meetings; for he is worthy who is our tower, our ſupport, the Lord of hoſts, the King of ſaints, to whom be glory, honour, and renown, through this and all generations, for ever and ever. Amen.

'From your friend and brother in the communion and fellowſhip of the goſpel of peace and purity.

'Stephen Criſp.'

London, the 15th of the 7th month, 1690.

Paſſing now by other matters of this year, we ſtep to the next, being that of 1691, about the beginning of which G. Fox departed this life, who, even in the laſt period thereof writ much, and continued laborious without fainting. The laſt epiſtle I find of his, was to his friends and brethren in Ireland, who becauſe of the revolution and troubles there, ſuffered much, chiefly as I think by the Papiſts; and therefore in the ſaid epiſtle he exhorted his friends to ſtedfaſtneſs. This was in the month called January; and the next day, being the firſt of the week, and the 11th of the ſaid month, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-ſtreet, where he preached very effectually, treating of many things with great power and clearneſs; and concluded with a prayer. After which, the meeting ending, he went to Henry Gouldney's, in White-Hart court, near the meeting-houſe, where he ſaid to ſome that came with him, he thought he felt the cold ſtrike to his heart, as he came out of the meeting. Yet added, 'I am glad I was here: now I am clear; I am fully clear.' When thoſe friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down in his clothes upon a bed, but ſoon roſe again; yet after a little time he lay down again, complaining ſtill of cold; and his ſtrength decaying, he not long after undreſſed, and went to bed, where he lay in much content-

ment and reſignation, continuing very ſenſible to the laſt. His diſtemper increaſing, and perhaps perceiving that his end was at hand, he recommended to ſome of his friends that came to him after having been ſent for, the ſpreading of books containing the doctrine of truth. And to ſome others who came to viſit him in his illneſs, he ſaid, 'All is well, the ſeed of God reigns over all, and over death itſelf. And though (continued he) I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the ſeed reigns over all diſorderly ſpirits.' He uſed often, even in his preaching, when he ſpoke of Chriſt, to call him the ſeed; wherefore thoſe that were with him very well knew what he meant when he ſpoke of the ſeed. Thus he lay in a heavenly frame of mind, his ſpirit being wholly exerciſed towards the Lord, and he grew weaker and weaker in body, until, on the third day of the week, and of his ſickneſs alſo, he piouſly departed this life. About four or five hours before, being aſked how he did, he anſwered, 'Do not heed, the power of the Lord is above all ſickneſs and death; the ſeed reigns, bleſſed be the Lord. And thus triumphing over death, he departed from hence in peace, and ſlept ſweetly on the 13th of the month, anciently called January, (for being as a door or entrance into the new year) about ten o'clock at night, in the 67th year of his age. His body was buried near Bunhill-fields, on the 16th of the ſaid month, the corpſe being accompanied by great numbers of his friends, and of other people alſo: for though he had had many enemies, yet he had made himſelf alſo beloved of many.

He was tall of ſtature, and pretty big bodied, yet very moderate in meat and drink; neither did he yield much to ſleep. He was a man of a deep underſtanding, and of a diſcerning ſpirit; and though his words were not always linked together by a neat grammatical connexion, and his ſpeech ſometimes ſeemed abrupt, as with a kind of gap; yet he expreſſed himſelf intelligently, and what was wanting in human wiſdom, was abundantly ſupplied with heavenly knowledge. He was of a quick apprehenſion; and though his wit was not poliſhed by human art, yet he was ingenious; and in his prayers (which generally

were not very long, though powerful) appeared a decent gravity, mixed with an awful reverence, to admiration. His qualities are at large ſet forth by Thomas Ellwood, an eminent author, who having much converſed with him, gave the following character of him. 'He was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in aſſerting it, patient in ſuffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, ſteady in his teſtimony to it, immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly myſteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wiſdom, quick in diſcerning, ſound in judgment; able and ready in giving, diſcreet in keeping counſel; a lover of righteouſneſs; an encourager of virtue, juſtice, temperance, meekneſs, purity, chaſtity, modeſty, and ſelf-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in perſonage, grave in geſture, courteous in converſation, weighty in communication, inſtructive in diſcourſe; free from affectation in ſpeech and carriage. A ſevere reprover of hard and obſtinate ſinners; a mild and gentle admoniſher of ſuch as were tender and ſenſible of their failings. Not apt to reſent perſonal wrongs; eaſy to forgive injuries; but zealouſly earneſt, where the honour of God, the proſperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned. Very tender, compaſſionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any ſort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Chriſt was daily upon him, the proſperity and peace whereof he ſtudiouſly ſought.' Yet more is ſaid of him to his praiſe, both by the ſaid Thomas Ellwood and others, but I will not detain my reader any longer therewith. His wife, about ſix months before his death, came to him at London, and being glad of his health, which then was better than ſome time before, ſhe, after ſome ſtay in the ſaid city, returned home well ſatisfied, leaving him at London, where his general ſervice to the church ſeemed to be then moſt requiſite. After his deceaſe an epiſtle was found, which was writ with his own hand, and left ſealed up with this

ſuperſcription, 'Not to be opened before the time.' What this ſignified, ſeemed to be a riddle, but he being now deceaſed, it was judged to be the time to open this letter, which was directed to his friends, and was as followeth:

For the yearly and ſecond-days-meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. Fox.

This for all the children of God every where, that are led by his ſpirit, and do walk in his light, in which they have life, and unity, and fellowſhip with the Father, and the Son, and one with another.

'Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jeſus, that be gathered in his name by his light, grace, truth, power and ſpirit; by which you will feel his bleſſed and refreſhing preſence among you, and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

'And now all friends, all your meetings, both mens and womens, monthly and quarterly, and yearly, &c. were ſet up by the power, and ſpirit, and wiſdom of God: and in them you do know that you have felt both his power, and ſpirit, and wiſdom, and bleſſed refreſhing ſpirit among you, and in you, to his praiſe and glory, and your comfort: ſo that you have been a city ſet on a hill, that cannot be hid.

'And although many looſe and unruly ſpirits have riſen betimes to oppoſe you and them, both in print and other ways; but you have ſeen how they have come to nought; and the Lord hath blaſted them, and brought their deeds to light, and made them manifeſt to be the trees without fruit, and wells without water, and wandering ſtars from the firmament of God's power, and the raging waves of the ſea, caſting up their mire and dirt: and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit, and the ſow that was waſhed, turned again to the mire. And this hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people.

'And therefore all to ſtand ſtedfaſt in Chriſt Jeſus your head, in whom you are all one, male and female, and

know his government, and of the increaſe of his government and peace there ſhall be no end; but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all them that be out of Chriſt, and do oppoſe it and him, whoſe judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not ſlumber: and therefore in God and Chriſt's light, life, ſpirit and power live and walk, that is over all (and the ſeed of it) in love and in innocency, and in ſimplicity; and in righteouſneſs and holineſs dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghoſt, in which God's kingdom doth ſtand. All children of new and heavenly Jeruſalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, ſpiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

'And as for this ſpirit of rebellion and oppoſition, that hath riſen formerly and lately; it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jeruſalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words and works. And therefore friends are to live and walk in the power and ſpirit of God, that is over it, and in the ſeed, that will bruiſe and break it to pieces: in which ſeed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and ſpirit of God, that doth judge it; and all God's witneſſes in his tabernacle go out againſt it, and always have and will.

'And let no man live to ſelf, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and ſeek the peace of the church of Chriſt, and the peace of all men in him: for bleſſed are the peace-makers. And dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wiſdom of God, that is gentle and eaſy to be intreated, that is full of mercy; all ſtriving to be of one mind, heart, ſoul, and judgment in Chriſt, having his mind and ſpirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Chriſt, his church, who is the holy head thereof. So glory to God through Chriſt, in this age, and all other ages, who is the rock and foundation, and the Emanuel, God with us, Amen, over all, the beginning and the ending; in him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in whom you will feel me, and I you.

All children of new Jeruſalem, that deſcends from above,

the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light thereof, and is the temple: in it they are born again of the ſpirit: ſo Jeruſalem that is above is the mother of them that are born of the ſpirit. And ſo they that come, and are come, to heavenly Jeruſalem, are them that receive Chriſt; and he giveth them power to become the ſons of God, and are born again of the ſpirit: ſo Jeruſalem, that is their mother. And ſuch do come to heavenly mount Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect; and are come to the church of the living God, written in heaven, and have the name of God, and the city of God written upon them: ſo here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and a ſpiritual generation.

'There is no ſchiſm, nor diviſion, nor contention, nor ſtrife, in heavenly Jeruſalem, nor in the body of Chriſt, which is made up of living ſtones, a ſpiritual houſe. And Chriſt is not divided, for in him there is peace. Chriſt ſaith, in me you have peace. And he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below, in the ſpirit of it there is trouble: therefore keep in Chriſt, and walk in him, Amen. G. F.'

Jeruſalem was the mother of all true Chriſtians before the apoſtacy; and ſince, the outward Chriſtians are broken into many ſects, and they have gotten many mothers; but all they that are come out of the apoſtacy by the power and ſpirit of Chriſt, Jeruſalem that is above, is their mother, (and now below her;) who doth nouriſh all her ſpiritual children.

G. F.

Read at the Yearly-Meeting
in London, 1691.

This year I find that William Goodridge, of Banwell in Somerſetſhire, was releaſed from priſon, where he had been confined about thirteen years. He had been premunired for refuſing to take the oath: and his goods, whereof the moveables were rated at about two hundred forty-four pounds, and the real eſtate counted worth ſixty pounds per annum, were confiſcated. Thus to ſuffer ſpoil

of goods hath been the lot of many others, and among theſe was Benjamin Brown, an ancient man, of Browniſh in Suffolk, who alſo, for not taking the oath, was ſtript of all, ſo that his wife and child were fain to lie on the floor without a bed.

Now time calls me to ſay ſomething of the apoſtacy of George Keith, who being in Pennſylvania, made a great buſtle there. He was a witty perſon, and eſteemed very learned; and at the univerſity obtained the degree of maſter of arts. He often alſo gave proofs of an high ſoaring knowledge, and was very ready to ſhew from philoſophy the reaſons and cauſes of many things in the creation; but the doctrine of Francis Mercurius, baron of Helmons, concerning the tranſmigration of ſouls, became ſo palatable to him, that he not only in ſome manner approved it, but alſo was believed to be concerned in the book containing two hundred queries about that matter, great part of which, as I have been informed, he acknowledged to have been put in writing by himſelf, though it appeared in publick without the author's name. But this notion meeting with no acceptance among the Quakers, his love to them began to abate; and his diſcontent increaſed, becauſe two perſons, who oppoſed him, had (as he ſaid) uſed ſome unwarrantable expreſſions, and were not ſo ſharply reproved, as he, who was of a fiery temper, deſired. He accuſed them that they had ſaid, that the light within was ſufficient to ſalvation, without any thing elſe. From whence he endeavoured to prove, that they excluded the man Jeſus Chriſt, as not neceſſary to ſalvation; but they denied this to be their doctrine.

He afterwards ſaid of William Stockdell, one of thoſe two perſons at Philadelphia in Pennſylvania, that he had charged him G. K. to have preached two Chriſts, becauſe he preached faith in Chriſt within, and in Chriſt without us. Now though Stockdell would not allow this to be true, and ſome of the hearers alſo denied it, though aſſerted by two others of his party, yet G. Keith blew the fire of this quarrel, and ſo got ſome adherents. He alſo charged the deputy-governor, Thomas Lloyd, to have ſaid, that faith in Chriſt without us, as he died for our ſins, and roſe

again, was not neceſſary to our ſalvation. But others ſaid, that the words were not ſo, and that the matter was not fairly ſtated; ſince the queſtion was not, whether faith in Chriſt without us, as he died for our ſins, and roſe again, was not neceſſary to our ſalvation; but whether that faith were indiſpenſably neceſſary to all mankind, and that none could be ſaved without it, though they had not the means, opportunity, or capacity to know or receive it. Which being aſſerted, it was thought that ſuch a poſition did not only exclude from ſalvation whole nations, but alſo infants, and deaf and dumb perſons. Better had it been that ſuch queſtions never had been ſtarted, for a paſſionate maintaining of a different poſition often breeds ſtrife and contention. But G. Keith, with ſome others, having now ſeparated themſelves from the ſociety, he ſaid his diſſatisfaction was only with ſome unſound Quakers in America; but he was in unity with all faithful friends in England.

And now he began to behave himſelf very diſreſpectfully, and was on that account ſharply reproved by the aforeſaid Thomas Lloyd; to whom he did not ſtick to ſpeak in a reproachful way, charging him with impudence, and ſaying, that he was unfit to be a governor, and that his name ſhould ſtink, &c. And becauſe ſome members of the council did not expect to be better treated by him, ſince he had called one of the magiſtrates impudent raſcal; this was much reſented, and the more, becauſe G. Keith having drawn in a printer, publiſhed a paper, wherein he not only ſcandalouſly ſlandered the diligence of the magiſtrates in reſtraining of robbers, but alſo the judicial proceedings againſt murderers. And ſeeing ſeveral Mennonites of the county of Meurs lived alſo in Pennſylvania, it was not much to be wondered that they who count it unlawful for a Chriſtian to bear the ſword of magiſtracy, did ſtick to him; and to get adherents ſeemed the main thing he aimed at; for he himſelf was not trained up under ſuch a notion, but in the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland. The conſequence of this caſe was, that Keith and one Thomas Bud, who (with him) had been compiler of the aforeſaid paper, were fined for it; but yet the government was ſo moderate, that the fine was never exacted; and for all that

G. Keith did not ſtick to make a great clamour of his ſufferings; and about two years after he came into England, to make his complaint to the church at London.

This year in the month called Auguſt, Stephen Criſp deceaſed near London. He had long been weak in body, and was much afflicted with the ſtone, performing nevertheleſs his miniſtry of the goſpel; and his ſervice was very acceptable, becauſe he had a gift beyond many, being not only ſound in doctrine and judgment, but grave and elegant in his utterance, and well qualified for convincing his hearers, and to touch them to the heart; ſo that he generally met with a great concourſe of people. Four days before his deceaſe, lying ſick in bed, and being under great pain, he was viſited by G. Whitehead, to whom he ſaid in ſubſtance, 'I ſee an end of mortality, and yet cannot come at it, I deſire the Lord to deliver me out of this painful body: if he will but ſay the word, it is done: yet there is no cloud in my way. I have a full aſſurance of my peace with God in Chriſt Jeſus; my integrity and uprightneſs of heart is known to the Lord; and I have peace and juſtification in Jeſus Chriſt, who made me ſo.' The day before his departure, G. Whitehead being come again to ſee him, found him in a dying ſtate, and almoſt ſpeechleſs; yet he was underſtood to ſay, 'I hope I am gathering, I hope, I hope.' G. Whitehead near parting from him, aſked him whether he had any thing to his friends; to which he gave this anſwer, 'Remember my dear love in Jeſus Chriſt to all friends.' The next day, being the 28th of the aforeſaid month, he died at Wandſworth, about five miles from London. Many of his ſermons taken in ſhort-hand from his mouth are publiſhed in print, and give proofs of his having been indeed an able miniſter of the goſpel.

In this year died alſo Catharine Evans, who, as hath been mentioned here before, had been long impriſoned at Malta. She had ſuffered much for her religion; and in the year 1657, having at Saliſbury exhorted the people to repentance, this ſo incenſed the magiſtrates, that by order of Humphry Ditton, juſtice, and Robert Good, mayor, ſhe was ſtript, and faſtened to the whipping-poſt in the

market, and then whipt. Afterwards coming thither again, and ſpeaking to the people in the market, by way of admonition, ſhe was ſent to Bridewell, and put into a dark naſty place. After her return from Malta, impriſonment fell to her ſhare ſeveral times; once at Welchpool in Montgomeryſhire in the year 1666, for refuſing to ſwear; and ſeveral years after ſhe was alſo impriſoned at Briſtol. And after many adverſities and great ſufferings, having lived to a great age, ſhe died, and ſo entered into everlaſting reſt.

Now I return again to George Keith, who appeared in the annual aſſembly at London, anno 1694, but there he ſhewed himſelf ſo paſſionate and boiſterous, that no means could be found to compoſe the difference. Yet he ſeemed to get adherents among ſome of the ſeparatiſts about London: but theſe alſo ſoon growing weary of him, he got a place called Turner's Hall to preach in. Here at firſt he had a great concourſe of people, ſince novelties generally beget curioſity. But he from time to time more and more courting thoſe of the church of England, and falling in with the Epiſcopalians, began to loſe his eſteem among people of other perſuaſions, eſpecially when at length he entirely conformed to that church, which formerly in print he had zealouſly attacked: but in proceſs of time he took a gown, and was ordained to be a preacher. After which he ſometimes preached with the ſurplice on, which in all probability he would have abhorred before ever he joined with the Quakers; for he had been a member of the Preſbyterian kirk of Scotland, which always hath been a zealous oppoſer of the epiſcopal ceremonies. And ſince he had contradicted that, which formerly he had aſſerted and defended in good earneſt; and charged the Quakers with a belief, which they never had owned to be theirs, they found themſelves obliged publicly to ſet forth their faith anew print, which they had often before aſſerted both in words and writing, thereby to manifeſt that their belief was really orthodox, and agreeable with the Holy Scriptures. This they did by the following repreſentation, which in the year 1693, came forth in print at London, as follows, with this title.

## The Christian Doctrine, and Society of the People called Quakers, cleared, &c.

'WHEREAS divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, (as is pretended by one party) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries to reproach both the Christian ministry, and whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no ways concerned in the said division or matters charged, but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant, and profane, to slight and contemn the truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ:

'We are, therefore, tenderly concerned for truth's sake, in behalf of the said people (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God, and faithful to their Christian principle and profession) to use our just endeavours to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended (or supposed) to be in question in the said division; in relation whereunto we do in the fear of God, and in simplicity and plainness of his truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare what our Christian belief and profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

'We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only mediator and advocate with the Father (*a*).

'That God created all things, he made the worlds, by

(*a*) 1 John ii. 2. John xiv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as being that powerful and living word of God by whom all things were made (*b*); and that the Father, the word, and Holy Spirit are one, in Divine Being inſeparable; one true, living and eternal God, bleſſed for ever (*c*).

'Yet that this word, or Son of God in the fulneſs of time, took fleſh, became perfect man, according to the fleſh, deſcended and came of the ſeed of Abraham and David (*d*), but was miraculouſly conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary (*e*). And alſo farther, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the ſpirit of ſanctification, by the reſurrection from the dead (*f*).

'That in the word (or Son of God) was life, and the ſame life was the light of men; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world (*g*); and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become the children of the light; (*h*); hereby we believe in Chriſt the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us; and wherein we muſt needs have ſincere reſpect and honour to (and belief in) Chriſt, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehenſible glory and fulneſs (*i*): as he is the fountain of life and light, and giver thereof unto us; Chriſt, as in himſelf, and as in us, being not divided. And that as man, Chriſt died for our ſins, roſe again, and was received up into glory, in the heavens (*k*). He having, in his dying for all, been that one great univerſal offering and ſacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man (*l*); and he is the propitiation not for our ſins only, but for the ſins of the whole world (*m*). We were reconciled by his death, but ſaved by his life.

'That Jeſus Chriſt, who ſitteth at the right hand of the throne of the majeſty in the heavens, yet is he our king, high-prieſt and prophet (*n*), in his church, a miniſter of the ſanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the

(*b* Eph. iii. 9. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. (*c*) 1 John v. 7. (*d*) Rom. i. 3, 4. (*e*) Mat. i. 25. (*f*) Rom. i. 3, 4. (*g*) John i. 4, 9. (*h*) John xii. 36. Iſa. ii. 5. (*i*) 1 Tim vi. 16. (*k*) 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28. and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26. and xxiv. 26. (*l*) Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Eph. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. (*m*) 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. (*n*) Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 5. Deut. xviii. 15, 18. Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37.

Lord pitched, and not man (*o*). He is interceſſor and advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the preſence of God for us (*p*), being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, ſufferings and ſorrows. And alſo by his ſpirit in our hearts, he maketh interceſſion according to the will of God, crying, Abba, Father (*q*).

'For any whom God hath gifted (*r*), and called ſincerely to preach faith in the ſame Chriſt, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Chriſts, but one and the ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt (*s*), having reſpect to thoſe degrees of our ſpiritual knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus in us (*t*), and to his own unſpeakable fulneſs and glory (*u*), as in himſelf, in his own entire being, wherein Chriſt himſelf and the leaſt meaſure of his light or life, as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor ſeparable, no more than the ſun is from its light. And as he aſcended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things (*x*), his fulneſs cannot be comprehended, or contained in any finite creature (*y*); but in ſome meaſure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the ſame, as of his fulneſs we have received grace for grace. Chriſt our Mediator, received the ſpirit, not by meaſure (*z*), but by fulneſs; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of his gift (*a*).

'That the goſpel of the grace of God ſhould be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt (*b*), being one (*c*), in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, and indiviſible, (or not to be divided) in the great work of man's ſalvation.

'We ſincerely confeſs (and believe in) Jeſus Chriſt, both as he is true God, and perfect man (*d*), and that he is the author of our living faith in the power and goodneſs of God, as manifeſted in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and by his own bleſſed ſpirit (or divine unction) revealed in us (*e*), whereby we inwardly feel and taſte of his goodneſs (*f*), life, and

(*o*) Heb. viii. 1, 2. (*p*) Heb vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. (*q*) Rom. viii. 26, 27. 34. Gal. iv. 6. (*r*) Eph. iii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. (*s*) 1 Cor. viii. 6. (*t*) John xv. 26. and xvi. 13, 14, 15. (*u*) John i. 16. (*x*) Eph iv. 10. (*y*) Col. i. 19. and ii. 9. (*z*) John iii. 34. (*a*) Eph. iv. 7. (*b*) Mat. xxviii. 19. (*c*) John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. (*d*) John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. iii. 5. (*e*) 1 John ii. 20. 27. (*f*) 1 Pet. ii. 3. John vi. 33, 35. 51. 57, 58.

virtue; ſo as our ſouls live and proſper by and in him: and the inward ſenſe of this divine power of Chriſt, and faith in the ſame, and the inward experience, is abſolutely neceſſary to make a true ſincere and perfect Chriſtian in ſpirit and life.

'That divine honour and worſhip is due to the Son of God (*g*); and that he is, in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt called upon (as the primitive Chriſtians did), (*h*) becauſe of the glorious union or oneneſs of the Father and the Son (*i*); and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praiſes to God, nor receive a gracious anſwer or bleſſing from God, but in and through his dear Son Chriſt.

'That Chriſt's body that was crucified was not the godhead, yet by the power of God was raiſed from the dead; and that the ſame Chriſt that was therein crucified, aſcended into heaven and glory (*k*), is not queſtioned by us. His fleſh ſaw no corruption (*l*), it did not corrupt, but yet doubtleſs his body was changed into a more glorious (*m*) and heavenly condition than it was in when ſubject to divers ſufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raiſed from the dead, ſo as to become ſuch a glorious body (as it is declared to be) is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend or pry into (and more meet for angels to ſee); the ſcripture is ſilent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to enquire or diſpute it; nor do we eſteem it neceſſary to make ourſelves wiſe above (*n*) what is written, as to the manner or condition of Chriſt's glorious body, as in heaven; no more than to enquire how Chriſt appeared in divers manners or forms (*o*); or how he came in among his diſciples, the doors being ſhut (*p*); or how he vaniſhed out of their ſight after he was riſen. However, we have cauſe to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a moſt glorious condition, far tranſcending what it was in on earth, otherwiſe how ſhould our low body be changed, ſo as to be made like unto his glorious body (*q*); for when

(*g*) John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. (*h*) 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. (*i*) John x. 30. 1 John v. (*k*) Luke xxiv. 26. (*l*) Pſal xvi. 10. Acts ii. 31. and xiii. 35, 37. (*m*) Phil. iii. 21. (*n*) 1 Cor. iv. 6. (*o*) John xx. 15. (*p*) John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36, 37. and xxiv. 31. (*q*) Phil. iii. 21.

he was on earth, and attended with ſufferings, he was ſaid to be like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted (*r*); which may not be ſo ſaid of him as now in a ſtate of glory, as he prayed for (*s*); otherwiſe where would be the change both in him and in us?

'True and living faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Son of the living God (*t*), has reſpect to his entire being and fulneſs, to him intirely as in himſelf, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto him (*u*); and alſo an eye and reſpect to the ſame Son of God (*z*) as inwardly making himſelf known in the ſoul, in every degree of his light, life, ſpirit, grace, and truth; and as he is both the word of faith, and a quickening ſpirit in us; (*y*) whereby he is the immediate cauſe, author, object, and ſtrength of our living faith in his name and power; and of the work of our ſalvation from ſin and bondage of corruption; and the Son of God cannot be divided from the leaſt or loweſt appearance of his own divine light (or life in us or in mankind) no more than the ſun from its own light; nor is the ſufficiency of his light within by us ſet up in oppoſition to him the man Chriſt, or his fulneſs, conſidered as in himſelf, or without us; nor can any meaſure or degree of light, received from Chriſt (as ſuch) be properly called the fulneſs of Chriſt, or Chriſt as in fulneſs, nor exclude him (ſo conſidered) from being our complete Saviour; for Chriſt himſelf to be our light, our life and Saviour (*z*), is ſo conſiſtant, that without his light we could not know life, nor him to ſave us from ſin or deliver us from darkneſs, condemnation or wrath to come: and where the leaſt degree or meaſure of this light and life of Chriſt within is ſincerely waited in, followed and obeyed; there is a bleſſed increaſe of light and grace known and felt; as the path of the juſt it ſhines more and more, until the perfect day (*a*); and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, hath been, and is truly experienced. And this light, life, or ſpirit of

(*r*) Heb. ii. 17. and iv 15. (*s*) John xxii. 5. (*t*) John xvi. 1. (*u*) Mat. xxviii. 18. and xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. ii 8. (*x*) John xiv 23. and xvii. 21, 22, 23 24, 26. (*y*) 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. (*z*) John i. 4, 9. and iii. 19, 20. and xii. 35, 36, 46. and viii. 12. (*a*) Prov. iv. 18. Pſal. xxxvi. 9.

Chriſt within (for they are one divine principle) is ſufficient to lead unto all truth; having in it the divers miniſtrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and goſpel, (even that goſpel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven:) it does not only, as in its firſt miniſtration, manifeſt ſin, and reprove and condemn for ſin; but alſo excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance; and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Chriſt Jeſus, which he has obtained for mankind in thoſe goſpel terms of faith, (in his name) true repentance and converſion to Chriſt thereby required.

'So that the light and life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the ſecond or new covenant, as Chriſt the light is confeſſed to be (even as he is the ſeed or word of faith in all men,) this does not leave men or women (who believe in the light) under the firſt covenant, nor as the ſons of the bondwoman, as the literal Jews were; (when gone from the Spirit of God, and his Chriſt in them) but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, in the new and living way, and to the adoption of ſons, to be children and ſons of the free-woman, of Jeruſalem from above.

'It is true, that we ought not to lay aſide, nor any way to undervalue (but highly to eſteem) true preaching and the holy ſcriptures; and the ſincere belief and faith of Chriſt, as he died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification; together with Chriſt's inward and ſpiritual appearance, and work of grace in the ſoul; livingly to open the myſtery of his death, and perfectly to effect our reconciliation, ſanctification, and juſtification; and wherever Chriſt qualifies and calls any to preach and demonſtrate the myſtery of his coming, death, and reſurrection, &c. even among the gentiles, Chriſt ought accordingly to be both preached, believed and received.

'Yet ſuppoſing there have been, or are ſuch pious and conſcientious gentiles, in whom Chriſt was and is as the ſeed or principle of the ſecond or new covenant, the light, the word of faith; (as is granted) and that ſuch live uprightly and faithfully to that light they have, or to what is

made known of God in them, and who therefore in that ſtate cannot periſh, (but ſhall be ſaved) as is alſo confeſſed; and ſuppoſing theſe have not the outward advantage of preaching, ſcripture, or thence the knowledge of Chriſt's outward coming, being outwardly crucified and riſen from the dead; can ſuch (thus conſidered) be juſtly excluded Chriſtianity, or the covenant of grace, (as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof) or truly deemed no Chriſtians, or void of any Chriſtian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within, or be only ſons of the firſt covenant, and bond-woman, like the literal outſide Jews; or muſt all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Chriſt within them, unleſs they have the knowledge of Chriſt as without them? No ſure, for that would imply inſufficiency in Chriſt and his light, as within them, and to fruſtrate God's good end and promiſe of Chriſt, and his free and univerſal love and grace to mankind, in ſending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they muſt have ſome true faith and intereſt in Chriſt and his mediation, becauſe of God's free love in Chriſt to all mankind, and Chriſt's dying for all men (*b*), and being given for a light of the gentiles, and for ſalvation to the ends of the earth. (*c*) And becauſe of their living up ſincerely and faithfully to his light in them; their being pious, conſcientious, accepted and ſaved, (as is granted) we cannot reaſonably think a ſincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of Chriſtianity (of what nation ſoever he be) becauſe none can come to God or godlineſs but by Chriſt (*d*), by his light and grace in them: yet we grant if there be ſuch pious ſincere men or women, as have not the ſcripture or knowledge of Chriſt, as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect Chriſtians in all perfections, as in all knowledge and underſtanding, all points of doctrine, outward profeſſion of Chriſt; ſo that they are better than they profeſs or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward, and Chriſtians inward, than in outward ſhew or profeſſion. Theſe are Chriſtians ſincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and ſubſtance, though not in knowledge and underſtanding. A man or

(*b*) 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. (*c*) Iſa. xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii. 47.
(*d*) John xiv. 6.

woman having the life and fruits of true Chriſtianity, the fruits of the Spirit of Chriſt in them, that can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points, or articles of faith, (yea many that cannot read letters) yet may be true Chriſtians in ſpirit and life; and ſome could die for Chriſt, that could not diſpute for him; and even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of God, or ſalvation in and by Chriſt Jeſus, the image and nature of the Son of God, being in ſome meaſure in them, and they under God's care and ſpecial Providence. See Matt. xviii. 2, 10.

'And though we had the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and a belief of Chriſt crucified and riſen, &c. we never truly knew the myſtery thereof, until we were turned to the light of his grace and ſpirit within us; we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and ſaved by his life, or what it was to know the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, the power of his reſurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death; we knew not until he opened our eyes, and turned our minds from darkneſs unto his own divine life and light within us.

'Notwithſtanding we do ſincerely and greatly value the holy Scriptures, preaching and teaching of faithful, divinely inſpired, gifted and qualified perſons and miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, as being great outward helps, and inſtrumental in his hand, and by his ſpirit, for converſion, where God is pleaſed to afford thoſe outward helps and means, as that we neither do nor may oppoſe the ſufficiency of the light or Spirit of Chriſt within, to ſuch outward helps or means, ſo as to reject, diſeſteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the ſame light and ſpirit, and tend to turn mens minds thereunto, and all center therein.

'Nor can the holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be juſtly ſet in oppoſition to the light or Spirit of God or Chriſt within; for his faithful meſſengers are miniſters thereof, being ſent to turn people to the ſame light and ſpirit in them, Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii, 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii, 8.

'It is certain, that great is the myſtery of godlineſs in itſelf, in its own being and excellency: namely, that God ſhould be and was manifeſt in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpi-

rit, ſeen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

'And it is a great and precious myſtery of godlineſs and Chriſtianity alſo, that Chriſt ſhould be ſpiritually and effectually in mens hearts, to ſave and deliver them from ſin, Satan, and bondage of corruption, Chriſt being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith, Chriſt within the hope of glory, our light and life, who of God is made unto us wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this myſtery of godlineſs, both as in its own being and glory, and alſo as in men (in many hid and in ſome revealed) hath been and muſt be teſtified, preached, and believed; where God is pleaſed to give commiſſion, and prepare peoples hearts for the ſame, and not in men's wills.

'Concerning the reſurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Chriſt's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead: (as divers queſtions are put in ſuch terms) what the holy Scriptures plainly declare and teſtify in theſe matters, we have great reaſon to credit, and not to queſtion, and have been always ready to embrace, with reſpect to Chriſt and his apoſtles own teſtimony and propheſies.

'1. For the doctrine of the reſurrection; if in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men the moſt miſerable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. We ſincerely believe, not only a reſurrection in Chriſt from the fallen ſinful ſtate here, but a riſing and aſcending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at laſt appears, we may appear with him in glory. Col. iii. 4. 1 John iii. 2.

'But that all the wicked who live in rebellion againſt the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, ſhall come forth to the reſurrection of condemnation.

'And that the ſoul or ſpirit of every man and woman ſhall be reſerved in its own diſtinct and proper being, (ſo as there ſhall be as many ſouls in the world to come as in this) and every ſeed (yea every ſoul) ſhall have its proper body, as God is pleaſed to give it, 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is

ſown, a ſpiritual body is raiſed; that being firſt which is natural, and afterward that which is ſpiritual. And though it is ſaid, this corruptible ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal ſhall put on immortality; the change ſhall be ſuch as fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. We ſhall be raiſed out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the reſurrection, ſhall be equal to the angels of God in heaven. (*e*)

'And as the celeſtial bodies do far excel terreſtrial, ſo we expect our ſpiritual bodies in the reſurrection, ſhall far excel what our bodies now are; and we hope that none can juſtly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we eſteem it very unneceſſary to diſpute or queſtion how the dead are raiſed, or with what body they come: but rather ſubmit that to the wiſdom and pleaſure of Almighty God.

2. For the doctrine of eternal judgment;

'God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and he is both judge of quick and dead, and of the ſtates and ends of all mankind, John v. 22, 27. Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

'That there ſhall be hereafter a great harveſt, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the holy Scripture is clear, Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41, ch. x. 15, and xi. 24. Jude 6. "When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then ſhall he ſit upon the throne of his glory, and before him ſhall be gathered all nations, &c." Matt. xxv. 31, 32. to the end, compared with ch. xxii. 31. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26. and 1 Cor. xv. 52. 2 Theſ. i. 7, 8. to the end, and 1 Theſ. iv. 16. Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

'That this bleſſed heavenly man, this Son of Man, who hath ſo deeply ſuffered and endured ſo many great indigni-

(*e*) Matt. xxii. 30. Mark xii. 25. Luke xx. 36.

ties and perſecutions from his adverſaries, (both to himſelf and his members and brethren) ſhould at laſt, even in the laſt and great day, ſignally and manifeſtly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly hoſt and retinue before all nations, before all his enemies, and thoſe that have denied him; this will be to their great terror and amazement, that this moſt glorious heavenly man, and his brethren, that have been ſo much contemned and ſet at nought, ſhould be thus exalted over their enemies and perſecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that ſuffer with him, ſhould appear with him in glory and dignity when he thus appears at laſt. Chriſt was judge of the world, and the prince thereof, when on earth, John ix. 39. and xii. 31. He is ſtill judge of the world, the wickedneſs, and prince thereof, by his light, ſpirit, and goſpel in mens hearts and conſciences, John xvi. 8, 11. Matt. xii. 20. Iſa. xlii. 1. Rom. ii. 16. 1 Pet. iv. 5. And he will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteouſneſs by that man whom he hath ordained. Chriſt foretold it ſhall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his meſſengers or miniſters, &c. Matt. x. 15. and ſee chap. xi. 24. and Mark vi. 11. Luke x. 12, 14. It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at laſt to bring them forth, and raiſe them up into glory with Chriſt; ſo he knoweth alſo how to reſerve the unjuſt and finally impenitent unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed, 2 Pet. ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of deſtruction, Job xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reſerve ſuch impenitent, preſumptuous and rebellious criminals, as bound under chains of darkneſs, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day, Jude 6. Matt. xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or diſpute the manner how they ſhall be ſo reſerved; but leave it to God, he knows how.'

A Poſtſcript relating to the doctrine of the Reſurrection and eternal Judgment.

'At the laſt trump of God, and the voice of the archangel, the dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt, 1 Cor. xv. 52. 1 Theſ. iv. 16. compared with Matt. xxiv. 31.

'Many are often alarmed in conſcience here by the word and voice of God; who ſtop their ears and ſlight thoſe warnings; but the great and final alarm of the laſt trumpet, they cannot ſtop their ears againſt, nor eſcape, it will unavoidably ſeize upon, and farther awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their conſciences unto repentance, nor out of their ſins here, muſt certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

'Whoſoever do now wilfully ſhut their eyes, hate, contemn, or ſhun the light of Chriſt, or his appearance within, ſhall at laſt be made to ſee, and not be able to ſhun or hide themſelves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 Theſ. iv. 16. Matt. xxiv. 27. Luke xvii. 24. Dan. x. 6. Job xxxvii. 3.

'And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and ſhut up the records or books thereof in their own conſciences, they ſhall be at laſt opened, and every one judged of theſe things recorded therein, according to their works, Rev. xx 12, 13, 14, 15.

'Signed in behalf of our Chriſtian profeſſion and people aforeſaid.

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| George Whitehead, | Charles Marſhall, |
| Ambroſe Rigg, | John Bowater, |
| William Fallowfield, | John Vaughton, |
| James Parke, | William Bingley. |

This paper generally gave ſatisfaction, and was well received alſo in Holland, where, having tranſlated it into

Dutch, I got it publiſhed in print. Now ſince Francis Bugg, an envious apoſtate, charged the Quakers with ſome Socinian notions; and being ſet on by ſome churchmen, endeavoured alſo to render them odious with the government, the following confeſſion of faith, ſigned by one and thirty perſons, of which G. Whitehead was one, was in December preſented to the parliament:

Be it known to all, that we ſincerely believe and confeſs,

I. That Jeſus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Meſſiah, the very Chriſt, the Son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witneſs: and that we do highly value his death, ſufferings, works, offices, and merits for the redemption of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine, and miniſtry.

II. That this very Chriſt of God, who is the Lamb of God, that takes away the ſins of the world, was ſlain, was dead, and is alive, and lives for ever in his divine eternal glory, dominion, and power with the Father.

III. That the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, are of divine authority, as being given by inſpiration of God.

IV. And that magiſtracy or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the puniſhment of evil doers, and praiſe of them that do well.

By this and the like writings, the eyes of many that were at the helm began to be more opened; and even among the biſhops were ſome that inclined to moderation; for the king endeavoured as much as he could to promote the moſt moderate among the churchmen to thoſe high dignities; and prejudice, which had blinded many in reſpect to the Quakers, began to abate more and more. But yet there was one thing that continually cauſed them much hardſhip, viz. their refuſing to ſwear; for by reaſon of this they were not only deprived of their rights as freemen, but alſo of giving evidence in courts of judicature. They did not therefore omit from time to time, to petition the

parliament; wherein they deſired to be relieved of this heavy burden; though hitherto they had not been able to obtain this favour: wherefore on the 26th of November, they delivered a petition to the parliament, ſetting forth their great ſufferings, for want of their ſolemn declaration being taken inſtead of an oath; and that not in their own caſes only, but in evidence wherein others were concerned. This petition they concluded thus:

> We therefore earneſtly and humbly requeſt, that you will favourably pleaſe to give leave to bring in a bill to admit, that our ſolemn anſwer, affirmation, or denial, may be accepted inſtead of an oath, to relieve us in the caſes aforeſaid, or in ſuch of them as you in your wiſdom ſhall ſee meet: we freely ſubmitting, that if any reputed a Quaker, ſhall falſify the truth, and be duly convicted thereof, that every ſuch perſon ſhall undergo the like pains and penalties, as are provided againſt perjured perſons. And your petitioners ſhall, as in duty bound, pray, &c.

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| William Mead, | William Bingley, |
| George Whitehead, | Samuel Waldenfield, |
| William Crouch, | John Staploe, |
| Walter Bental, | William Macker, |
| Thomas Hart, | Joſeph Wright, junr. |
| Michael Ruſſel, | Theodore Eccleſtone. |

This petition being read in the Houſe of Commons, they came to the following reſolution:

'A petition of the people called Quakers was read. Reſolved, That the conſideration thereof be referred to a committee; and that they report their opinions therein to the houſe.'

A committee being ordered accordingly, ſate thereupon, and gave their judgment as followeth:

'Upon the whole it is the opinion of this committee,

that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.'

But nothing was obtained that ſeſſion; for their enemies were yet ſo powerful in parliament, that they found means to retard this beneficial work, and to ſtay the progreſs of it: for ſo long as the Quakers were not relieved in the caſe of oaths, they who now were not liable to perſecution on account of their publick worſhip, might yet for all that be otherwiſe moleſted and vexed. Wherefore on the 22d of December, in the year 1694, a repreſentation of their caſe of not ſwearing, being ſigned in behalf by Theodore Eccleſtone, was delivered to the members of parliament, and was as followeth:

A brief repreſentation of the Quakers caſe of not ſwearing; and why they might have been, and yet may be relieved therein by parliament.

'It is a certain truth, that among Chriſtians, and Proteſtants eſpecially, there are divers particular things about religion, conſcientiouſly ſcrupled by ſome as unlawful, that others eſteem orthodox: and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the Quakers differ from many others (though not from all) in this caſe of oaths; they believing they are abſolutely forbid to ſwear in any caſe, by that poſitive command of Chriſt, Matt. v. 12. And that this is undenibly their Chriſtian perſuaſion, is evidenced by their ſufferings theſe many years for not ſwearing.

'And therefore their caſe may be worth the charitable notice of the government, by law to relieve them therein; and not, for their religious perſuaſion, to continue them and their families expoſed to ruin; who among their neighbours cheerfully pay to the ſupport of the government; and by their trades and induſtry, according to their capacities, advance the national ſtock.

'It may therefore be humbly offered, that it is not the intereſt of the government to refuſe them relief.

'Their induſtry in trade both at ſea and land, bringing profit to the government as well as others; the ſtation they ſtand in as merchants, farmers, manufacturers, improvers

of lands and ſtocks, is advantageous to their neighbours as truly as others. And as it ſeems not the intereſt of the government in general that they ſhould be any ways diſcouraged in their honeſt induſtry, ſo neither is it the intereſt of an eminent part of the government, that they ſhould not be relieved, viz. the judges.

'For the frequent ſuits that are brought againſt the Quakers, before the chancery and exchequer judges, are no doubt very troubleſome and burthenſome, by the difficulty of getting at a juſt iſſue, for want of ſwearing; whereby juſtice is delayed, and their cauſes often held very long; and no doubt when juſt judges ſee the Quakers wronged and abuſed, and cannot relieve them, it is irkſome to them: ſo that it is humbly conceived, it would be a great eaſe to thoſe courts, to have the Quakers relieved in this caſe of oaths.

'Neither is it without advantage to the king's other courts, to be able to uſe the evidence of one who is now a Quaker, that perhaps was not ſo ſome years ago; when he was a witneſs to a bill, bond, book-debt, or deed of indenture; or when he was ſteward or truſtee, or ſervant, either to perſons of quality, or to others of trade or eſtate.

'Nor may their teſtimony be unuſeful to coroners, in caſe of unnatural deaths; nor inconvenient in caſes of treſpaſs or felony. &c.

'And it is farther propoſed, that it is not the intereſt of the ſubject to continue them unrelieved; for it is not the intereſt of thoſe the Quakers are indebted; becauſe though ſuch may ſue and harraſs the Quakers in perſon and eſtate, yet they may long want a deciſion of their debt or claim, as to the right of it, for want of an anſwer upon oath.

'It is not the intereſt of thoſe they are concerned with in any doubtful caſe, becauſe of the difficulty to come to trial.

'And for thoſe that owe money to the Quakers, to be allowed to fly into chancery for a refuge, to obſtruct paying juſt debts, is ſuch an injury as it is hoped no one that is rational will countenance, or deſire ſhould be continued

upon them. And may it not then be aſſerted, that it is no honeſt man's true and juſt intereſt to have the Quakers denied relief; no, not the gown-men of Weſtminſter-hall, whoſe few fees from the Quakers as plaintiffs, might ſuggeſt (though unduly) that they have no long-tailed debts to ſue for, nor titles to recover; but if they ſo ſuppoſe, it is a miſtake, for it is rather their deſpair of relief, and their well-known inability to purſue a cauſe, that is their common determent to begin.

'So that of all cauſes that crowd thoſe courts, few are brought by the Quakers, though they may need it as much as others, to the great loſs of the learned in the law, as well as the poor injured Quaker.

'And one might think it were great pity an induſtrious people ſhould be kept liable to all injurious ſuits, and ſo much barred from ſuing for their rights, be their cauſe never ſo reaſonable, juſt, or neceſſary.

'Seeing their relief is to them ſo needful, ſo harmleſs to all, and ſo uſeful to the government and their neighbours; let us a little conſider the common objections; which may be ſummed up in ſhort thus:

Firſt objection, 'How ſhall we then be at a certainty?'

Secondly, 'Why ſhould the laws be altered for them? For,

Thirdly, 'It would be to raſe old foundations:

Fourthly, 'And let them into the government.'

'Which it is hoped will not be difficult to anſwer one by one, and that to reaſonable ſatisfaction.

'And to the firſt, viz. the doubt of certainty. It may be rationally affirmed, that whoſoever is bound to tell the truth, (eſpecially againſt mens own intereſt, where the temptation, if any, mainly lies) ſuch are either ſo bound by the law of God, or the law of men, or both.

'Now the obligations by the law of God are binding on good men, whether they give anſwers on oath, or on their ſolemn affirmation in the fear of God; and knaves are only

bound by the penal laws of men; which if made equally ſevere to thoſe that gave fallacious anſwers, as well without oath as by oath, would be equally effectual and binding, both to them that gave anſwers without ſwearing, and to them that ſwear.

'The ſecond objection, That it would be an alteration of the law. Not of the ſubſtance of the law, but of a circumſtance; and if that hath no detriment in it, but that the alteration be really an amendment, and a conveniency to an honeſt induſtrious people, pray why ſhould it not be done? What ſeſſions of parliament is there that paſſes, but ſome law or other is made for the eaſe, ſecurity, or relief of the ſubject?

'If foreigners are too hard for our ſea-faring-people, out goes an act of navigation to prevent it.

'If our poor at home want ſilk to work with, how ſoon is it granted, notwithſtanding the ſame act, to come over land, and not directly in ſhipping, from the places of its produce, as the ſaid act before did enjoin: and ſhall the eaſe of trade be ſo ſoon granted againſt a poſitive ſtatute; and the eaſe of conſcience be ſo long denied in this, as poſitive a command of Chriſt, at leaſt really ſo believed and accepted?

'And for the third objection, That it is to raſe old foundations. Anſwer, No, as it was ſaid it is rather to mend them; a proper work for parliaments.

'Did not parliaments abrogate popery, with all its claim to antiquity? Did not a parliament make the act of *Habeas Corpus* againſt the claim of prerogative? And was it more reaſonable to ſecure the ſubject from perpetual impriſonment by a king without a trial; than it is to ſecure one ſubject from impriſoning another till death, for not giving an anſwer in chancery or exchequer upon oath? Does it belong to parliaments to ſecure other ſubjects in their eſtates, liberties, and properties, and is it unparliamentary to ſecure the Quakers from ſequeſtrations againſt their whole eſtates, becauſe they dare not comply to a cir-

cumſtance of the law, when (as they underſtand it) it is againſt an expreſs command of Chriſt? Surely no: and therefore their relief in parliament is a fitting caſe to be there tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

'May it not then be well worth the while for the preſent parliament to relieve theſe diſtreſſed people, and afford their ſuffering caſe redreſs; that thereby their cauſes may the ſooner come to an iſſue, whether they ſue for juſt debts, or are ſued; whereby many unjuſt and vexatious ſuits, by injurious and litigious perſons, may be prevented; which have often tended rather to the Quaker's ruin and others damage, than recovery of their right?

'As to the fourth objection, That it will tend to let them into the government. For anſwer thereto, bar that as hard as you pleaſe; only do not let the ſuppoſal of that, from which ſo eaſily and ſo willingly they may be excluded, be a hindrance to that eaſe and benefit the government may ſo eaſily afford them.

'But now, while you have opportunity by the ſtation Providence hath placed you in, pray be you of ſuch noble, generous ſpirits, as to relieve them; though they differ from you in the conſtruction of a text they eſteem plain and poſitive on their ſide, and from which they dare not ſwerve; having therein the concurrence of many ancient fathers and martyrs, and ſince them the Menniſts, and of late Francis Oſbourne, eſq. in his Political Reflections, 7th edition, p. 319. who, treating of judicial caſes, calls Not ſwearing, a yielding a ſincere and faithful obedience to the precept of our Saviour, "Swear not at all:" which, ſays he, the corrupt gloſſes of expoſitors labour much, though all in vain, to elude.

'And Swinderby, in his appeal to the king, complaining of the errors of the Papiſts, ſays thus: 'As Chriſt forbids ſwearing, ſo, (ſays he) the pope juſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men to ſwear.'

'Which no man can rationally ſay is only ſpoken of ſwearing in communication, for his complaint is againſt juſtifying ſwearing, and compelling men to ſwear, which

cannot be pretended to mean other than ſolemn ſwearing; for no age that we read of, did ever authoriſe profane ſwearing, much leſs compel to it.

'Since therefore not only profane ſwearing, but alſo ſolemn ſwearing was early complained of by Proteſtants; let it not ſeem ſtrange to any, that the Quakers now ſcruple ſwearing, and for eaſe therein have often ſought relief in parliament, the proper place.

'Seeing then they believe they have the authority of Chriſt's command, and the apoſtle's exhortation, and the martyr's doctrine on their ſide, though divers of you are not ſo perſuaded:

'Yet let the world behold your juſtice and willingneſs, according to your power, to do good to all the honeſt and induſtrious people you both repreſent and govern; by enacting, that their ſolemn affirmation ſhall be accepted in lieu of an oath, and all that falſify therein, ſhall be puniſhed equally with perjured perſons.

'It having been made appear to a committee of this parliament, (Dec. 2, 1692) that they are expoſed to great hardſhips as aforeſaid; and not themſelves only, but others alſo; (which was the caſe of a member or two of this preſent parliament;)

'So that upon the whole matter, the ſaid committee were of opinion, and did report it to the houſe, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition, then newly preſented to the houſe.

'Wherefore as liberty hath been given them to declare their allegiance to the government without ſwearing, for which eaſe they are ſincerely thankful; ſo be pleaſed to add to that kindneſs, their relief in the matter of oaths, between them and other ſubjects, as well as between the government and them.

'Signed in behalf of the ſaid people,

'Theodore Eccleſtone.'

London, Dec. 22, 1694.

Though after the delivering of the ſaid repreſentation, the parliament this year came not to a full reſolution for their relief, yet ſeveral members ſhewed themſelves more

inclined to it, and in the next year the matter was taken in hand again in good earneſt.

Toward the concluſion of this year, Mary the 2d, queen of England, deceaſed. She was a princeſs eminent beyond many, being well verſed in reading, and of great knowledge, of which I will mention only this paſſage, viz. that the ambaſſador of the king her father at the Hague, having tried by many arguments to bring her over to the papal religion, ſaid afterwards in the preſence of ſome great men, that he never before believed that a woman was to be found any where ſo well experienced in the doctrine of Chriſtian religion; that therefore he would not adviſe any to enter into diſcourſe with her about that matter. On the 21ſt of December ſome ſymptoms of the ſmall-pox appeared on the queen, who had been ill a day or two before; and her diſtemper ſuddenly increaſed to that degree, that the phyſicians began to deſpair of her recovery: but this was ſo far from frightening her, that ſhe ſaid, 'God be thanked, I am prepared.' And this quietneſs of mind did not leave her, even when ſhe felt death approaching; for then ſhe was heard to ſay, 'I believe now that I ſhall die ſhortly; and I thank God, that from my youth I have learned this true doctrine, that repentance ought not to be deferred to a dying bed.' In ſuch a Chriſtian diſpoſition ſhe continued to her dying hour, and ſo quietly gave up the ghoſt to her Creator, from whom ſhe had received it, departing at Kenſington not long after midnight, between the 26th and 27th of December, and left the king in unſpeakable ſorrow, who, in all the time of her ſickneſs, it is ſaid, had not departed from her chamber. Many pens laboured to celebrate her praiſes, and bewail her death; and perhaps no queen in many ages hath been more beloved than ſhe was. But I break off; others have given an account of her excellent qualities and character to the world, and it may be none better than Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, in a treatiſe intitled, 'An Eſſay on the Memory of the late Queen.'

Now I return again to the caſe and affairs of the Quakers.

And ſince thoſe of Barbadoes in America were ſtill about

this time much moleſted, for not bearing arms, they ſent over a liſt in the year 1695, of what had been taken from them under the government of the colonels Searle and Muddiford, the preſident Wallum, the lords Francis Willoughby and William Willoughby, the knight Jonathan Atkins, and Richard Dutton, and the colonels Edwin Stede and James Kendal, all which amounted to 1,423,164lb Muſcovado ſugar, and 2,910l. 16s. in money. To this liſt was joined an account of the diſaſters which befel ſeveral of the perſecutors in Barbadoes. In this account I find above thirty marſhals or the deputies named, who, though they had enriched themſelves with the ſpoil and havock of the goods of honeſt people, yet they all died poor, and ſeveral either by an unnatural death, or with great pains; but I decline mentioning all the particulars. Among theſe was John Thurborn, marſhal to colonel Tidcomb, who uſed ſcoffingly to call the Quakers his milch cows, ſaying, that George Gray (one of theſe people) was one of his beſt cows, and gave a brave meſs of milk every exerciſing day. For he and other ſuch birds of prey took always much more than the fine amounted to: but at length he died in poverty, being afflicted with a fiſtula in his fundament, that did admit of no cure.

It was not only for not bearing arms that the Quakers ſuffered thus; but frequent occaſions were ſought to vex them. For when they (to bring their negroes, if poſſible, to ſome knowledge of the true God) cauſed them to meet together for an hour or two once a week, to inſtruct them according to their capacity, by reading to them ſome part of the Holy Scriptures, and ſpeaking ſomething to this purpoſe; a law was made, forbidding the Quakers to let their negroes come into their meetings, though kept in their own houſes, on pain of forfeiting every ſuch negro as was found there, or ten pounds inſtead thereof. And by one Thomas Cobham, an action was brought againſt Ralph Fretwell, for eighty negroes of his own at a meeting in his own family. But though the juſtice, John Merrick, did what he could to countenance the ſaid Cobham, yet after ſeveral ſeſſions of the court, at which the ſaid juſtice was an aſſiſtant, judgment was given in

favour of the defendant; and it was remarkable that the aboveſaid Cobham, though a luſty likely young man, became dejected, and generally ſlighted; and ſoon after was taken with a fever and an inflammation in his neck and throat, which ſo increaſed that towards his latter end, he cried out, 'Fire, fire; I am all on fire;' and to his mother he ſaid, ſhe needed not provide a coffin for him; for he ſhould be burnt up before it was made: crying out, 'Neither heaven nor hell, but all fire, fire;' to which he added, 'Now the Quakers will ſay it is a judgment fallen on me.' After this manner he miſerably ended his days. And juſtice Merrick's exit was alſo diſmal: for riding to his houſe, after having drank too much, he was thrown from his horſe, whereby his brain was ſo hurt, that he lay ſome days in a violent raving condition, to the terror of his friends, and ſo died. In like manner William Sharp, a judge of the court, who had been a great oppoſer of the Quakers inſtructing their negroes, riding from his houſe to Bridgetown, fell from his horſe, and was ſo hurt, that he was not heard to ſpeak any thing elſe afterwards, but 'O my head;' and three or four days after his fall, he died.

Sir Timothy Thornhill, major-general, had often threatened to take away the Quakers' lives, and was ſuch an abominable blaſphemer, that I feel myſelf ſeized with horror in reading the moſt deteſtable and direful blaſphemies which this monſtrous wretch belched out: for being at a feaſt, and drinking ſo exceſſively, that ſome of the company refuſed to drink ſo hard, he wiſhed, (ſhall I ſay it, or be ſilent) *Seipſum eſſe Deum Omnipotentem, quò poſſet damnare animas eorum qui cum ipſo bibere nollent.* At another time, being in company where a woman, by way of diſcourſe, ſpoke of the power and omnipotency of Almighty God, he returned this accurſed language, worſe than that of the devil himſelf, Matt. iv. 'God damn ye, go to the top of yonder tree, and ſee if God Almighty can ſave you from breaking your neck before you come to the bottom.' Other deviliſh language he ſpoke, I paſs by with ſilence. When once a perſon was brought before him for not appearing in arms, and told him, he could not do ſo for conſcience-ſake, he returned, 'God damn your conſcience;

if I cannot make your conſcience bow, I will make your ſtubborn dog's back bend,' and ſo tied him neck and heels with his own hands ſo violently that he almoſt deprived the man of life. He alſo once, when a declaration of war was publiſhed in the iſland, ſaid, that the firſt time any enemy appeared, he would hang up the Quakers, binding his words with abominable oaths, to which he was ſo accuſtomed, that he ſeldom ſpoke without them. But now at length the time came that he muſt remove from this to the other world. He had been ſick, and being pretty well recovered, he boaſted among his companions of his conqueſt over death, and daringly ſaid that he had taken a new leaſe of his life from God Almighty for thirty years longer. But within a few months after the thread of his life was cut, and his pretended leaſe was taken from him by the ſovereign of the univerſe. Thus he died unlamented by moderate people, and curſed by others who loſt conſiderably by him, notwithſtanding a great eſtate left him by his father.

But more happy was his marſhal, John Batt, who had taken much goods from the Quakers; yet on his dying bed, ſome years before, viz. 1679, was ſo ſenſibly touched with repentance, that he cauſed the following paper to be writ, and ſigned it;

'Whereas I John Batt the younger, of the iſland of Barbadoes, was lately, by commiſſion from colonel Thornhill, marſhal to his regiment of foot ſoldiers; and by that power did diſtrain upon the eſtates of ſeveral of the people called Quakers, and took and carried away many parcels of their ſugar, and other goods, for their defaults in not appearing in arms to the ſaid regiment; which they refuſed out of tenderneſs of conſcience, to which I had not regard; but now the Lord having laid his hand ſorely on me, by afflicting me with a hard and grievous ſickneſs, thoſe things done to the aforeſaid people come freſh in my mind to my very great grief and terror; and I do declare that all the ſins that I have been guilty of beſides, (which are very many) do not trouble or lie ſo heavy upon my conſcience, as thoſe my doings to that peo-

ple; and do believe that no man will ever be bleſſed or proſper that practiſes ſuch things againſt that people. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand this tenth day of May, 1679.

'John Batt, jun.'

Witneſs William Howard,
Antrobus.

Well had others done, if they had taken example by it; but it was not in vain that our Saviour in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, made Abraham ſay to the rich man, "If they hear not Moſes and the prophets, neither will they be perſuaded though one roſe from the dead." But other perſecutors took no caution by this penitent John Batt; for yet long after ſome others in Barbadoes moſt furiouſly ſhewed their malice and rage againſt the Quakers, and among theſe one Alexander Ruddock, a Scotchman, who was not only a colonel of a regiment of foot, but alſo judge of a court, and one of the council. He cauſed one of the ſociety of the Quakers to be rated four hundred pounds of ſugar, for payment of the prieſt's wages, who was his ſon-in-law; whereas upon complaint of the ſaid perſon, and upon enquiry, it appeared that the pretended due was but ten pounds of ſugar: and it was well known that he and his friends duly paid for maintaining the poor, and for mending highways: but all this could not avail him; for a cow was taken from him worth ten pounds ſterling. And though ſome of the magiſtrates, ſeeing the unreaſonableneſs of theſe proceedings would have had the cow returned to the right owner, yet ſuch was the power of the ſaid Ruddock, that they were not able to withſtand it. And becauſe the aforeſaid man had complained of the wrong and oppreſſion he ſuffered, this ſo incenſed Ruddock, that he cauſed him to be fined five pounds ſterling, for having refuſed to take the oath as conſtable, though he was willing to have ſerved the office. For this fine Ruddock iſſued out a warrant againſt him, upon which was taken from him a negro woman, that by the management of Ruddock was valued at about two thouſand three hun-

dred pounds of ſugar, which as the price of ſugar then went, might amount to eleven pounds ten ſhillings: and yet the negro was ſold for ſix and twenty pounds ſterling, and all kept for the fine of five pounds. From this ſame man was taken the value of above ſeven thouſand pounds of ſugar in one year by the direction of Ruddock; which the ſufferer laying before him in the preſence of his daughter, the prieſt's wife, and telling him he had ſuffered all that for complaining of the wrong he had done him about his cow, he, as rejoicing at it, ſaid, it ſhould be ſo yearly, ſo long as he was magiſtrate. But he did not live a year after.

He was of a fierce temper, and very ready to put negroes to death for example, ſaying, 'What is it for Barbadoes to put twenty or thirty negroes to death yearly for example ſake?' And as he vexed the Quakers many ways, ſo he ſhewed his grudge alſo by taking the meat they bought and paid for; nay ſo malicious he was, that meeting once a butcher carrying meat to the houſe of him that bought it, he commanded him to carry it back, ſaying the Quakers ſhall not eat freſh meat. But at length the meaſure of his iniquity was full: he came from the council, where an order was iſſued from the governor to break up the Quakers meetings, and he promiſed the governor diligently to obey all his commands. But in his very way home he was taken ill, and being come to his houſe, he called for ſome Cream of Tartar, which he uſed to take in his broth; but by his own miſtake he took Arſenick inſtead thereof, and ſo wretchedly ended his days. And how wicked ſoever he was, yet the prieſt Kennedy, his countryman, did not ſtick when he was to preach his funeral ſermon, to take his text from theſe words of the apoſtle, "I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs." And in this ſermon it was declared of him, that he had attained to the prudence of a judge, the dignity of a colonel, and the honour of a counſellor; and that he had ſerved his king and country faithfully, and died a ſaint. This laſt expreſſion ſeemed to regard ſome repentance he had ſhewed; but whatever it

it was, we muſt commit that to God; and in the mean-while not rely too much on ſuch a repentance: ſince Judas alſo repented of his wickedneſs. If I did not ſtudy brevity, I could relate more remarkable caſes concerning the perſecutors in Barbadoes; but I break off.

Now I return to England, where the parliament ſitting the latter end of this year, had effectually taken in hand the making an act to eaſe the people called Quakers from that heavy burden of ſwearing; but this work met with great oppoſition: for though many good-natured members were inclined to it in good earneſt, yet their enemies were ſo active in altering and clipping the bill, that it looked almoſt as if the whole project would have come to nought. But the king himſelf forwarded the work, and to his praiſe be it ſaid, he was the principal promoter of it: inſomuch that in the beginning of the year 1696, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that the ſolemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers ſhall be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form, as appears by the act, which was as followeth:

An Act that the ſolemn Affirmation and Declaration of the people called Quakers, ſhall be accepted inſtead of an Oath in the uſual form.

Whereas divers diſſenters, commonly called Quakers, refuſing to take an oath in courts of juſtice, and other places, are frequently impriſoned, and their eſtates ſequeſtered by proceſs of contempt iſſuing out of ſuch courts, to the ruin of themſelves and families: for remedy thereof, be it enacted by the kings moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the fourth day of May, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety ſix, every Quaker within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, who ſhall be required upon any lawful occaſion to take an oath in any caſe, where by law an oath is required, ſhall inſtead of the uſual form be

permitted to make his or her ſolemn affirmation or declaration, in theſe words following, viz.

'I *A. B.* do declare in the preſence of Almighty God, the witneſs of the truth of what I ſay.'

II. Which ſaid ſolemn affirmation or declaration, ſhall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared, to be of the ſame force and effect, to all intents and purpoſes in all courts of juſtice, and other places, where by law an oath is required, within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, as if ſuch Quaker had taken an oath in the uſual form.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any Quaker making ſuch ſolemn affirmation or declaration, ſhall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falſely, and corruptly, to have affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which if the ſame had been in the uſual form, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, every ſuch Quaker ſo offending ſhall incur the ſame penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm are enacted againſt perſons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

IV. And whereas by reaſon of a pretended ſcruple of conſcience Quakers do refuſe to pay tithes and church rates, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that where any Quaker ſhall refuſe to pay, or compound for his great for ſmall tithes, or to pay any church rates, it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the two next juſtices of the peace of the ſame county (other than ſuch juſtice of the peace as is patron of the church or chapel, when the ſaid tithes do or ſhall ariſe, or any ways intereſted in the ſaid tithes) upon the complaint of any parſon, vicar, farmer, or proprietor of tithes, churchwarden or churchwardens, who ought to have, receive, or collect the ſame, by warrant under their hands and ſeals, to convene before them ſuch Quaker or Quakers neglecting or refuſing to pay or compound for the ſame, and to examine upon oath, which oath the ſaid juſtices are hereby empowered to adminiſter, or in ſuch manner as by this act is provided, the truth and juſtice of the ſaid complaint, and to aſcertain and ſtate

what is due and payable by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to the party or parties complaining, and by order under their hands and ſeals to direct and appoint the payment thereof, ſo as the ſum ordered, as aforeſaid, do not exceed ten pounds; and upon refuſal by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to pay according to ſuch order, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any one of the ſaid juſtices, by warrant under his hand and ſeal, to levy the money thereby ordered to be paid, by diſtreſs and ſale of goods of ſuch offender, his executors or adminiſtrators, rendering only the overplus to him, her, or them, neceſſary charges of deſtraining being thereout firſt deducted and allowed by the ſaid juſtice; and any perſon finding him, her, or themſelves aggreived by any judgment given by ſuch two juſtices of the peace, ſhall and may appeal to the next general quarter ſeſſions to be held for the county, riding, city, liberty, or town corporate: and the juſtices of the peace there preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall proceed finally to hear and determine the matter, and to reverſe the ſaid judgment, if they ſhall ſee cauſe: and if the juſtices then preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall find cauſe to continue the judgment given by the firſt two juſtices of the peace, they ſhall then decree the ſame by order of ſeſſions, and ſhall alſo proceed to give ſuch coſts againſt the appellant, to be levied by diſtreſs and ſale of the goods and chattels of the ſaid appellant as to them ſhall ſeem juſt and reaſonable: and no proceedings or judgment had or to be had by virtue of this act ſhall be removed or ſuperſeded by any writ of certiorati or other writ out of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, or any other court whatſoever, unleſs the title of ſuch tithes ſhall be in queſtion.

V. Provided always, that in caſe any ſuch appeal be made as aforeſaid, no warrant of diſtreſs ſhall be granted until after ſuch appeal be determined.

VI. Provided, and be it enacted, that no Quaker or reputed Quaker ſhall by virtue of this act be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cauſes, or ſerve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government; any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

VII. Provided, that this act ſhall continue in force for the ſpace of ſeven years, and from thence to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, and no longer.

Thus the Quakers became diſcharged, and free from that grievous burthen by which they had been oppreſſed ſo many years. This parliament made alſo an act for enforcing the laws which reſtrain marriages without licenſes or bands; and for the better regiſtering marriages, births, and burials; and for keeping a diſtinct regiſter of all perſons born; for which no more was to be paid than ſixpence.

Mention hath been made already that George Keith had at London got a place called Turner's hall to preach in; and as his auditory conſiſted chiefly of perſons envious againſt the Quakers, ſo there were among theſe alſo many of the vulgar ſort who generally are fickle and unſteady, and often inclined to novelties; though Keith would as yet in ſome reſpect be looked upon as an adherent of the Quakers; he alſo had publiſhed ſome papers, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear that they held ſeveral heterodox ſentiments.

The books which he had publiſhed concerning this matter were ſo fully anſwered by the Quakers, that he being at a loſs to make a reply to their anſwers, pretended that he was not in a condition to ſet the preſs at work, and bear the charges of the impreſſion. But that this was a frivolous evaſion was well known. Yet he, to do ſomething, fell upon another project, and publiſhed an advertiſement, that on the 11th of the month called June, he would defend his charge againſt the Quakers, and therefore he ſummoned ſome of them to appear there at the time, to anſwer for themſelves. Beginning now to comply with the Epiſcopalians, he had, as he ſaid afterwards, given notice of his intention to the lord mayor of London, who not having forbidden it, he grew the more bold. But the Quakers did not think it meet to appear there to enter into a diſpute with him, the rather becauſe the king at that time was beyond ſea, and many of the vulgar were idle for

want of work and trade, occaſioned by the ſcarcity of money, (which then was very great, by reaſon of the recoining it,) inſomuch that it could not be foreſeen whether ſome diſaffected perſons might not have got together, and cauſed a dangerous diſturbance. And therefore they declined to appear there, and gave the following reaſons of their refuſal, which were read in the appointed meeting, and afterwards publiſhed in print:

'Whereas G. Keith hath, after his wonted irregular and unruly manner, challenged divers of us to defend ourſelves againſt ſuch charges as he has to exhibit againſt us at Turner's hall: theſe are to certify all whom it may concern, that the reaſons why we decline any ſuch meeting are as follow:

*Firſt.* 'Becauſe the ſaid G. Keith has given us ſuch frequent proofs of his very paſſionate and abuſive behaviour, at the many more ſelect meetings we have had with him, in all manner of ſweetneſs, long-ſuffering and patience, on our ſide, to ſatisfy and preſerve him from theſe extremes: that we cannot aſſure ourſelves now of any better entertainment, or that the meeting can have any deſirable ſucceſs, for a thorough information.

*Secondly.* 'We decline to meet, becauſe it is not an agreed meeting on both ſides, which it ought to have been, and where that is not, or cannot be adjuſted, the preſs is the next fair way and expedient, which he has begun with, and now ſeems to decline; nor hath he ſent us a copy of his charge or indictment againſt us, which alſo he ought to have done.

*Thirdly.* 'That he has two of our books which lie hard at his door, in vindication of us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and which he has not yet anſwered; ſo that he is not upon equal terms with us; and therefore we think his challenge, appointment, and ſummons, unfair; and that all that are not partial will be of the ſame mind with us.

*Fourthly.* 'Such publick and unlimited meetings, are too often attended with heats, levity, and confuſion, and anſwer not the end deſired by ſober and enquiring men. Beſides, that it ſets up a practice that authority may judge to be an abuſe to our liberty, and ſo draw that under reflection, as no friend to the civil peace.

*Fifthly,* 'We know not what religion or perſuaſion this wavering man is of, or what church or people he adheres to, or will receive him, with his vain ſpeculations, that have led him to deſert us; nor who are accountable to us for him and his irregularities and abuſes; the generality of ſuch aſſemblies uſually making ill auditors, worſe judges, and no good ſecurity for our ſatisfaction. And we muſt therefore take leave to ſay, it ſeems to us an indirect way of diſquieting and invading our preſent liberty, that ſo irreligious a meeting ſhould be held, whoſe end is to abuſe other men for their religion.. If this ſhould be imitated by all the ſeveral ſorts of different perſuaſions in this city, what heats and confuſions muſt neceſſarily enſue.

*Sixthly, and laſtly.* 'Wherefore be it known unto all, that for the ſake of religion, the liberty granted us, and the civil peace, we decline to meet him; and not from any apprehenſion we have of his abilities, or our own conſciouſneſs of error, or injuſtice to the ſaid G. Keith; whoſe weak and unbridled temper we know is ſuch, that what learning and parts he hath, have not been able to balance and ſupport him on leſs occaſions, ſo that we may ſay they are in ill hands; and if he proceeds as he begins, they will be employed to an ill end, which his (poor man!) cannot but be, unleſs he change his courſe; which we heartily pray for, that a place of repentance he may find; and through a true contrition, the remiſſion of his great ſin of envy, and evilly intreating the Lord's people, and way, which we profeſs, and which he, the ſaid G. Keith, hath long and lately both profeſſed, and zealouſly vindicated as ſuch.'

Theſe reaſons the Quakers, as hath been ſaid, publiſhed in print, to ſhew the world, that it was not without a weighty cauſe, that they did not accept G. Keith's ſummons. Now though G. Whitehead and W. Penn, for the aboveſaid reaſons did not appear in Turner's-hall, yet ſome of their friends were there as ſpectators, to ſee what would be the iſſue of this buſineſs. G. Keith ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed in his intention, took upon him for all that to defend his charge in the abſence of his adverſaries, which now he could do eaſily, ſince none contradicted him; and he was applauded by the frequent ſhoutings of the mob that was there in great numbers. After the reaſons of non-appearance was read, Keith ſignified that they were not ſatisfactory, by calling them ſlender, weak, and frivolous. 'What,' ſaid he, 'may a malefactor make this excuſe; You ſhall not call me before a juſtice without my conſent? If a man robs me, I may complain of him as a robber, and without his conſent call him to account. But here is a ſtrange thing: if injuring men may not be called to account without their conſent, it will treſpaſs againſt the law, and intrenches upon liberty of conſcience.' This reaſon he publiſhed in print, in his narrative of that day's work: but who would formerly ever have thought, that ſuch a little man as he was, would have been ſo big. It looked juſt as if the Quakers were obliged to appear as malefactors before the pretended judge Keith, accompanied with his aſſiſtants the mob, and I do not know who. And to keep to G. Keith's compariſon, though a malefactor may not ſay, you ſhall not call me before a juſtice without my conſent, yet with ſome good reaſon he might ſay, you ſhall not make yourſelf a juſtice, as Keith now did. It is probable that he was ſupported by ſome great churchmen, otherwiſe ſuch a bold action might eaſily have turned to his diſadvantage.

My limits do not admit of a circumſtantial relation of what was tranſacted at that time in Turner's-hall; yet to ſhew briefly how he treated matters, I will produce one or two inſtances, by which my reader may know, *ut ex ungue leonem*,* and ſo judge of the reſt. He ſaid he would

* As of a lion by his claw.

charge the Quakers with nothing but what he would prove from their own writings, and he went on thus: 'I offer to prove that G. Whitehead hath denied Chriſt both to be God and man.' A ſtrange thing indeed, ſince it was very well known that G. Whitehead had publiſhed a book of above twenty ſheets, under this title, 'The Divinity of Chriſt, and Unity of the Three that bear record in Heaven, with the bleſſed end and effect of Chriſt's appearance, coming in the fleſh, ſufferings, and ſacrifice for ſinners, confeſſed and vindicated by his followers, called Quakers.' This book G. Keith could not pretend ignorance of, for he picked ſomewhat out of it in his narrative: but to maintain his charge he appealed to a book of G. Whitehead's, called 'The Light and Life of Chriſt within.' This book G. Whitehead had written in anſwer to W. Burnet, a Baptiſt preacher, who writing of Chriſt, ſaid, As he was God, he was Co-Creator with the Father, and ſo was before Abraham, and had Glory with God before the world was, and in this ſenſe came down from heaven. To which G. Whitehead anſwered, 'What nonſenſe and unſcripture-like language is this, to tell of God being Co-Creator with the Father? Or that God had glory with God?' Doth this imply two gods, and that God had a father? Let the reader judge.' Certainly it appears from this plainly, that G. Whitehead did not intend any thing elſe, but to cenſure the unſcriptural expreſſions of his antagoniſt, as Co-Creator, and implying two gods: for not only the apoſtle ſaith, God is One, but Chriſt himſelf ſaith, I and the Father are One. Yet G. Keith did not ſtick to ſay G. Whitehead denieth the divinity of Chriſt, and he deceives the nation and the parliament by telling them the Quakers own Chriſt to be both God and Man, and believe all that is recorded of him in the holy ſcripture. This he ſtrove to prove from a paſſage taken out of the aforementioned book, which in ſenſe agreed with the former; and ſpeaking in another page of the ſame matter, viz. The Baptiſts calling God the Word, Co-Creator with the Father, G. Whitehead anſwers thus to it: 'To tell of the Word God Co-Creator with the Father, is all one as to tell of God being Co-Creator with God, if the Father

be God; and this is to make two gods and two creators: for God Co-Creator with the Father plainly implies two. Was this ſhewing of others their abſurd expreſſions, a denial that Chriſt was God, as Keith would have it? Might it not be aſked here, whether the acute wit of Keith was now altogether flown away? But a great part of his auditory conſiſted of an ignorant crew, and one or other of them was continually heard to cry out, It is ſufficient.

Now to prove that G. Whitehead had denied Chriſt to be man, Keith cited from the forementioned book, called 'The Divinity of Chriſt,' &c. theſe words, 'If the body and ſoul of the Son of God were both created, doth not this render him a fourth perſon?' Here Keith ſtopped, and broke off with an &c. without adding the following words; 'For creation was in time, which contradicts the doctrine of three diſtinct, uncreated, co-eternal, co-eſſential perſons in the Deity, ſeeing that which was created was not ſo.' This G. Whitehead aſked and ſaid, to ſhew his opponent, T. Danſon, the abſurdity of his aſſertions about the perſonalities of the Deity. But Keith went on, reading from G. Whitehead's book thus: 'Where doth the Scripture ſay that his ſoul was created? For was not he the brightneſs of the Father's glory, and the expreſs image of his divine ſubſtance? But ſuppoſing the ſoul of Chriſt was with the body created in time.' &c. Here Keith broke off again, omitting the following words: 'I aſk, if from eternity he was a perſon diſtinct from God and his holy Spirit, without either ſoul or body? Where doth the Scripture ſpeak of any perſon without either ſoul or body? Let us have plain Scripture.'

Now though G. Whitehead had written this to ſhew, how we often enter into inextricable ſtraits, when we do not keep to the words of the holy Scripture, which no where ſpeaks of three perſons in the Deity; yet Keith perverting the paſſage abuſively, ſaid to his auditory, 'Here ye ſee he will not own that Chriſt had a created ſoul.' At this rate, and after this manner, Keith reaſoned, and treated the other paſſages. But how ſmartly would he have carped at others, if they had cited his words thus piece-meal.

But now he had a temporal reward in his view, and ſeeing for that end he began more and more to declare himſelf in favour of the epiſcopal church; ſomebody of that perſuaſion, who did no farther make himſelf known than by theſe initial letters, W. C. made it his buſineſs to ſhew the changeableneſs of Keith's opinion and ſentiments, from his own writings, which he had publiſhed in print; and thereby evidently proved, that in every reſpect Keith was turned an apoſtate, though he appeared much offended at the Quakers, becauſe they had called him ſo. 'But,' ſaid this author, 'if the Preſbyterian principles (of which ſociety Keith once was a member) were better than the Quakers, then is Mr. Keith an apoſtate, in revolting from, and deſerting the Preſbyterians, and turning his coat Quaker-faſhion. But if the Quakers were more in the right than the Preſbyterians, then *è contrá*.'

Now he appeared to fawn on the epiſcopal clergy, and eſteemed lawful what formerly he had zealouſly oppugned. For he was in hopes that by oppoſing the Quakers he ſhould be beſt rewarded among the epiſcopalians; and this was not altogether without reaſon; for it being no more in their power now to perſecute the Quakers in manner as formerly, they made uſe of other means as much as poſſibly they could, to render them and their doctrine odious; for which Keith ſeemed to them no unfit tool; for he being both of a witty and impetuous temper, was alſo crafty, ſubtle, cunning, and violent in his expreſſions. And to charge the Quakers with inorthodoxy, he himſelf launched out into an heterodox ſentiment. For it was believed, that for maintaining this poſition, that the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt's ſufferings, death, reſurrection, &c. was abſolutely neceſſary for ſalvation, he had no other ground than the twelve pretended tranſmigrations or tranſitions of man's ſoul from one body into another; becauſe the ignorant ſouls from hence ſeemed to get opportunity of being informed, before the end of the world, concerning the death and reſurrection of our Saviour. Who would have imagined before that this ſame G. Keith ſhould have accuſed the Quakers of inorthodoxy in point of doctrine, which he had often ſo effectually defended;

and among the reſt, in a book againſt one Cotton Mather, wherein upon the charge of their being guilty of many hereſies and blaſphemies, he ſaid after this manner; 'Our principles do moſtly agree with the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Proteſtant faith. According to my beſt knowledge of the people called Quakers, and thoſe owned by them as preachers and publiſhers of their belief, being of an unqueſtionable eſteem among them, and worthy of double honour, as there are many ſuch, I know none of them that are guilty of ſuch hereſies and blaſphemies as they are charged with. And I think I ſhould know, and do know thoſe called Quakers, having been converſant with them in publick meetings as well as in private diſcourſes, with the moſt noted and eſteemed among them, for about twenty years paſt, and that in many places of the world, both in Europe and America.' Who would ever have thought then, that one who had converſed ſo many years with the Quakers, preached their doctrine, and defended it publickly both by writing and by word of mouth, ſhould afterwards have decried them, as deniers of the moſt eſſential points of the Chriſtian faith. But to what extravagancies may not temporal gain tranſport a man, the caſe of Balaam may ſerve for an evidence.

I have in all this relation of Keith's behaviour, ſet down nothing but what I believe to be really true; neither have I endeavoured to aggravate his failures; for I never bore him ill-will, but a good eſteem when I believed him to be upright, becauſe in that time I perceived in him ſome good abilities. And I yet wiſh from my very heart, that it may pleaſe God, in his unſearchable mercy, ſo to touch his heart, before the door of grace be ſhut, that ſeeing the greatneſs of his tranſgreſſion, he may by true repentance, obtain forgiveneſs from the Lord, of his evil; which I take to be worſe, becauſe by his craftineſs he endeavoured to ſet falſe colours on things that were really good, thereby to inſinuate himſelf into favour with the epiſcopal party.* And ſince ſome others ſuborned thereto did not omit alſo to render the Quakers odious, as ſuch that

* N.B. This was written ſome years before I heard G. Keith was decaſe

held inorthodox ſentiments, theſe did not neglect to ſhew in print, how they were injured and wronged. For now the old tale, that there were popiſh emiſſaries among them, was revived and divulged anew. But it was no hard matter for them to ſhew how ill-grounded this conceit was; and therefore they might ſay, 'We are ſo well known to our neighbours, that if this were true, our adverſaries would be very active to find out and diſcover ſuch emiſſaries, ſince the law againſt them is ſtill in force. Three epiſcopal clergymen in Norfolk, had alſo drawn up a paper to the king and parliament, to blacken the Quakers from their own writings; but George Whitehead, William Penn, and others, were not backward to ſhew how their words, or the true meaning thereof, were perverted; ſince at ſuch a rate, even the ſalutary leſſons of the holy Scriptures might be expoſed as wicked expreſſions.

Now the late king James intending an invaſion upon England, and great preparations being made in France in order thereto, a plot was diſcovered in England againſt king William; this gave occaſion to the Houſe of Commons to draw up a kind of declaration, which was called an aſſociation, to be ſigned by all their members, as follows:

'Whereas there has been a horrible and deteſtable conſpiracy, formed and carried on by Papiſts, and other wicked and traiterous perſons for aſſaſſinating his majeſty's royal perſon, in order to encourage an invaſion from France, to ſubvert our religion, laws, and liberties, we whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely, and ſolemnly promiſe, teſtify, and declare, that his preſent majeſty king William, is rightful and lawful king of theſe realms. And we do mutually promiſe and engage to ſtand by and aſſiſt each other, to the utmoſt of our power, in the ſupport and defence of his majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon and government, againſt the late king James, and all his adherants. And in caſe his majeſty come to any violent and untimely death (which God forbid) we do hereby farther freely and unanimouſly oblige ourſelves to unite, aſſociate, and ſtand by each other, in revenging the

ſame upon his enemies and their adherants, and in ſupporting and defending the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to an act made in the firſt year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled 'An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the Crown.'

An aſſociation was alſo ſigned by the lords, and both preſented to the king, and were followed by all the corporations in England. See Life of king William, vol. III. The diſſenters alſo preſented declarations to the king, that had ſome reſemblance with the other. But the Quakers profeſſing non-reſiſtance, and an inoffenſive behaviour, could in no wiſe enter into ſuch a league; yet to ſhew that they were loyal and faithful to the king, they drew up the following declaration, and publiſhed it in print:

The ancient teſtimony and principle of the people called Quakers renewed, with reſpect to the king and government, and touching the preſent aſſociation:

'We, the ſaid people do ſolemnly and ſincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the firſt day we were called to profeſs the light of Chriſt Jeſus manifeſted in our conſciences unto this day, that the ſetting up, and putting down kings, and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative, for cauſes beſt known to himſelf; and that it is not our work or buſineſs to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be buſy-bodies in matters above our ſtation; much leſs to plot and contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king and for the ſafety of our nation, and good of all men, that we live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the government which God is pleaſed to ſet over us.

'And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our teſtimony, and now do, againſt all plotting, conſpiracies, and contriving inſurrections againſt the king or the government, and againſt all treacherous, barbarous, and murderous deſigns whatſoever,

as works of the devil and darkneſs: and we ſincerely bleſs God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them by law: eſteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

'And whereas we the ſaid people are required to ſign the ſaid aſſociation, we ſincerely declare, that our refuſing ſo to do, is not out of any diſaffection to the king or government, nor in oppoſition to his being declared rightful and lawful king of theſe realms, but purely becauſe we cannot for conſcience-ſake fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourſelves or any man elſe.

'And we believe that the timely diſcovery and prevention of the late barbarous deſign and miſchievous plot againſt the king and government, and the ſad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God; for which we and the whole nation, have great cauſe to be humbly thankful to him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

'From a meeting of the ſaid people in London, the 23d, of the firſt month, called March, $169\frac{5}{6}$.'

In this year Roger Haydock died of a fever, at his houſe in Penketh, in Lancaſhire, about the age of fifty-three years. He had been in Holland the year before, in which time I had more than once opportunity to ſpeak with him privately, and thereby diſcovered ſuch Chriſtian qualities in him, that were indeed excellent; therefore the news of his diſceaſe did much affect me; and becauſe of his miniſtry, in which he was eminent, being more than ordinary full of matter in his preaching; his death was much lamented among thoſe churches in England where he had laboured moſt in the goſpel. His wife, Eleanor, in her teſtimony concerning him, ſaid, 'My ſpirit hath been, and is bowed under a deep ſenſe of my great loſs and exerciſe, in the removal of my dear huſband, whom it hath pleaſed God in his wiſdom to take away from me, who was comfort to my life, and joy to my days in this

world, being given me of God, in great mercy and loving-kindneſs; and ſo he hath been enjoyed by me in thankfulneſs of heart, to the cloſe of that time God had appointed; and now is taken from the world, with all its troubles and exerciſes, as alſo from all his labours and travels, which were great amongſt the churches of Chriſt, which with me have no ſmall loſs in his removal. But what ſhall I ſay: wiſe and good is the Lord, who doth what he will in heaven and in earth, and amongſt his churches and his choſen. He can break and bind up, wound and heal, kill and make alive again, that the living may ſee his wonders, and magnify his power in all, through all, and over all, who is God eternal, bleſſed for ever. Amen.

Then in her teſtimony ſhe gives an account of his life, and how in her young years he had been to her a faithful inſtructor in godlineſs, and at length became her huſband. After a deſcription of his life, and his many travels in the miniſtry of the goſpel, to edify and build up the churches, ſhe ſaith alſo, that though his love to her was above all viſibles, as the beſt of enjoyments he had in this world, yet ſhe was not too dear to him to give up to ſerve the truth of God. 'I was made (ſaith ſhe) a bleſſing to him, more comfortable every day than other: he would often expreſs it; and truly ſo was he to me every day, every way, and in every reſpect. No tongue nor pen can relate the full of that comfort and joy we had in God and one in another. Yet we find ſuch hath been the pleaſure of God concerning them he hath loved, to try them in the moſt near and dear enjoyments, that it might be manifeſt he was loved above all; that no gifts may be preferred above the giver; but that he may be all in all, who is, and is to come, God bleſſed for ever. And truly there hath been great care and watchfulneſs one over another, and over our own ſpirits, to ſee that our love, though great, was bounded and kept within its compaſs, the truth being its original, the Alpha and Omega alſo. Although it hath been the pleaſure of God to try me, in the removal of ſo great a bleſſing from me, ſure it is, that I may be the more inward to him, and have his love always in my remem-

brance, who gives and takes away, and in all bleſs his name. My ſoul travails that I may always follow his footſteps of ſelf denial in all things, that I may finiſh my courſe in this world to the glory of God, as he did, and have my part in that manſion of glory with him eternal in the heavens; though it may be my lot to ſtay for a time in this world of troubles, yet I have hope in immortality and eternal bleſſedneſs, when time in this world ſhall be no more.' Thus ſhe writ: but to ſhun prolixity, I break off. She then giving ſome account of his life and miniſtry, mentions, that being gone from home, ſhe was not preſent at his death; but that they having taken leave of each other before, had parted in great love, with mutual breathings to God, for one another's welfare: and ſhe concludes with theſe words: 'Though I ſaw not his going away, yet I have ſeen in what he went, and that it was full of zeal and fervency in the love of God, and life of righteouſneſs. So in pure ſubmiſſion to the will of God, I conclude this ſhort but true relation of my worthy dear huſband, whoſe name and memory is bleſſed, and will live, and be of a ſweet ſavour in the hearts of the righteous through ages.' With ſuch a teſtimony it was, that Eleanor tranſmitted the memorial of her beloved conſort to poſterity.

Meeting in this year with no more remarakable occurrences, I paſs over to 1697, in which a treaty of peace was concluded between England, France, and Holland, and though many thought it would be laſting, yet among the popiſh clergy there were thoſe that had another opinion of it; of which this artificial diſtich, ſent over by a clergyman from Ghent in Flanders to Holland, ſo that it fell firſt into my hands, was an evidence:

*Proſpicimus modô quod durabunt Fœdera longo*
*Tempore, nec nobis pax citô deffugiet:*

which may be turned into Engliſh thus, 'We foreſee now that the confederacy ſhall laſt a long time, and that peace

will not quickly fly away from us.' But if one reads this diſtich backward, it runs thus:

*Diffugiet citó pax nobis, nec tempore longo*
*Fœdera durabunt, quod modó proſpicimus:*

and it makes out a quite contrary ſenſe, viz. 'Peace will ſoon fly away from us, and the covenant ſhall not laſt long; which we foreſee already.'

This peace being concluded, the inhabitants of England vied with one another to congratulate their king on that account, who was now acknowledged as king of Great Britain, by the French king Lewis XIV. And ſince the magiſtrates of cities, the heads and fellows of the univerſities, and people of all ſocieties and perſuaſions addreſſed the king, the Quakers were not wanting in this reſpect, and therefore drew up alſo an addreſs, which they preſented to the king, and was as followeth:

To King William III. over England, &c.

The grateful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers, humbly preſented:

'May it pleaſe the king,

'Seeing the moſt high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomſoever he will, hath by his over-ruling power and providence, placed thee in dominion and dignity over theſe realms; and by his divine favour hath ſignally preſerved and delivered thee from many great and eminent dangers, and graciouſly turned the calamity of war into the deſired mercy of peace; we heartily wiſh that we and all others concerned may be truly ſenſible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the ſame, that the peace may be a laſting and perpetual bleſſing.

'And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in ſafety, it is cauſe of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and ſeaſonable reſolution effectually to diſcourage profaneneſs and immorality, righteouſneſs being

that which exalteth a nation: and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give eaſe and liberty of conſcience to his ſubjects of different perſuaſions, (of whoſe favours we have largely partaken) ſo we eſteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the ſame: earneſtly beſeeching Almighty God to aſſiſt the king to proſecute all theſe his juſt and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a laſting crown that will never fade away.'

London, the 7th of the 11th Month,
called January, 1697.

This addreſs being ſigned, and preſented to the king by George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Daniel Quare, John Vaughton, John Edge, and Gilbert Latey, was favourably received and accepted by that prince; who gave ſignal proofs that he bore no ill will to any for difference of opinion in religion, if they were honeſt people; of which this may ſerve for an evidence, that both his watch-maker, and the nurſe of the young duke of Glouceſter, were of the Quakers perſuaſion.

I think it was about the beginning of the year 1698, that a bill was brought into parliament, for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. Thoſe called Quakers perceiving that this might be pernicious, drew up the following remarks, which they delivered to the members of parliament:

Some conſiderations humbly offered by the people called Quakers, relating to the bill for reſtraning the licentiouſneſs of the preſs.

'This bill is, they conceive, of the like nature with the expired act, 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 33. and many inconveniences did attend the ſubjects by it whilſt in force, by which the ſaid people were ſufferers.

'To prevent the printing and publiſhing of ſeditious or treaſonable books againſt the government, and ſcandalous pamphlets tending to vice and immorality, is the

wiſdom of all good governments, and muſt be the deſire of all good men.

'But to limit religious books to a licenſe, where the tolerated perſuaſions are many, they conceive, ſeems altogether unſafe to all, but that whoſe opinion the licenſer is of, who by this bill hath power to allow what he ſhall judge ſound and orthodox, or reject what he ſhall conſtrue to be either heretical, ſeditious, or offenſive.

'Hiſtory and experience have taught how the obſcure term of hereſy hath been turned and ſtretched againſt primitive Chriſtians, martyrs, and famous reformers: nor is it forgotten for what reaſons the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* was aboliſhed.

'It is no ſtrange thing to have learned men of the ſame church interfere in their opinions concerning ſeveral texts of holy Scripture; and it is uncertain when their opinions come to the licenſer, whether the world ſhall have the beſt or no.

'The different apprehenſions men have of divers parts of Scripture, gives birth to different perſuaſions, who yet all make the Scripture the teſt thereof; which by the kindneſs of the government being tolerated, they conceive they ought to be left free to defend them from the miſrepreſentations, prejudice, or miſtake of others, without being ſubjected to the cenſure of a licenſer of a different perſuaſion.

> 'They therefore humbly hope that nothing may be enacted that will leſſon the toleration, which they thankfully enjoy under the favour of this, as well as the late government.'

Theſe conſiderations, with what others were offered, were of ſuch effect, that the bill dropped.

About this time the writings of Antonia Bourignon were not only tranſlated into Engliſh, but alſo publiſhed in print at London. This diſpleaſed many of the clergy, and an author was employed to write againſt them, but chiefly againſt the Quakers. He called his book, 'The Snake in the Graſs;' but his own name he concealed; though

it was diſcovered afterwards that he was a ſuppreſſed par. ſon, who had refuſed the oath of allegiance to king William. This man, to render the Quakers odious, had picked up and collected many things from their writings; but he had ſo mutilated their expreſſions, by omitting ſeveral words that went before, or followed, and by ſkipping over ſome in the midſt of the period, that they made out quite another ſenſe than the authors had given. To this he added relations of ſeveral things that happened, as he ſaid, among the Quakers. Whereas ſome of theſe were fictitious, and mere untruths; he alſo raked up things that never had been approved by the Quakers, as the caſe of James Nayler, deſcribed here before in its due place; notwithſtanding the ſaid James Nayler had publickly given eminent tokens of true repentance.

Among the author's untruths this was one, that the Quakers in their ſchools did not ſuffer the children to read the holy Scriptures. The falſeneſs of which was made to appear very evidently by a certificate of the French uſher of one of their ſchools at Wandſworth, near London, who himſelf was no Quaker; as alſo by the teſtimonies of ſome of the neighbours that were people of note; and declared that the bible was daily read by the ſcholars in the ſaid ſchool, beginning with Geneſis, and going on to the end of the revelations; and then from Geneſis again. The falſe citations of the aforeſaid author, were alſo clearly ſet forth: for if any would be ſo malicious, it might by his method be inſinuated from Pſal. xiv. 1. and Pſal. liii. 1. that in the holy Scriptures was ſaid, 'There is no God;' becauſe theſe words are indeed found there. But who would be ſo deſperate as to draw ſuch a concluſion from thence, unleſs he were an atheiſt, who openly made a mock of what is ſacred. The anſwerers of this poiſonous book, 'The Snake in the Graſs,' were George Whitehead and Joſeph Wyeth; this being a work which required more toil and labour than art, to review all thoſe manifold citations from many authors, and to ſhew the unfairneſs and diſingenuity of the Snake. Now ſince many were very ready to take for true the falſities in that

book, and alſo in the pamphlets of the apoſtate Francis Bugg, who was gone over to the church of England, at the requeſt of John Crook (who was ſtill alive, though above eighty years of age) a book of his was reprinted, firſt publiſhed in the year 1663, and ſo five and thirty years before, the title of which was, 'Truth's Principles concerning the Man Chriſt, his Suffering, Death, Reſurrection, Faith in his Blood, the Imputation of his Righteouſneſs, &c.' By this it appeared that the ſentiments of the Quakers concerning theſe points were not only orthodox now, but that they had been ſo in thoſe early days.

Having thus again made mention of John Crook, of whom I have ſpoken ſeveral times in this hiſtory, I proceed now to mention ſomewhat concerning his deceaſe, ſince he departed this life in the year 1699. He left behind in writing an exhortation or advice to his children and grandchildren, written ſcarce two months before his death, and of this tenor:

'Dear Children,

'I muſt leave you in a wicked age, but commend you to the meaſure of the grace of God in your inward parts, which you have received by Jeſus Chriſt; and as you love it, and mind the teachings of it, you will find it a counſellor to inſtruct you in the way everlaſting, and preſerve you out of the ways of the ungodly.

'I have ſeen much in my days, and I always obſerved that the fear of the Lord God proved the beſt portion; and thoſe that walked in it were the only happy people, both in this life (while they continued faithful) and when they come to die, though they meet with many hardſhips in their paſſage. By experience I can ſpeak it, that the ways of holineſs afford more true comfort and peace to the upright ſoul than the greateſt pleaſures this world can afford; the former reaches the heart and ſoul, while the delights of this world are but a ſhew, and appearance only, vaniſhing like a dream; and whoever believes otherwiſe of them, will certainly find them to be but lying vanities; therefore the apoſtle, Rom. vi. 21. might

boldly put the queſtion to the converted Romans, viz. 'What fruit had you then in thoſe things whereof you are now aſhamed? For the end of thoſe things is death.'

'Therefore, dear children, be in love with holineſs; make it your companion, and thoſe that walk in it; you may find buddings of it from an holy ſeed in your hearts; as you mind the inner man, the light will manifeſt the ſtirrings of it after God, which I felt from my tender years; although I underſtood them not ſo plainly till I heard the truth declared.

'I adviſe you to keep a pure conſcience, both towards God and man: for if that be defiled, hypocriſy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God's preſence; and then deadneſs and dryneſs will be your miſerable portion.

'Be careful how you ſpend your precious time, for an account muſt be given of every idle word, though but few regard it; but fooliſh jeſting and vain talking, are ſaid to grieve the ſpirit of God; read Eph. iv. 29, 30. But improve your time in prayer and religious exerciſes, &c. and be diligent in your lawful callings; for, "The deſire of the ſlothful man killeth him." Prov. xxi. 25.

'Be careful what company you frequent; for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing; and of your behaviour in company; for I have found that a wiſe and ſober deportment, adds much to a man's reputation and credit in the world.

'Watch to the light, and its diſcoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of Satan's devices; ſo the net will be ſpread in vain in the ſight of the bird, for watchfulneſs will make you in love with a retired eſtate; and the more truly and perfectly any man knows and underſtands himſelf, the better diſcerning will ſuch have of other men; as in the beginning, when deep ſilence of all fleſh was more in uſe, the ſpirit of diſcerning was more common and quicker, than ſince it hath been neglected; therefore be ſure you ſpend ſome time (at convenient ſeaſons) in waiting upon God in ſilence, though it be diſpleaſing to fleſh; for I have had more comfort and confirmation in the truth, in my inward retiring in ſilence, than

from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreſhed by them alſo.

'Love the holy Scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatſoever; and be careful to read them with an holy awe upon your ſpirits, leſt your imaginations put conſtructions upon them to your hurt; but exerciſe faith in the promiſe of Chriſt, who hath ſaid, "My ſpirit ſhall take of mine, and ſhew them unto you."

'Keep conſtantly to religious meetings amongſt friends; but look to your affections, that you reſpect not perſons, but the power and life of truth, from whomſoever it comes; not minding the tickling of your affections, but the demonſtration of the truth to your underſtandings and conſciences; for that will abide, when flaſhes of affections will fade and come to nothing, after the words are ended.

'Love one another truly, manifeſting your love by good counſel, and being helpful to each other upon all occaſions; being good examples to all you converſe with, eſpecially to your children, and thoſe of your own families; that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reproved; remembering while they are under your government, you muſt give an account of the diſcharge of your duty to God towards them.

'Laſtly, Be always mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how ſoon your days may be finiſhed in this world: and while you do live in it, deſpiſe not the chaſtenings of the Lord, whatever they be he is pleaſed to viſit you withal. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I ſerved provided for me, when all my outward relations foreſook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin the world withal. This I ſpeak, to let you know, I ſhall leave more outwardly, even to the leaſt of you, than was left me by all my relations, &c. I need not mention this ſharp affliction (beyond expreſſion) in my old age, becauſe, in ſome meaſure, you know it; but I could not have been without it, as the Lord hath ſhewed me, for I have ſeen his wonders in the deeps; therefore I ſay again,

deſpiſe not afflictions, but embrace them as meſſengers of peace to your ſouls (though diſpleaſing to the fleſh.)

'These things I commend unto you, out of true love to your ſouls, knowing how the vain mind of man little regards ſuch advice as this I leave behind me; but by this advice I ſhew my true love to you all, deſiring God's bleſſing upon it; to whom I commit you all, my dear children, and end my days.

'Your loving father and grandfather,

'John Crook.'

Hertford, the firſt of the 1ſt month, 1698-99.

The ſharp affliction he ſpeaks of in this writing was more than one diſtemper, for the ſtone, gout, and cholick, attacked him ſometimes ſorely; and though this had been for a long time, yet he always behaved himſelf patiently, though his pain was ſometimes ſo violent, that he was often heard to ſay, that did he not feel and witneſs an inward power from the Lord, he could not ſubſiſt under his great pains. That of the ſtone was the greateſt, which continued with him to his end; and yet he was not heard to utter any unſavoury word, or to cry out impatiently; but when the extremity of his fits were over, then he expreſſed his inward joy and peace, and ſo praiſed the Lord. He had an excellent gift in opening the myſteries of the holy Scriptures, ſo that he was like Apollos, of whom we find upon record, that he was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures. And by his zealous and effectual preaching, when he was in his ſtrength of life, many were convinced of the truth. In his latter days he ſaid ſometimes that the furnace of affliction was of good uſe to purge away the droſs and earthly part in us. And under the ſorrow and grief he had concerning ſome of his offſpring, he would ſometimes comfort himſelf with the words of David, "Although my houſe be not ſo with God, yet he hath made with me an everlaſting covenant, ordered in all things, and ſure." In his old age he was many times heard to ſay, 'Many of the

ancients are gone to their long home, and we are making haſte after them: they ſtep away before me, and I, that would go, cannot. Well, it will be my turn ſoon alſo.' And then he ſeemed to rejoice in the conſideration, that the time of his diſſolution, to be freed from his ſore deſtempers, approached apace. Yet in the latter part of his life he often appeared ſo ſtrong in the ſpiritual warfare, that ſome judged that in ſome reſpect he might have ſaid with Caleb, 'As yet I am as ſtrong this day as I was in the day that Moſes ſent me: as my ſtrength was then, even ſo is my ſtrength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in.' About three weeks before his death, though he was weak in body, yet he ſaid powerfully, and after a prophetical manner, 'Truth muſt proſper, truth ſhall proſper, but a trying time muſt firſt come, and afterwards the glory of the Lord ſhall more and more appear.' He continued in a ſedate and truly Chriſtian frame of mind to the laſt period of his life, and departed the 26th of the month called April, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, in his houſe at Hertford, where he had lived many years. I knew him in England, and he hath alſo been in Holland, ſo that I do not ſpeak of one that was unknown to me.

George Keith, by villifying the doctrine of the Quakers, was now ſo much in favour with the epiſcopal clergy, that he began to ſerve them as a vicar; having been ordained by the biſhop of London about the year 1700. And ſince this ſeemed ſtrange and wonderful to many, ſomebody, of what perſuaſion I do not know, made a collection of his ſentiments concerning a national church, and its clergy, and what account he gave of their rites and ceremonies, from books and papers he had publiſhed many years before; to which the author gave this title, 'Mr. George Keith's Account of a National Church and Clergy, humbly preſented to the biſhop of London.' To this were added ſome queries he once writ concerning what is called the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. This account was now publiſhed in print, and preſented to the biſhop of London, ending with theſe words of the apoſtle, "If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor."

In the next year, viz. 1701, the late king James died in France. I mentioned before how that unhappy prince, after having aſcended the throne, fell ſuddenly by his haſty conduct, and ardent deſire to introduce popery in England, and all his endeavours to regain his loſt kingdoms proved ineffectual. In September, being at maſs, he was ſeized with a qualm, and the diſtemper increaſing, within a day or two he vomited blood, and all remedies made uſe of were unprofitable. If what was written about that time from Paris be true, he declared that he forgave all men what they had done amiſs to him: and on the 16th of the ſaid month he died at St. Germain's, in France, where he kept his court.

King William was returned from Holland, where he had been, becauſe of new troubles drawing on from France. And ſince the ſucceſſion of the crown of England was now ſettled in the Proteſtant line, and for want of nearer Proteſtant heirs, then to the houſe of Hanover, the king was congratulated on that account with many addreſſes from his ſubjects: and therefore thoſe called Quakers thought it alſo their duty to addreſs him (againſt whoſe life a horrible plot was diſcovered) with a thankful acknowledgment of his favours. This they did as followeth, it being preſented to the king in December, by George Whitehead, Wm. Mead, and Francis Camfield.

To King WILLIAM III, over England, &c.

An Addreſs from the People commonly called Quakers, humbly preſented.

May it pleaſe the King,

'WE, thy dutiful ſubjects, ſincerely expreſs our joy for thy late return to thy people; having great cauſe to love, honour, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government, under whoſe reign we enjoy great mercies and favours; and particularly that of liberty to tender

conſciences in religious worſhip, as a proper expedient to unite thy proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection.

'For which great mercy we cannot but be humbly thankful to God; and renew our grateful acknowledgment to the king, whom God by his almighty power hath eminently preſerved, and made exemplary in prudence, as well as goodneſs, to other kings and princes, whereby thy memorial will be renowned to poſterity.

'We are alſo engaged to bleſs the Lord for that he hath manifeſtly fruſtrated the miſchievous and treacherous deſigns of thine and the nations adverſaries, both againſt the lawful eſtabliſhment of thy throne, and the true intereſt of thy Proteſtant ſubjects.

'And we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs the good deſigns and juſt undertakings of the king, and his great council, for the good of his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm and laſting peace; and continue thee, O king, a bleſſing to theſe nations, eſtabliſh thy throne in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and proſperous reign over us, and hereafter a glorious immortality, is, and ſhall be the ſervant prayer of us, thy true and faithful ſubjects.

Signed in behalf and by appointment of the aforeſaid people, at a meeting in London, the 8th Month, 1701.

This addreſs being read to the king, was favourably received, and he thanked thoſe that preſented it. George Whitehead and the others ſaying what they thought material to the caſe, the king returned, 'I have protected you, and ſhall protect you:' and repairing with the addreſs to his cloſet, he read it over again, as was underſtood afterwards, and ſpoke in its commendation. But he keeping the paper ſome days by him, without giving it to be made publick by the Gazeteer, ſome French news-writers, at London, forged a very ridiculous addreſs, and ſent it beyond ſea; and the French Gazeteers in Holland were very ready to divulge in their prints ſuch fictitious ſtuff, though the expreſſions therein were ſo exceeding blunt

and unmannerly, that they could not be ſpoken to a king, but by ſuch who were impudent enough publickly to make a mock of crowned heads, which the Quakers never have been guilty of. After a few days the king gave the addreſs to be made publick; and then every body could ſee how ſhamefully the French news-mongers had expoſed their malice.

This year being come to an end, that of 1702 followed, and alſo the end of king William's life.

The French king, upon the death of the king of Spain, had not only placed his grandſon, the duke of Anjou, on the throne of that kingdom, but had alſo acknowledged the pretended prince of Wales as king of England; by which, in a manner, he attainted king William's crown; who thereupon took occaſion to make alliances for his ſecurity, with other princes and potentates. Of this he gave notice to the parliament that was then ſitting, who promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, and to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line. And an abjuration was alſo drawn up, wherein it was declared, that the aforeſaid pretended prince, who now ſuffered himſelf to be called James the IIId. king of England, &c. had no right or claim to the crown of that kingdom, or any dominions appertaining thereto. Now though all this was intended for maintaining and aſſiſting the rightful king William, yet he lived not to ſee the effect of it; for his time was near expired, and his glaſs run, as ſoon appeared.

About the beginning of the month called March, he went a hunting, and riding a horſe he never rid on before, the horſe fell, and the king, at the ſame time, broke his collar-bone: the fracture was ſoon ſet, and all ſeemed like to do well; but the king having endured many fatigues and hardſhips, had been weak in body ſome time before; inſomuch that this fore fall ſeemed to occaſion his ſickneſs, which ſoon followed, and put a period to his life. But before his departure, he did yet one good work more for the Quakers; for the term of ſeven years, granted for their affirmation to be accepted inſtead of an oath, was near expiring; and therefore they ſolicited the king and parliament that this act might be continued, and confirmed

by a new one, which was obtained; for the king always ſhewed himſelf willing to favor them as his peaceable ſubjects; and in parliament many eminent members were well affected towards them. Thereupon this renewed act, containing a prolongation of the ſaid grant for the ſpace of eleven years, paſſed at length, after mature conſideration, the king having named commiſſioners, who on the third of March, gave the royal aſſent to it in the houſe of Lords, becauſe, by reaſon of his illneſs, he could not appear himſelf on the throne. He alſo ſent a meſſage to the parliament, recommending the uniting of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, into one, commiſſioners being already appointed in Scotland, to treat with the Engliſh concerning that affair: but time ſhewed that he was not to bring that work to an end, ſince the accompliſhing thereof was reſerved for his ſucceſſor, though ſome hopes appeared of his recovery; for he had been walking a little in his garden to take the air, and ſitting down afterwards, he caught cold, which was followed by a fever; and his ſickneſs ſo increaſed, that on the next firſt-day of the week, being the eighth of the month called March, he died at Kenſington, to the great grief of all his faithful ſubjects; nay, ſuch was the ſorrow on the death of that excellent prince, that the news of it being come to Holland, it cauſed a general dejection, and drew tears from many eyes; for perhaps no king in theſe late ages hath been more beloved than he was. The day before his demiſe, he had by commiſſioners given the royal aſſent to the bill of abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales; and the following night, feeling death approaching, he ſent for the princeſs Anne, ſiſter of his deceaſed conſort, queen Mary; and having kept her ſometime with him, after tender embracing, he wiſhed her the laſt farewel. Then he ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his underſtanding continuing good to the laſt, with evident tokens of piety, and a reſignation to the will of his Creator, in the morning about eight of the clock, he gave up the ghoſt to him from whom he had received it, being entered into the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and having reigned as king above thirteen years.

In the afternoon the princeſs Anne was proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the parliament promiſed to aſſiſt her, in maintaining thoſe alliances that were already made, or ſhould yet be made, with foreign powers. This the queen accepted with much ſatisfaction, and confirmed the miniſters and high officers in their reſpective ſtations. She alſo writ to the ſtates-general of the united Netherlands, that ſhe would keep to the alliances made with the ſtates by the deceaſed king her brother.

The body of the king, which was lean, and much emaciated, was opened after his death, and many of the inward parts appeared ſound, eſpecially the brain; yet in general little blood was found in the body; but in the lungs, which adhered much to the pleura, was more than in all other parts; his heart was firm and ſtrong; but ſome inflammations, on the left ſide of the lungs, was thought to have been the immediate cauſe of the king's death, for he had long been aſthmatical.

He was of a middle ſtature; his face lean and oblong; his eyes were exceeding good, quick, and piercing; his hands very fine and white; he did not talk much, but was ſolid in thought; of a ſtrong memory, quick of apprehenſion, of a compoſed mind, and not given to voluptuouſneſs, but grave in his deportment; he often gave evidence of a devout attention at the hearing of the name of God; and even in the midſt of dangers, put great truſt in divine Providence. Thus he was valiant and undaunted without temerity; for where he judged his preſence to be neceſſary, he repaired thither without fear. He was a great lover of hunting, that being his moſt pleaſant diverſion, which made him the more fit to endure the fatigues of war. He was eaſy of acceſs, and gave a favourable hearing to every body, and thoſe that ſpoke to him he treated diſcreetly; and ſuch was his devotion, that he often retired privately, when ſome thought he was about other buſineſs. Many had conceived hopes that this great prince, in that critical juncture, would have lived yet ſomewhat longer: but his work was done; and God hath ſince that time ſhewed very eminently, that he is not limited

to any inſtruments; and the queen who ſucceeded on the throne, gave afterwards ſignal proofs of it to the world. His corpſe was interred the 12th of the month called April, about midnight, in the chapel of king Henry the VIIth, in Weſtminſter Abbey.

It was by the favour of this king, (a Hollander by birth) that the Quakers, ſo called, were tolerated as a free people; ſo that now they ſaw fulfilled the truth of what ſome of their deceaſed friends had prophetically foretold, viz. That it ſhould not be in the power of their enemies to root them out, but that God, in his own time, ſhould work their deliverance.

Thus we have now ſeen from what weak beginnings they had their riſe, and how they increaſed and became a great people againſt all oppoſition, of which at firſt there ſeemed little probability; as in the beginning of this hiſtory may be ſeen: and to look a little back, it may appear alſo, by a teſtimony of George Fox, publiſhed after his death, in the collection of his epiſtles, viz.

'When the Lord firſt ſent me forth in the year 1643, I was ſent as an innocent lamb (and young in years) amongſt (men in the nature of) wolves, dogs, bears, lions, and tigers, into the world, which the devil had made like a wilderneſs, no right way then found out of it. And I was ſent to turn people from darkneſs to the light, which Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, did enlighten them withal; that ſo they might ſee Chriſt, their way to God, with the Spirit of God, which he doth pour upon all fleſh, that with it they might have an underſtanding to know the things of God, and to know him, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, which is eternal life; and ſo might worſhip and ſerve the living God, their Maker and Creator, who takes care for all, who is Lord of all; and with the light and Spirit of God they might know the Scriptures, which were given forth from the Spirit of God in the ſaints, and holy men and women of God.

'And when many began to be turned to the light (which is the life in Chriſt) and the Spirit of God, which gave them an underſtanding, and had found the path of

the juſt, the ſhining light; then did the wolves, dogs, dragons, bears, lions, tygers, wild beaſts, and birds of prey, make a roaring, and a ſcreeching noiſe againſt the lambs, ſheep, doves, and children of Chriſt, and were ready to devour them and me, and to tear us to pieces. But the Lord's arm and power did preſerve me, though many times I was in danger of my life, and very often caſt into dungeons, and priſons, and haled before magiſtrates. But all things did work together for good: and the more I was caſt into outward priſons, the more people came out of their ſpiritual and inward priſon (through the preaching of the goſpel). But the prieſts and profeſſors were in ſuch a great rage, and made the rude and profane people in ſuch fury, that I could hardly walk in the ſtreets, or go in the highways, but they were ready oft-times to do me a miſchief. But Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and in the earth, did ſo reſtrain and limit them with his power, that my life was preſerved; though many times I was near killed.

'Oh, the burdens and travails that I went under! Often my life preſſed down under the ſpirits of profeſſors and teachers without life, and the profane! And beſides, the troubles afterwards with backſliders, apoſtates, and falſe brethren, which were like ſo many Judas's in betraying the truth, and God's faithful and choſen ſeed, and cauſing the way of truth to be evil ſpoken of! but the Lord blaſted, waſted, and confounded them, ſo that none did ſtand long; for the Lord did either deſtroy them, or bring them to nought, and his truth did flouriſh, and his people in it, to the praiſe of God, who is the revenger of his choſen.

'G. F.'

G. Fox then, having in England been the firſt of the Quakers that preached and proclaimed Chriſt the light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world, had in a ſhort time (as we have in this hiſtory, notwithſtanding all oppoſition) many adherents, whereby ſeveral others alſo began to publiſh that doctrine. And many of theſe firſt preachers were like ſons of thunder; for they teſtifying of

the light of Chriſt ſhining in the conſciences of men, proclaimed, that the day of the Lord was dawned, and ſhould yet farther break forth, to the deſtroying of the former buildings of human inventions and inſtitutions; though not of that which had formerly been felt and enjoyed by true experience of the operations of the Spirit of God in people's hearts. By their powerful way of preaching repentance, many were awakened out of the ſleep of careleſs ſecurity, and came to ſee that their covering was too ſhort, and that they were not covered with the true wedding garment: and many that had been of a rude life, came to be ſo touched to the heart by theſe zealous preachers, that crying out, what ſhall we do to be ſaved? they were brought to repentance and converſion; and ſo from wild and rough, came to be ſedate and ſober. And as in the beginning many of theſe firſt preachers did run on like a mighty ſtream, and ſeemed fit to threſh and grind mountains and ſtones, and to hew down tall cedars, and waſh away all oppoſition; ſo there were others alſo, who as ſons of conſolation, proclaimed glad tidings to the hungry and thirſty ſouls, many of which were in England about that time, inſomuch that ſome ſaid, Now the everlaſting goſpel is preached again. And it was indeed remarkable, that though theſe promulgators of the doctrine of the inward light ſhining in the hearts of men, were mean and illiterate, yet many people of note, not only ſuch as were in magiſtracy, but alſo many preachers of ſeveral perſuaſions, were ſo touched at the heart by their lively preaching, that they not only received their doctrine, but came themſelves, in proceſs of time, to be zealous publiſhers thereof, and thus a great crop was gathered; nay ſometimes even men of great ſkill, and ſharp wit, were deeply ſtruck by plain and homely preaching; of whom

Iſaac Pennington, mentioned more than once in this hiſtory, was a ſignal inſtance, as may appear from a relation concerning himſelf, writ with his own hand, and found among his papers after his death, wherein he ſpeaks as followeth:

'I have been a man of ſorrow and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord, and mourning after him; ſeparated by him from the love, nature and ſpirit of this world, and turned in ſpirit towards him, almoſt ever ſince I could remember.

'In this ſenſe of my low eſtate, I ſought after the Lord, I read Scriptures, I watched over mine own heart, I cried unto the Lord for what I felt the want of, I bleſſed his name in what he mercifully did for me, and beſtowed on me, &c. Whatever I read in the Scriptures, as the way of God to my underſtanding, I gave myſelf to the faithful practice of; being contented to meet with all the reproach, oppoſition, and ſeveral kinds of ſufferings, which it pleaſed the Lord to meaſure out to me therein; and I cannot but ſay, that the Lord was good unto me, did viſit me, did teach me, did help me, did teſtify his acceptance of me many times, to the refreſhing and joy of my heart before him.

'But my ſoul was not ſatisfied with what I met with, nor indeed could be, there being further quickenings and preſſings in my ſpirit, after a more full, certain, and ſatisfactory knowledge; even after the ſenſe, ſight and enjoyment of God, as was teſtified in the Scriptures to have been felt and enjoyed in the former times; for I ſaw plainly, that there was a ſtop of the ſtreams, and a great falling ſhort of the power, life, and glory, which they partook of. We had not ſo the ſpirit, nor were ſo in the faith, nor did ſo walk and live in God, as they did. They were come to Mount Sion and the heavenly Jeruſalem, &c. which we had hardly ſo much as the literal knowledge or apprehenſion what they were. So that I ſaw the whole courſe of religion among us, was (for the moſt part) but a talk, to what they felt, enjoyed, poſſeſſed, and lived in.

'This ſenſe made me ſick at heart indeed, and ſet me upon deep crying to God, cloſe ſearching the Scriptures, and waiting on God, that I might receive the pure ſenſe and underſtanding of them, from and in the light, and by the help of his Spirit. (And what the Lord did beſtow on me in that ſtate, with thankfulneſs I remember before him at this very day: for he was then my God, and a pitier and a watcher over; though he had not pleaſed then to direct me, how to ſtay my mind upon him and abide with him.) And then I was led (indeed I was led, I did not run of myſelf) into a way of ſeparation from the worſhip of the world, into a gathered ſociety; for this both the Scripture and the Spirit of God in me gave teſtimony unto; and what we then met with, and what leadings and help we then felt, there is a remembrance and teſtimony in my heart to this day. But there was ſomewhat wanting, and we miſtook our way, for whereas we ſhould have preſſed forward into the ſpirit and power, we ran too much outward into letter and form: and though the Lord in many things helped us, yet therein he was againſt us, and brought darkneſs, confuſion, and ſcattering upon us. I was ſorely broken and darkened, and in this darkened ſtate, ſometimes lay ſtill for a long ſeaſon, ſecretly mourning and crying out to the Lord night and day; ſomtimes I ran about, harkening after what might appear or break forth in others, but never met with any thing, whereto there was the leaſt anſwer in my heart, ſave in one people, who had a touch of truth: but I never expreſſed

ſo much to any of them, nor indeed felt them at all able to reach my condition.

'At laſt, after all my diſtreſſes, wanderings, and ſore travails, I met with ſome writings of this people called Quakers, which I caſt a ſlight eye upon and diſdained, as falling very ſhort of that wiſdom, light, life, and power, which I had been longing for and ſearching after: I had likewiſe (ſome pretty diſtance of time after this) opportunity of meeting with ſome of them, and divers of them were by the Lord moved (I know it to be ſo ſince) to come to me: as I remember, at the very firſt they reached to the life of God in me; which life anſwered their voice, and cauſed a great love in me to ſpring to them; but ſtill in my reaſonings with them, and diſputes alone (in my mind) concerning them, I was very far off from owning them, as ſo knowing the Lord, or ſo appearing in his life and power as my condition needed, and as my ſoul waited for. Yea, the more I converſed with them, the more I ſeemed in my underſtanding and reaſon to get over them, and to trample them under my feet, as a poor, weak, ſilly, contemptible generation; who had ſome ſmatterings of truth in them, and ſome honeſt deſires towards God, but very far off from the clear and full underſtanding of his way and will. And this was the effect almoſt of every diſcourſe with them, they ſtill reached my heart, and I felt them in the ſecrets of my ſoul, which cauſed the love in me always to continue, yea ſometimes to increaſe towards them; but daily my underſtanding got more and more over them, and therein I daily more and more deſpiſed them.

After a long time I was invited to hear one of them, (as I had been often, they in tender love pitying me, and feeling my want of that which they poſſeſſed) and there was an anſwer in my heart, and I went in fear and trembling, with deſires to the moſt High, who was over all, and knew all, that I might not receive any thing for truth, which was not of him, nor withſtand any thing which was of him, but might bow before the appearance of the Lord my God, and none other: and indeed, when I came, I felt the preſence and power of the moſt High among them; and words of truth, from the ſpirit of truth, reaching to my heart and conſcience, opening my ſtate as in the preſence of the Lord. Yea, I did not only feel words and demonſtrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, the ſeed raiſed, inſomuch as my heart, (in the certainty of light and clearneſs of true ſenſe) ſaid, 'This is he, this is he, there is no other; this is he whom I have waited for and ſought after from my childhood, who was always near me, and had often begotten life in my heart, but I knew him not diſtinctly, nor how to receive him, or dwell with him.' And then in this ſenſe (in the melting and breakings of my ſpirit) was I given up to the Lord, to become his, both in waiting for the farther revealings of his ſeed in me, and to ſerve him in the life and power of his ſeed.

'Now what I met with after this, in my travels, in my waitings, in my ſpiritual exerciſes, is not to be uttered; only in general I may ſay this, I met with the very ſtrength of hell. The cruel oppreſſor roared upon me, and made me feel the bitterneſs of his captivity, while he had any power: yea, the Lord was far from my help, and from the voice of my roaring. I alſo met with deep ſubtilities and devices to

entangle me in that wiſdom, which ſeemeth able to make wiſe in the things of God; but indeed is fooliſhneſs and a ſnare to the ſoul, bringing it back into captivity, where the enemies gins prevail. And what I met with outwardly from my own dear father, from my kindred, from my ſervants, from the people and powers of the world, for no other cauſe but fearing my God, worſhipping him as he hath required of me, and bowing to his ſeed (which is his Son,) who is to be worſhipped by men and angels for evermore; the Lord my God knoweth, before whom my heart and ways are, who preſerved me in love to them, in the midſt of all I ſuffered from them, and doth ſtill ſo preſerve me, bleſſed be his pure and holy name.

'But ſome may deſire to know what I have at laſt met with: I anſwer, 'I have met with the ſeed.' Underſtand that word, and thou wilt be ſatisfied, and enquire no farther. I have met with my God, I have met with my Saviour; and he hath not been preſent with me without his ſalvation; but I have felt the healings drop upon my ſoul from under his wings. I have met with the true knowledge, the knowledge of life, the living knowledge, the knowledge which is life; and this hath had the true virtue in it, which my ſoul hath rejoiced in, in the preſence of the Lord. I have met with the ſeed's father, and in the ſeed I have felt him my father: there I have read his nature, his love, his compaſſions, his tenderneſs, which have melted, overcome, and changed my heart before him. I have met with the ſeed's faith, which hath done and doth that which the faith of man can never do. I have met with the true birth, with the birth which is heir of the kingdom, and inherits the kingdom. I have met with the true ſpirit of prayer and ſupplication, wherein the Lord is prevailed with, and which draws from him whatever the condition needs, the ſoul always looking up to him in the will, and in the time and way which is acceptable with him. What ſhall I ſay? I have met with the true peace, the true righteouſneſs, the true holineſs, the true reſt of the ſoul, the everlaſting habitation, which the redeemed dwell in. And I know all theſe to be true, in him that is true, and am capable of no doubt, diſpute, or reaſoning in my mind about them, it abiding there, where it hath received the full aſſurance and ſatisfaction. And alſo I know very well and diſtinctly in ſpirit, where the doubts and diſputes are, and where the certainty and full aſſurance is, and in the tender mercy of the Lord am preſerved out of the one, and in the other.

'Now (the Lord knows) theſe things I do not utter in a boaſting way, but would rather be ſpeaking of my nothingneſs, my emptineſs, my weakneſs, my manifold infirmities which I feel more than ever. The Lord hath broken the man's part in me, and I am a worm and no man before him: I have no ſtrength to do any good or ſervice for him; nay, I cannot watch over or preſerve myſelf: I feel daily that I keep not alive my own ſoul, but am weaker before men, yea weaker in my ſpirit (as in myſelf) than ever I have been. But I cannot but utter to the praiſe of my God, that I feel his arm ſtretched out for me; and my weakneſs (which I feel in myſelf) is not my loſs, but advantage, before him. And theſe things I write, as having no end at all therein of my own, but felt it this morning required of me, and ſo in ſubmiſſion and

ſubjection to my God, have I given up to do it, leaving the ſucceſs and ſervice of it with them.

'I. Pennington.'

Ayeſbury 15th of 3d month, 1667.

From this concluſion, we ſee the humility of the mind of this friend, who, when he writ this, was already much advanced in the way of godlineſs, and had lived ſeveral years in the communion of thoſe called Quakers. Now, though it be the duty of every one, not to be conceited of himſelf, yet certain it is, that men of refined wits, above all others, have need to continue truly humble, and not to rely thereon, ſince the truſting to acuteneſs of wit, hath rather drawn off many from the way of truth, than led them to it; nay, it hath occaſioned the fall of ſome. But that J. Pennington endeavoured to continue in true humility, appears plainly from the relation above. He was a man of a very compaſſionate temper, and yet valiant in adverſities: he alſo ſuffered not a little on the account of his religion, but endured many tedious and long impriſonments; which were the more hard to him, becauſe he being of a weakly conſtitution, the ſuffering of cold and hardſhip, did him the more hurt. And yet he never fainted, but continued ſtedfaſt to the end of his life, which was in the latter part of the year 1679, when he departed in a pious frame of mind.

By the foregoing relation, it appears evidently that he was very earneſtly ſeeking after the true way to ſalvation, before he attained to a perfect quietneſs of mind; yet in that time there wanted not ſuch as were helpful to him with good and wholeſome advice; and among theſe John Crook (whoſe occurrences make up no ſmall part of this hiſtory) was none of the leaſt. And ſince there is yet extant a letter of his to him, wherein he not only ſpoke very effectually to the inward ſtate of I. Pennington; but for his inſtruction and encouragement, gave alſo an account of the great difficulties and temptations he himſelf had met with, I cannot well omit to inſert the ſame here; becauſe from the ingenuous and open-hearted letters of familiar friends to one another, we generally may diſcover very

plainly their inward ſtate, and alſo their outward qualities. This letter was as followeth:

'Dear friend,

'My dear and tender love ſalutes thee, in that love from whence I had my being, from whence ſprang all my Father's children, who are born from above, heirs of an everlaſting inheritance. Oh! how ſweet and pleaſant are the paſtures which my Father cauſeth all his ſheep to feed in; there is variety of plenty in his paſtures, milk for babes, and ſtrong meat for them of riper age, and wine to refreſh thoſe that are ready to faint; even the wine of the kingdom, that makes glad the heart when it is ready to faint, by reaſon of the infirmities: ſure I am, none can be ſo weary, but he takes care of them; nor none ſo nigh fainting, but he puts his arm under their heads; nor none can be ſo beſet with enemies on every ſide, but he will ariſe and ſcatter; nor none ſo heavy laden and big with young, but he takes notice of them, and gently leads them, and will not leave them behind unto the mercileſs wolf; becauſe they are his own, and his life is the price of their redemption, and his blood of their ranſom; and if they be ſo young that they cannot go, he carries them in his arms; and when they can feel nothing ſtirring after him, his bowels yearn after them; ſo tender is this good Shepherd after all his flock. I can tell, for I was as one that once went aſtray, and wandered upon the barren mountains; and when I had wearied myſelf with wandering, I went into the wilderneſs, and there I was torn as with briars, and pricked as with thorns; ſometimes thinking this was the way, and ſometimes concluding that was the way, and by and by concluding all was out of the way. And then bitter mourning came upon me, and weeping for want of the interpreter; for when I ſought to know what was the matter, and where I was, it was too hard for me; then I thought I would venture on ſome way where it was moſt likely to find a loſt God; and I would pray with them that prayed, and faſt with them that faſted, and mourn with them that mourned, if by any means I might come to reſt, but found it not, until I came to ſee the

candle lighted in my own houſe, and my heart ſwept from thoſe thoughts and imaginations, and willings, and runnings; and to die unto them all, not heeding of them; but watching againſt them, leſt I ſhould let my mind go a whoring after them; and here I dwelt for a time, as in a deſolate land uninhabited; where I ſate alone as a ſparrow upon the houſe top, and was hunted up and down like a partridge upon the mountains; and could reſt nowhere, but ſome luſt or thought or other followed me at the heels, and diſquieted me night and day, until I came to know him in whom was reſt, and no occaſion of ſtumbling, in whom the devil hath no part; and he became unto me as a hiding-place from the ſtorms, and from the tempeſts: then came my eyes to ſee my Saviour, and my ſorrow to fly away, and he became made unto me all in all, my wiſdom, my righteouſneſs, my ſanctification, in whom I was and am complete, to the praiſe of the riches of his grace and goodneſs that endures for ever. Therefore be not diſcouraged, O thou toſſed as with tempeſts, nor diſmayed in thyſelf, becauſe thou ſeeſt ſuch mighty hoſts of enemies riſing up againſt thee, and beſetting thee on every ſide; for none was ſo beſet, and tried, and tempted as the true ſeed was, who was a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief: but be thou ſtill in thy mind, and let the billows paſs over, and wave upon wave, and fret not thyſelf becauſe of them, neither be caſt down, as if it ſhould never be otherwiſe with thee: ſorrow comes at night, but joy in the morning, and the days of thy mourning ſhall be over, and the accuſer will God caſt out for ever; for therefore was I afflicted, and not comforted, and tempted and tried for this end, that I might know how to ſpeak a word in due ſeaſon unto thoſe who are tempted and afflicted as I once was: as it was ſaid unto me in that day when ſorrow lay heavy upon me. Therefore be not diſconſolated, neither give heed unto the reaſonings and diſputings of thy own heart, nor the fears that riſe therefrom; but be ſtrong in the faith, believing in the light which lets thee ſee them; and his grace thou wilt know to be ſufficient for thee, and his ſtrength to be made perfect in thy weakneſs; and ſo wilt thou rather glory in thy infirmities, that his

power may reſt upon thee, than in thy earneſt deſires to be rid of them; for by theſe things thou wilt come to live in the life of God, and joy in God, and glory in tribulation; when thou haſt learned in all conditions to be contented, and through trials and deep exerciſes is the way to learn this leſſon. Theſe things, in dear love to thee, I have written, being ſomewhat ſenſible of thy condition, and the many ſnares thou art daily liable unto; therefore watch that thou fall not into temptation, and my God and Father keep thee in the arms of eternal love, over all, unto the end, unto his praiſe. Amen.

'John Crook.'

This John Crook had been a man of note in the world, not only becauſe he had been a juſtice of peace, as hath been ſaid in due place, but alſo becauſe he was a man of good intellects; and yet his zeal for what he believed to be truth, was ſuch, that he became willing to bear the reproach of the world, that ſo he might enjoy peace with God. But though he was a man of learning, yet moſt of the firſt preachers of the doctrine held forth by thoſe called Quakers, were people of ſmall account in the world; but yet they were ſo powerful in their preaching, that many thereby were turned to true godlineſs.

Some have been reached by the ſayings of dying penitents; for there have been remarkable inſtances of young people ſprung from honeſt parents, who having walked in the broad way, did very earneſtly bewail their out-goings on a dying bed, and then declared, that if it pleaſed God to raiſe them up again, they would not, as before, be aſhamed of the deſpiſed way of the Quakers, nor fear any mockings or perſecution, but that they would ſerve the Lord in uprightneſs, and with all their heart. Theſe thus repenting with tears for their tranſgreſſions, have experienced after great agonies, that God wills not the death of ſinners, but that they ſhould repent, and ſo live in everlaſting happineſs.

Of ſeveral ſuch like caſes, I will only mention one, viz. that of a young maid at London, called Suſanna Whitrow,

whoſe mother was of the ſociety of the Quakers, but not her father. On her dying bed ſhe complained exceedingly of her rebellion and vain behaviour: 'Ah' ſaid ſhe to her mother, 'how often haſt thou ſaid, the Lord would plead with us: now the day is come. Pride and diſobedience were my curſed fruits, which I brought forth when I was a hearer in the publick church. How often have I adorned myſelf as fine in their faſhion as I could make me; yet they deſpiſed my dreſs, and ſaid, "How like a taudry have you dreſſed yourſelf; you are not at all in the mode." Then coming home on the Sabbath-day, I went immediately up into my chamber, and locking the door, I altered all my laces, and ſo went to their worſhip in the afternoon, dreſſed in their mode, and then I pleaſed them. At another time ſhe ſaid, 'O that I might have a little time longer to go into the country, and walk in the woods to ſeek the Lord. O what matter for fine houſes and ſilk apparel: O remember him that ſate on the ground, and wore a garment without a ſeam, our bleſſed holy Lord, who went up to the mountains to pray, and withdrew himſelf into gardens and deſolate places. I have done nothing for the Lord, but he hath done all for me: therefore I deſire to live, that I might live an holy and righteous life, that my converſation might be in heaven, though my body be here on earth. How would I then invite and warn others, not to ſpend their precious time in adorning themſelves like Jezebel, patching and painting, and curling their hair. O the Chriſtian life is quite another thing: we muſt not give ourſelves the liberty to think our own thoughts, much leſs to act ſuch abominations.' Several days ſhe was in a ſtrong wreſtling and conflict of ſpirit, and in fervant prayer to God, ſo that when ſomebody was for removing her head a little, ſhe refuſing it, ſaid, 'I would not ſuffer a thought to wander; if I move, I ſhall be drawn off my watch, and then the tempter will prevail.' Continuing in this conflict, ſhe conceived at length hopes of forgiveneſs; and being thus ſtrengthened by mercy, ſhe ſaid to the Lord, 'O what can my ſoul ſay of thy power: when I ſought thee, but could not find thee; I knocked hard, but none did open: for my ſins

ſtood like mountains, that I could not come near thee: I would fain have prayed to thee, but could not. Thus I lay ſeveral days and nights ſtruggling for life, but could find none; and I ſaid, "There is no mercy for me:" then I ſaid, "I will never leave thee; if I periſh, I will periſh here; I will never ceaſe crying unto thee." And then I heard a voice ſay, "Jacob wreſtled all night before he obtained the bleſſing." Oh then thy word, O Lord, was ſtrong to my ſoul: then my ſtony heart was broken to pieces, and the ſpirit of prayer and ſupplication was poured upon me. And now I can ſing as David did, of mercy, and of judgment: 'Unto thee, O Lord, will I ſing, with a rent heart, and with my mouth in the duſt will I ſing praiſes to thee, my bleſſed Saviour.' In this frame ſhe endeavoured to continue, and once ſhe prayed for her father, called Robert Whitrow, part of which prayer was as followeth: 'O Lord, remember not his offences, let me bear them; let it be eaſy to him; make his friends to be enemies to him, that thou mayeſt have mercy upon him. His temptations are great, Lord, carry him through; O let him not periſh with the world; do thou ſupport him over this world. Shall a little dirt of this world draw away his mind: O Lord, let his mind be ſet on things above; fix his mind upon thee.' Thus fervently this young maid prayed for her father, herſelf now having attained to a full aſſurance of her ſalvation, ſo that ſhe once ſaid to the Lord, 'O thou beloved of my ſoul, what ſhall I ſay of thee, for thou art too wonderful for me: O praiſes be unto thee.' And afterward perceiving that her end was approaching, ſhe ſaid to her mother, 'I muſt lay down this body, the Lord will not truſt me longer in this preſent wicked world: happy am I: my Saviour, my ſoul loves thee dearly; thy love is better than wine: my Saviour, my holy One, how glorious art thou: I have ſeen thy glory; I am overcome with thy ſweet countenance; O how lovely art thou! My heart is raviſhed with the ſweet ſmiles of thy glorious countenance. O, come away, come away, why doſt thou ſtay? I am ready, I am ready.' Then ſhe lay ſome time very ſtill, and ſo departed this life without ſigh or groan: which was about the year 1677.

Such like dying perſons have been the means ſometimes to ſtir up others to true godlineſs, whereby they came to be joined with the people called Quakers; and though theſe in time came to be very numerous, yet at firſt there were but few labourers in the miniſtry of the word. But theſe recommending one another to give diligent heed to the word of God in the heart, and mind that, as their teachers did often meet together and keep aſſemblies, ſitting down with ſuch a deep retiredneſs of mind, being turned inward to God, that tears trickled down their cheeks, to the aſtoniſhment of many that looked upon them, ſome of which only by beholding this retiredneſs, came to be ſo effectually reached, that they alſo joined with them, and frequented their meetings. In the mean-while many of theſe became more and more confirmed in their minds by this ſilent exerciſe, and their underſtandings came to be ſo opened, that in proceſs of time they became apt and fit inſtruments to exhort others to godlineſs: and among theſe ſeveral women alſo found it their duty to preach the goſpel.

There have been many who were very averſe to the Quakers, and yet came to join with them in the faith; as among others, Chriſtopher Bacon in Somerſetſhire, who (about the year 1656, coming into a meeting, not with intention to be edified there, but rather to ſcoff, and to fetch his wife from thence, who went thither againſt his mind) was ſo reached by the lively exhortation he heard, that he was not only convinced of the truth preached there, but in time became a zealous preacher of it himſelf, and was valiant in ſufferings. Once being taken up at a meeting at Glaſtonbury, and brought before biſhop Mew, at Wells, who called him a rebel, for meeting contrary to the kings laws, Chriſtopher, having formerly been a ſoldier for the king, ſaid to him, 'Doſt thou call me rebel: I would have thee to know, that I have ventured my life for the king in the field, when ſuch as thou lay behind hedges.' By this he ſtopped the biſhop's mouth, who did not expect ſuch an anſwer, and therefore was willing to be rid of him.

The like inſtance, of an unexpected converſion, was ſeen alſo in William Gibſon, whom I knew well, and who at the time of the civil wars, being a ſoldier at Carliſle, he and three others having heard that a Quaker's meeting was appointed in that city, they agreed to go thither and abuſe the preacher, whoſe name was Thomas Holmes; but Gibſon hearing him powerfully declare the truth, was ſo affected by his teſtimony, that he ſtepped in near him, to defend him, if any ſhould have offered to abuſe him: and he himſelf afterwards came to be a zealous preacher of that truth he had been at unawares convinced of.

To theſe inſtances I may add that of a certain trumpeter, who coming into a Quaker's meeting, began in an inſolent manner to ſound his trumpet, thereby to drown the voice of him that preached: but this had a contrary effect, and ſtirred up the zeal of the preacher the more, ſo that he went on as if none diſturbed him. The trumpeter at length to recover his breath, was fain to ceaſe blowing; but being ſtill governed by an evil ſpirit, after ſome interminſion began to ſound again; but whatever he did, he was not able to divert the preacher from his diſcourſe, though he hindred the auditory from hearing what was ſpoken. Thus he wearied himſelf ſo much, that he was forced to reſt again for reſpiration; whereby in ſpite of his evil will, he came to hear what the preacher ſpoke, which was ſo piercing, that the trumpeter came to be deeply affected with it, and burſting into tears, confeſſed his crime, and came to be a true penitent; a remarkable evidence of the truth of that ſaying of the apoſtle, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy."

Among theſe, who contrary to their intent entered into communion with the Quakers, ſo called, may be reckoned alſo Anthony Pearſon, the juſtice, of whom in this hiſtory it hath been mentioned, that he was ſo reached by G. Fox, at Swarthmore, that he came to be one of his followers; which though true, yet it was before that time that he was in ſome reſpect convinced of the doctrine maintained by the people called Quakers: which happened to be by

James Naylor, who upon an indictment of blaſphemy, appearing at the ſeſſions at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, found the ſaid juſtice Pearſon ſitting there on the bench as one of his perſecutors: who aſking him ſeveral queſtions received ſuch pertinent anſwers from J. Naylor, that in a great degree he was convinced of the truth held by J. Naylor and his friends.

By what hath been related here may be ſeen how unexpectedly ſome entered into ſociety with the Quakers, ſo called; more inſtances of which might be produced if needful; ſince I have known ſuch, who being naturally of a boiſterous temper, yet were ſo ſtruck with the terror of the Lord, that they came to be of ſuch a quiet ſpirit, and harmleſs behaviour, that as formerly they could not ſuffer the leaſt provocation, ſo now they bore all revilings and mockings with an even and undiſturbed mind; becauſe the fear of God had made ſuch deep impreſſion upon them, that they were careful leſt by an angry or impetuous deportment they ſhould ſin againſt him. And thus continuing to live in fear, and a reverential awe, they improved in true godlineſs; inſomuch that by their pious lives, they preached as well as others with words. After this manner the number of their ſociety increaſed; but then grievous ſufferings enſued; for the prieſts could not endure to ſee that their hearers left them; the furious mob was ſpurred on, and among the magiſtrates there were many, who being of a fierce temper, uſed all their ſtrength to root out the profeſſors of the light, (as they were called at firſt) and to ſuppreſs and ſtifle their doctrine; but all proved in vain, as appears abundantly from this hiſtory; although there were hardly priſons in England, where ſome of theſe people where not ſhut up; beſides the ſpoil of goods, and cruel whippings that befel ſome of them. Yet all this they bore with a more than ordinary courage, without making reſiſtance, how great ſoever their number was; and notwithſtanding many of them had been valiant ſoldiers, who often had ſlain their enemies in the field, without regarding danger.

In the conſideration of this undaunted ſtedfaſtneſs, it hath ſeemed to me, that there have been ſome ſuch among

this people, whoſe talent was valiantly to endure perſecution for a good cauſe; and who perhaps in eaſe would not have been ſuch good Chriſtians as they proved to be under theſe ſufferings; reſembling the camomile in this, which the more it is depreſſed or rubbed, the better it grows, and yields the ſtronger ſcent. Being then thus oppreſſed, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of continuing vigilant and watchful; and, according to king Solomon's advice, to keep their heart with all diligence. This made them love what they judged to be truth, more than their lives, and it cauſed them to be careful; leſt that ſhould come over them which the church of Epheſus was threatened with, becauſe ſhe had left her firſt love, viz. the removing of her candleſtick out of its place. Thus their mutual love increaſed, and their own lives they valued not when the grieving of their conſciences ſtood in competition with it.

Having thus paſſed through many adverſities, with an unwearied and laſting patience, and being become a great people, known by the name of Quakers, they were at length, by the generous clemency of king William IIId. and the favour of the Parliament, declared to be a ſociety, who ſhould henceforth be tolerated in the kingdom as Proteſtant Diſſenters, with liberty to perform their religious worſhip in publick without diſturbance.

THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE,

CALLED

# QUAKERS.

## THE TWELFTH BOOK.

QUEEN Anne having now aſcended the throne, and taken in hand the reins of government, was congratulated from all quarters; and the people called Quakers thought themſelves no leſs obliged than others to condole the king's death, and teſtify their affection and fidelity to the queen; and therefore they drew up an addreſs; and when ſome of them, of whom G. Whitehead was one, went to preſent it (which was on the 11th of the 2d month, April) they were introduced by the then earl, but now duke, of Marlborough, and the duke of Ormand. The addreſs was as followeth:

### To Queen ANNE over England, &c.

'May it pleaſe the queen,

'We, thy peaceable ſubjects, cannot but be ſorrowfully affected with a deep ſenſe of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of our late king William the IIId. whom God made the

inſtrument of much good to theſe nations; a prince who indeed deſired to be the common father of his people, and as ſuch did by his great example, as well as precept, endeavour to unite them in intereſt and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender conſciences, by all which his reign was adorned, to the renown of his memory.

'And it having pleaſed the all-wiſe God, the diſpoſer of kingdoms, to preſerve thee to ſucceed to the government of theſe nations; and thereby to the maintaining and conſummating thoſe great works ſo happily begun; we humbly beg leave to congratulate thy free and peaceable acceſſion to the throne, from whence we obſerve the queen's excellent declaration, manifeſting her care for the good of all her people, and therefore doubt not but we her Proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects ſhall partake of her royal favour and protection.

'We ſincerely declare, that with the aſſiſtance of the grace of God, we will always, according to our Chriſtian duty, demonſtrate our good affection, truth, and fidelity to the queen and her government; and heartily pray that his wiſdom may direct, and his bleſſing be upon the queen and her great council, to the ſuppreſſing of vice and immorality, and the promoting of piety, peace, and charity, to the glory of God, and the benefit of theſe nations.

'May the King of kings make thy reign long and glorious, to which temporal bleſſing we ſhall pray for thy eternal happineſs.

Signed on behalf and by appointment of the aforeſaid people, at a meeting in London, the 10th of the ſecond month, 1702.

This addreſs was very favourably received by the queen, and after it was read to her, ſhe anſwered,

'I thank you for your addreſs, and I aſſure you of my protection.'

It was ſcarce a month after, when war was proclaimed in England againſt France, which had been proclaimed in Holland alſo againſt that crown ſome days before. Not long after followed the general yearly meeting of thoſe called Quakers, held at London, in which it was thought fit to thank the queen for her declaration, that ſhe would maintain the act of toleration in favour of the diſſenters; and therefore an addreſs was drawn up by the ſaid aſſembly, which was as followeth:

To Queen ANNE over England, &c.

The humble and thankful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers, from their yearly meeting in London, the 30th day of the 3d month, called May, 1702.

'May it pleaſe the queen,

'We, thy peaceable and dutiful ſubjects, met from moſt parts of thy dominions at our uſual yearly meeting (for the promotion of piety and charity) being deeply affected with thy free and noble reſolution in thy late ſpeech at the prorogation of the parliament, to preſerve and maintain the act of toleration for the eaſe and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude eſteem ourſelves engaged both to thank Almighty God for that favourable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgments to the queen for the ſame, aſſuring her (on behalf of all our friends) of our ſincere affection and Chriſtian obedience.

And we beſeech God, the fountain of wiſdom and goodneſs, ſo to direct all thy counſels and undertakings, that righteouſneſs, which exalts a nation, and mercy and juſtice, that eſtabliſh a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the bleſſings of theſe kingdoms under it.'

Signed by the appointment and on the behalf of the ſaid meeting.

Of thoſe who preſented this addreſs, William Penn was the deliverer, and the queen was pleaſed to ſpeak to him

in a very kind manner, and not only received the ſaid addreſs favourably, but after it was read to her, ſhe made the following moſt gracious anſwer:

'Mr. Penn, I am ſo well pleaſed that what I have ſaid is to your ſatisfaction, that you and your friends may be aſſured of my protection.' *

This year died Margaret, the widow of G. Fox, at about eighty-ſeven years of age, as appears to me from an account of her ſon-in-law, Dr. Thomas Lower, in which I find, that ſhe was born at Marſh-Grange, in the pariſh of Dalton in Lancaſhire. Her father was John Aſkew, a gentleman of an ancient family, a man of a good eſtate, and famous for his piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religious even in her young years, and was married, before ſhe attained the age of eighteen, to Thomas Fell of Swarthmore; who being bred a lawyer, became a juſtice of peace, and having afterwards been a member in ſeveral parliaments, was made a vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaſter, and in proceſs of time a judge, being beloved becauſe of his juſtice, wiſdom, moderation, and mercy.

In the year 1652, George Fox coming the firſt time to his houſe, when he himſelf was from home, did by his exhortations ſo reach to the family, that a prieſt with ſome gentlemen went and told judge Fell, that a great diſaſter had befallen his wife and family, they being ſeduced and turned Quakers. This was ſo odiouſly repreſented to him, that it troubled him not a little: but being come home, and received very kindly by his wife, according to her uſual manner, he ſoon perceived that it had been intended to make him belief untruths, and poſſeſs him with prejudice. Not long after George Fox got opportunity to ſpeak to him, which gave him ſuch ſatisfaction, that he owned that which was ſpoken to be truth; and his wife ordered a dinner to be made ready for her friend G. Fox, and thoſe

* This from the Record appears to be rather the ſubſtance than the exact words of the anſwer.

that were with him. And ſome time after he told his wife, when he heard that ſhe and her friends were conſulting where to have a meeting, that they might meet in his hall, which they did; and though he himſelf did not come there, yet when a meeting was kept, he uſed to ſit in a chair ſo near to it, that though he could not be ſeen of every body, yet he could hear what was preached; which he liked ſo well, that it is not known, that after he had heard George Fox, he even frequented the publick church: inſomuch, that though he entered not into full ſociety with the Quakers, yet he favoured them, and ſeveral times ſtopt the malice of their perſecutors, when it was in his power ſo to do.

After he had been married ſix and twenty years to Margaret, and had nine children by her, he deceaſed in the year 1658, leaving behind him a ſon and ſeven daughters.

Margaret being thus become a widow, neglected no opportunity to ſerve her friends. In the year 1660, when king Charles II. was reſtored, (ſcarce two weeks after he came in) ſhe went to London, and ſpoke ſeveral times with that prince, that he would cauſe the ſufferings of her friends to ceaſe; and in order thereto ſhe writ, not only to him, but alſo to the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the queen mother, the princeſs of Orange, and the queen of Bohemia. And after having been about fifteen months at London, ſhe at length prevailed with the king, that her friends who were in priſon, were releaſed by proclamation. But perſecution afterwards beginning again, ſhe went to ſpeak with the king and the duke of York, at Hampton Court. In the year 1664, for refuſing to ſwear, ſhe was confined in Lancaſter Caſtle, and kept long in durance; for (becauſe of her great ſervice in the church) ſhe was much envied as well as George Fox, to whom ſhe was married about eleven years after the deceaſe of her firſt huſband judge Fell. But not long after, ſhe was again impriſoned, and continued a year in jail, being moſt part of that time ſickly; and afterwards was ſeveral times fined for preaching. In the ſeventieth year of her age ſhe ſpoke again with the king, which was the laſt time; but

ſhe was not received ſo favourably as formerly, for he ſeemed to be ſomewhat angry; and therefore ſhe writ to him, and ſtaid at London in hopes of an anſwer; but he was ſuddenly taken away by death. Afterwards ſhe ſpoke with king James, and writ to him alſo. And at length after a laborious and godly life, ſhe piouſly departed from hence in a great age, as hath been ſaid already, having uttered in the time of her ſickneſs many excellent ſayings, by which it appeared that ſhe was prepared for death, and longed to be diſſolved. She had been a zealous preacher, and alſo written much, and among the reſt a book entitled, 'The Call of the Jews out of Babylon,' which ſhe dedicated to the famous Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael, and charged him, as he would anſwer it before God, to cauſe it to be read among his brethren. This book being tranſlated by William Ames, into Dutch, was alſo printed in that language, whilſt her firſt huſband lived.

The ſame year ſhe died, George Keith, who now preached up and down where the biſhops thought fit, went by their order to New-England, New-York, Pennſylvania, &c. for it ſeems he imagined that in thoſe parts he ſhould get many adherents among the Quakers: but he came much ſhort of his aim; for even in Pennſylvania, where many of the Baptiſts formerly ſided with him; he was by them looked upon with diſdain, and rejected for wearing a clergyman's gown; and now appearing to be a great apoſtate, there was no likelihood for him to get entrance, or to be eſteemed there. After ſome time being returned into England, he got a living in the pariſh of Edburton, in Suſſex, worth about 120l. a year. Now though the Epiſcopalians ſeemed to be in great expectation that Keith ſhould ſuppreſs the doctrine of the Quakers, yet all his endeavours proved in vain; for whatever ſome may think, it is certain, and appears from this hiſtory, that they are become a great people after a very ſingular manner, and that all projects and attempts to root them out, have been quaſhed, and come to nought: and from this conſideration it was, as I have reaſon to think, that many of the Quakers, ſo called, in their preaching did ſound forth theſe words, being as it were extorted from Balaam: "There is no enchantment

againſt Jacob, nor divination againſt Iſrael;" as I myſelf have often heard. And now the ſtrength and power of their violent oppoſers was broken by the favour of king William the IIId. and his ſucceſſor, queen Anne, hath favourably confirmed the liberty of conſcience and worſhip, granted by an act of parliament to the Quakers. So that now we may look upon them as a free people, and a ſociety tolerated by ſupreme authority; and therefore I might now finiſh this hiſtory, as to the import of the title.

But before I conclude, I intend to ſay ſomething concerning their doctrine, of which mention hath been often made in this work, viz. That their chief principle, in which they differ from the generality of modern Chriſtian ſocieties, is, That every man is enlightened with the Divine Light, according to the evangeliſt John, who in the firſt chapter, ſpeaking of Chriſt, as he was from eternity with the Father, calls him the word, and ſaith, "That the word was God, that all things were made by him, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men." And the evangeliſt, ſpeaking concerning John the Baptiſt, who was ſent from God, ſaith, "He was not that light, but was ſent to bear witneſs of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." By this it appears, that the Quakers have not coined a new phraſe, but only made uſe of the expreſs words of the holy Scripture. I am not unacquainted that, during the great apoſtacy, people generally have not clearly underſtood this; yet it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, becauſe the evangeliſt ſaith, "The light ſhineth in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not." But to elucidate this doctrine a little more, it may ſerve for information, that the Quakers believe this light to be the ſame that the apoſtle Paul calls "The grace of God that bringeth ſalvation, and hath appeared to all men:" and concerning its operation, he ſaith, "teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world."

Thus much briefly, concerning the above-mentioned denominations of this divine light; and to make it appear

more plainly what this phraſe means, 'Take heed to the Light; thereby we underſtand, that each one minding the counſel of the light in their ſouls, may learn to fear God, and hate pride, arrogancy, and every evil way; which will beget in us ſuch a reverential awe towards God, that we dare not do any thing which we certainly know, will diſpleaſe him; and this is the firſt ſtep to godlineſs: and therefore both David and Solomon have ſaid, that the fear of God is the beginning of wiſdom; viz. that fear which is filial accompanied with circumſpection and cautiouſneſs; and as we perſevere in this fear, we are enabled to ſerve the Lord with holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life.

But ſince we can do this only by the grace of God, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we take heed thereto: and therefore we ought to pray to God continually for his aſſiſtance. But here ſtarts up ſomething, of which people generally have a ſtrong notion; for all ſorts of Chriſtians agree, that we muſt often pray to God, but in the manner of it many err greatly. For ſome think they perform this duty of praying to God, when in the mornings and evenings, and at other certain times of the day, they repeat or recite ſome forms of prayer, and do not ſeem to conſider, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint. And the apoſtle Paul exhorts to pray without ceaſing. And what this means he himſelf explains in theſe words, "Praying always with all prayer and ſupplication in the Spirit," which plainly ſhews, that it conſiſts not in a continual repeating of prayers, but in pious and devout breathings to God, raiſed in the ſoul by the Spirit of Chriſt, that it may pleaſe him to keep us continually in his fear and counſel, ſince we are in want of daily ſupport from him. And thus praying in faith, we receive an anſwer to our breathings in ſome meaſure, though not always ſo ſoon as we deſire: but we muſt not faint; and our prayer muſt be from a ſincere believing and breathing of the heart; otherwiſe we pray amiſs, and do not receive: according to the ſaying of the apoſtle James, "Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs." But what devices and wiles have not been invented by the enemy of man's ſoul, to

keep him off from this continual ſtate of prayer! although Chriſt very expreſsly ſaith, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. And, what I ſay unto you, I ſay unto all, Watch." Which in regard to the inſtruction we may reap thence, doth not imply a continual watching without ſleeping, but a vigilancy of the mind, which Solomon recommends in theſe words, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." Now though our conſtitution doth not ſeem to admit an inceſſant continuance in the deepeſt retiredneſs of mind; yet this is certain, that the more fervently we turn our minds to God, the more we are kept from evil. And man perſevering in this godly exerciſe, is the leſs in danger of falling into ſpiritual pride; ſince he finds that his preſervation is in true humility, and in a continual dependance upon God: for if he once departs from thence, and thinks himſelf ſafe enough, and that now he needs not to walk circumſpectly in fear as he once did, then he is caught already, and ſomewhat gone aſtray from his ſpiritual guide: to wit, from that which ſhewed unto him his tranſgreſſions, and troubled him whilſt he was in the evil way. And this is the manifeſtation of the ſpirit, which the apoſtle ſaith, is given to every man to profit withal.

Now to call this principle which reproves men for evil, and conſequently diſcovers it, Light, doth not carry with it any abſurdity, eſpecially if we conſider that this denomination is found in ſacred writ. Evil deeds are called by the apoſtle the works of darkneſs; and, ſaith he, "All things that are reproved, are made manifeſt by the light: for whatſoever doth make manifeſt, is light." By which it appears plainly, that the Quakers have not coined a new phraſe, but only followed the ſcripture language. And that they are not the only people that have declared of the light, might be proved from other authors of good eſteem, if neceſſity required.

As to oaths, they judge the taking of an oath unlawful; and why, may abundantly be ſeen in this hiſtory from a multitude of inſtances.

The making of war they alſo believe to be inconſiſtent with pure Chriſtianity, and eſteem that its followers being led by its precepts, will come to beat their ſwords into

plow-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks, and not to learn war any more. According to the prediction of the prophet Iſaiah ii. 4. and Chriſt, the Author of our faith, unto whom we are commanded to look, ſaith expreſsly, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight;" and the apoſtle James iv. giveth us to underſtand, that wars and fightiugs come of luſts. And we believe that by receiving the Spirit of Chriſt in our ſouls, and being entirely guided by it, enmity and luſts (the root of wars and fightings) come to be deſtroyed, and his love remains, by which we not only love one another ſincerely, but alſo can love our enemies, and pray for them; as alſo for thoſe who hate and perſecute us for his name, not rendering evil for evil, but good for evil; and this we believe to be that lamb-like ſpirit which will prevail, and muſt overcome. And therefore they judge it not lawful for them to make war, and for all that they think that they may very ſafely be tolerated by the civil government: not only becauſe they are willing and ready to pay taxes to Cæſar, but alſo that ſince they cannot fight for the government, neither can they fight againſt it.

Concerning the ſword of magiſtracy, they do in no wiſe aſſert, that it is unlawful for ſome Chriſtians to be magiſtrates: for to ſay ſo, what doth it imply, but the unchriſtianing of magiſtrates, whom they truly honour; magiſtracy being the ordinance of God. But although they believe this office to be conſiſtent with Chriſtian religion, yet they think it more ſafe for themſelves not to ſeek for it.

Tithes to the prieſts they do not look upon as a goſpel maintenance; ſince our Saviour ſaid in expreſs terms to his diſciples, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" yet they do not ſtretch this ſo far, as not to ſuffer that any who hath imparted of his ſpiritual gifts to others, might not receive temporal gifts of them, if he himſelf was in want thereof, provided the maintenance of a miniſter of the goſpel be free, and not forced; and alſo that it conſiſts not in a fixed ſtipend, which leads to turn the miniſtry of the goſpel into a proviſion of a livelihood; which they look upon to be far beneath the dignity of the miniſterial

office, which ought to be performed purely out of love to God and our neighbour, and not with any regard to ſecular gain.

The ordinary way of ſhewing reſpect or honour in common converſation is alſo what they ſcruple: for to give the ſame outward ſign of reſpect to men, which is given to God, viz. the uncovering of the head, they think (not without good reaſon) to be unfit; and ſo they eſteem alſo the giving flattering titles of honour; ſince Chriſt ſo ſharply reproves the greetings in the markets, and the being called of men Rabbi, Rabbi, ſaying, 'Be not ye called Rabbi; which title of that time may be equalled with the modern maſter or ſir. Thus Chriſt ſaith alſo, "How can ye believe, who receive honour of one another?" Yet they limit this only to common converſation with ones equals: for a ſervant may call his maſter by that title, and ſubjects their magiſtrates by the title of their office, and this may be ſpoken not contrary to truth; whereas the other is nothing but mere flattery, invented to gratify and cheriſh pride; and therefore they think it inconſiſtent with the true gravity of a Chriſtian to call one's ſelf a ſervant of one who has not any maſterſhip over us; and they believe we cannot be too cautious in ſpeaking, ſince our Saviour ſaith, "That every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account thereof in the day of judgment." The common faſhion of greeting they alſo decline, thinking it more ſafe not to imitate the ordinary cuſtom therein. But that it is more agreeable with Chriſtian ſimplicity to greet one another by giving their hand, or by other innocent and harmleſs notice in paſſing by, which are ſigns of friendſhip and reſpect, that may be ſhewed, without giving to man that which appertains to God, as the uncovering of the head is among Chriſtians: for the uncovering of the head is an outward ſign of the worſhip and honour that is paid to God: and if we give the ſame token alſo to men, it may be queried, wherein the difference conſiſts? If it be anſwered that it conſiſteth in the meaning and intention, then uſe is made of the ſame argument, whereby Papiſts endeavour to excuſe their adoration of images and relicks.

As the Quakers teſtify againſt the common vain way of ſalutation, ſo likewiſe againſt gaming, interludes, jeſting, and all ſinful and unprofitable recreations, and drinking of of healths, all which they believe to be contrary to the exhortation of the apoſtle, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatſoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

In their method of marriage, they alſo depart from the common way: for in the Old Teſtament they find not that the joining of a couple in marriage ever was the office of a prieſt, nor in the goſpel, any preacher among Chriſtians appointed thereto. Therefore it is their cuſtom, that when any intend to enter into marriage, they firſt having the conſent of parents or guardians, acquaint the reſpective mens and womens meetings of their intention, and after due enquiry, all things appearing clear, they in a publick meeting ſolemnly take each other in marriage, with a promiſe of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death ſeperates them. Of this a certificate is drawn, mentioning the names and diſtinctions of the perſons thus joined, which being firſt ſigned by themſelves, thoſe then that are preſent ſign as witneſſes.

In the burying of their dead they mind decency, and endeavour to avoid all pomp; and the wearing of mourning is not approved among them; for they think that the mourning which is lawful, may be ſhewed ſufficiently to the world by a modeſt and grave deportment.

As to water-baptiſm, and the outward ſupper, though they do not uſe the external ſigns, (witneſſing Chriſt the ſubſtance to be come) yet they are not for judging others who do uſe them conſcientiouſly and devoutly. They do not deny that water-baptiſm was uſed by ſome in the primitive church; but let it be conſidered unto whom it was adminiſtred, viz. to ſuch that came over either from the Jews or the Gentiles, to the Chriſtian ſociety: and baptiſm was as well a judaical ceremony as circumciſion: for, according to the account of Maimonides*, a Gentile, who would be received into the covenant of the Jews, muſt be baptiſed as well as circumciſed, whereby he became a pro-

* Vid. John Leuſden Philog. Hebræo-mixt, Diſſertat. xxi. de Proſelyt. Sect. 1. pag. mihi 144.

ſelyte. Whence it evidently appears that baptiſm did not come in the place of circumciſion, as it hath been often urged often to perſuade the ignorant. But as a Jeweſs proſelyte needed not to get the child ſhe brought forth baptized, ſince the Jews did not baptize their children, but adminiſtered baptiſm only to ſuch of the Gentiles that came over to them; ſo we do not find the leaſt evidence that the primitive Chriſtians in the time of the apoſtles, did baptize their iſſue, that ſo they might claim to be members of the church; but the contrary ſeems rather to appear from what the apoſtle ſaith, "The unbelieving huſband is ſanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is ſanctified by the huſband; elſe were your children unclean, but now they are holy: which implieth no more, but that ſuch children, whoſe father or mother alone was a believer, were not excluded from, but comprehended in the outward memberſhip: for this cannot have any relation to that ſanctification, whereby the mind comes to be cleanſed: but in regard of being partaker of the outward fellowſhip, this reached ſo far, that if but one of the parents, either father or mother, was a believer, the child thereby became intitled to the outward ſociety: for to make one a true and real member of the church of God, the baptiſm of the ſpirit was required, as the main thing; which made John the baptiſt, ſpeaking of Chriſt, ſay, "He ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt." And the apoſtle Peter ſignifieth, that baptiſm, which now ſaves us, is not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God. This was that baptiſm of which God by the prophet Ezekiel ſaid concerning Iſrael, "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries. Then will I ſprinkle clean water upon you; and ye ſhall be clean from all your filthineſs," &c.

It is a common objection, that Chriſt himſelf was baptized with water, and that we are required to follow his footſteps: but let it be conſidered that he was circumciſed alſo, though the one as well as the other needed not to his melioration, but was done for our ſake, to ſhew us by the latter, that our hearts muſt be circumciſed, that is,

ſeparated from all evil inclinations and luſts. And by the baptiſm which he ſuffered to be adminiſtered to him, is ſignified to us that we muſt be baptized by his ſpiritual baptiſm. And if it be objected, that Chriſt ſaid to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born of water and of the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." It may be anſwered, that if this muſt be underſtood of outward water, the conſequence will be, that water-baptiſm is of ſuch an abſolute neceſſity, that if any be deprived of it, he is to be ſhut out of heaven, which, though believed by Papiſts, yet I think Proteſtants will hardly ſay ſo; neither was John Calvin* of that opinion. It is alſo worth taking notice, that John the baptiſt ſaid, 'That Chriſt ſhould baptize with fire;' by which it appears, that both water and fire in this ſenſe, are metaphorical expreſſions: for they both ſerve for cleanſing and purifying, though in a different way. Now although ſome did baptize with water, yet it ought to be conſidered, that if the command of Chriſt to his diſciples, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt," related abſolutely to water-baptiſm, it would indeed have been very ſtrange, that Paul, that eminent apoſtle of the Gentiles, did not think himſelf commiſſionated for the adminiſtration of that baptiſm. Whereas, if the apoſtles had really received a commiſſion from the Lord to that purpoſe, he by no means would have been ſingled out; ſince ſpeaking of himſelf he ſaith, That he ſuppoſed he was not a whit behind the very chiefeſt apoſtles; and yet he alſo ſaith in expreſs terms, "Chriſt ſent me not to baptize, but to preach the goſpel. And I thank God that I baptized none of you but Criſpus and Gaius. And I baptized alſo the houſehold of Stephanas: beſides, I know not whether I baptized any other." And yet he ſaith, 'There is one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm,' which was the baptiſm of the Spirit. And the ſame apoſtle ſaith alſo, 'As many as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt:' and this cannot have relation to water-baptiſm, becauſe many

* Vid. Calvin, Epiſt. 184. & 229.

receive that, who never put on Chriſt, and become conformable to his image, which however is required of all Chriſtians. To this may be added, that if the command to baptize, Matt. xxviii. 19, were literally reſtricted to water-baptiſm, then why may not our Saviour's words be as well underſtood literally concerning the waſhing his diſciples feet, when he ſaid to Peter, "If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no part with me;" and to his diſciples, "If I then your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one anothers feet." More might be ſaid on this ſubject; but ſince R. Barclay hath treated of this matter at large long ago, the reader may apply to his Apology for the true Chriſtian divinity.

Concerning the outward ſupper, it may be truly ſaid, that it was the paſſover that was kept by Chriſt at the eating of the paſchal lamb; which likewiſe was a judaical ceremony, that Chriſtians generally take to be a figure or ſhadow. But is not the modern uſe of the outward ſupper in remembrance of Chriſt's ſufferings, alſo a figure, viz. of his ſpiritual ſupper with the ſoul; and doth it not ſeem abſurd, that one figure ſhould be the antitype of the other. The paſſover was not a memorial of another ſign that was to follow; but it was a memorial of the ſlaying of all the firſt-born in Egypt, and of the preſervation of Iſrael and their firſt-born. Moreover it may be ſaid, that the paſchal lamb was eaten in their families, whereas the outward ſupper now is celebrated in publick places for worſhip. We find, that the apoſtles "Breaking bread from houſe to houſe, did eat their meat with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart;" which implies an uſual meal or eating. And certainly they do well, who daily at meals remember Chriſt and his ſufferings: for the ſpiritual ſupper, which is the thing required, ought to be partaken of by every true Chriſtian; and this cannot be, unleſs we being attentive, open the door of our hearts to Chriſt, and let him come in. Let it alſo be conſidered, that the ſoul wants daily food as well as the body; and being deſtitute of that, will faint and languiſh, and ſo become unable to do good; and therefore our Lord recommended his diſciples to pray

for* daily bread: for that this chiefly had relation to the ſpiritual manna, the bread that comes down from heaven, appears from this ſaying of Chriſt, "Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlaſting life." Beſides, the apoſtle tells us, "That the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt." And the author to the Hebrews ſaith, "It is a good thing that the heart be eſtabliſhed with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein."

All this then being duly conſidered by thoſe called Quakers, it hath reſtrained them from the uſe of thoſe ceremonies. For the man who through grace is become truly ſpiritual, hath no need of ceremonies or outward means to depend upon, but finds himſelf excited to rely on the inward divine grace, and to depend upon God alone, walking continually in reverential watchfulneſs before him, and ſo keeping to the immediate teachings of Chriſt in his heart, he approaches with boldneſs to the throne of grace, and with a full aſſurance of faith, becomes a partaker of ſalvation.

But I leave this matter, to ſay ſomething alſo concerning the Quakers way of worſhip. It is uſual among them, when they meet together in their religious aſſemblies, to ſpend ſome time in a devout ſilence and retiredneſs of mind, inwarly praying with pure breathings to God, which they generally call, waiting upon the Lord: and if under this ſpiritual exerciſe any one feels himſelf ſtirred up of God to ſpeak ſomething by way of doctrine or exhortation, he doth ſo, and ſometimes more than one, but orderly, one after another. And that this was uſual in the primitive apoſtolical church, appears from what Paul ſaith, "If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all propheſy one by one." And what propheſying ſignifieth under the new covenant, the apoſtle himſelf explains with theſe words, "He that propheſieth, edifieth the church." Yet

* Τὸν ἄρ̣ιον ἐπιούσιον, ſignifying according to the nice explanation of Paſor, bread to maintain or uphold the eſſence or ſubſtance; though others have tranſlated it ſupereſſential bread.

let none think this liberty of ſpeaking to be ſo unlimited, that every body that can ſay ſomething, may freely do ſo in the congregation: for he that will ſpeak there, muſt alſo by all means be of a good, and honeſt, and holy life, and ſound in doctrine; and if in proceſs of time he finds in himſelf a concern from the Lord to travel in the miniſtry, and deſires a certificate of his ſoundneſs in doctrine and orderly life, he may have it from the congregation where he reſides. And certainly a preacher himſelf ought to have experience of the work of ſanctification, before he is qualified to inſtruct others in the way thereto: for mere brain-knowledge cannot do that effectually. Sometimes in their meetings there is a publick prayer before preaching; and preaching is generally concluded with a prayer.

Now preaching among them is not confined to the male ſex, as among others: for they believe that women whom the Lord hath gifted for goſpel-miniſtry, may exerciſe their gifts among them to edification: for who will preſume to ſay to him, What doſt thou? To him namely, who by his apoſtle hath ſaid, "Quench not the Spirit." They are not ignorant that the ſame apoſtle ſaid to the Corinthians, "Let your women keep ſilence in the churches." Now not to inſiſt on the word your, which ſeems to carry an emphaſis along with it, as being chiefly applicable to thoſe Corinthian women, yet by what follows it appears plainly, that it regards ignorant women, ſince it is ſaid there, "If they will learn any thing, that is, if they will be farther inſtructed concerning ſome points of doctrine, "Let them aſk their huſbands at home." Whereby it appears that this ſaying hath relation to ſuch women, who either from indiſcretion or curioſity, or out of a deſire to be looked upon as ſuch that knew alſo to ſay ſomething, propoſed queſtions to the church, and thereby cauſed more confuſion than edification: "For it is indeed a ſhame for [ſuch] women to ſpeak in the church;" and the apoſtles precept is, "Let all things be done decently and in order." Moreover, it ought to be conſidered alſo, that theſe words, "Let your women keep ſilence," have a tendency alſo to the ſubjection which women owe to their

huſbands, becauſe it is ſaid there alſo, that women are commanded "to be under obedience." This the apoſtle explains farther in one of his epiſtles to Timothy, where he ſaith, "Let the woman learn in ſilence with all ſubjection: but I ſuffer not a woman to teach nor to uſurp authority over the man." Now that the apoſtle doth not abſolutely forbid women ſpeaking to edification in the church, appears from his own words, when he ſaith, "Every woman that prayeth, or propheſieth, with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head:" for here he gives to women a preſcript how to behave themſelves when they propheſy; and what he means by propheſying, he himſelf declareth in the ſame epiſtle, as hath been hinted already, where he ſaith, "He that propheſieth ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort; and he that propheſieth edifieth the church." And pray what is this but that which we now a-days call preaching? For though propheſying under the old covenant ſeemeth chiefly to ſignify a prediction of what is to come, yet it is credible that the ancient prophets were alſo preachers; and according to the New Teſtament language, it is evident that propheſying is chiefly preaching. Hence we may eaſily underſtand what kind of virgins the four daughters of Philip were, which did propheſy, and what kind of ſervant of the church Phœbe was, and Tryphena, and Tryphoſa, who laboured in the Lord, and Perſis, which laboured much in the Lord, which is conſiderably more than what is ſaid of that Mary, who beſtowed much labour on the apoſtles. How ſignificantly doth the apoſtle call Priſcilla and Aquila, his helpers in Chriſt Jeſus. And what he means by his helpers in that ſenſe, we may ſee Philip. iv. 3. where he ſpeaks of women which laboured with him in the goſpel. All this then being duly conſidered, the Quakers ſo called, think it unlawful to forbid ſuch women to preach whom the Lord hath gifted, and who are of a godly life and converſation; ſince it appears ſufficiently that in the primitive church they were not debarred from that ſervice. And as in thoſe days, ſo in ours, it hath evidently appeared, that ſome pious women have had a very excellent gift to the edification of the

church. All which tends to the glory of God, who is no reſpecter of perſons, and is pleaſed to make uſe of weak inſtruments to ſhew forth his praiſe.

As to ſinging the words of David, ſince they do not ſuit the ſtate and condition of mixed aſſemblies, they diſuſe the cuſtomary formal way of ſinging in the churches, which has neither precept nor precedent in the New Teſtament.

Concerning the reſurrection, their belief is orthodox, and agreeable with the teſtimonies of the holy Scriptures: but becauſe they judge it to be very improper to ſay that we ſhall riſe again with the ſame numerical bodies we now have, their oppoſers have often falſely accuſed them, as ſuch who deny the reſurrection; though they fully believe this ſaying of the apoſtle, "If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable." And as to the qualities of the bodies wherewith we ſhall ariſe, he ſaith, "It is ſown a natural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body:" "For," ſaith the ſame apoſtle, "our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to ſubdue all things unto himſelf." And therefore they have counted it more ſafe, not to determine with what kind of bodies we ſhall be raiſed, provided we have a firm belief that there is to be a reſurrection of the dead: for from ſuch a determination many difficulties may ariſe, which otherwiſe are avoided; and therefore they have alſo ſaid to their antagoniſts, 'Chriſt's reſurrection is indeed an argument for our reſurrection; but would it be valid from thence thus to argue: becauſe Chriſt's body, which was without ſin, and was not corrupted in the grave, was raiſed the ſame it was buried; therefore our bodies, which admit of corruption, muſt alſo be raiſed the ſame they are buried?' Nay, by inſiſting ſtiffly on this point, we fall into many difficulties: who will venture to ſay, that when people die, and are buried about the age of ninety years, their bodies in the reſurrection ſhall be the ſame decrepid bodies they were when buried; and that unborn children dying, ſhall be

raiſed with ſuch ſmall bodies they had then? To ſhun therefore ſuch kind of abſurdities, they think it better, not to ſuffer human wit to expatiate too far, ſince the apoſtle ſaith, "Mind not high things;" and adviſeth every man, "not to think of himſelf more highly than he ought to think."

Now as to church-government, both for looking to the orderly converſation of the members, and for taking care of the poor, and of indigent widows and orphans, and alſo for making enquiry into marriages ſolemnized among them, they have particular meetings, either weekly, or every two weeks, or monthly, according to the greatneſs of the churches. They have alſo quarterly meetings in every county, where matters are brought that cannot well be adjuſted in the particular meetings. To theſe meetings come not only the miniſters and elders, but alſo other members, that are known to be of ſober converſation; and what is agreed upon there, is entered into a book belonging to the meeting. Beſides theſe meetings a general annual aſſembly is kept at London in the Whitſun week * ſo called; not for any ſuperſtitious obſervation the Quakers have for that more than at any other time, but becauſe that ſeaſon of year beſt ſuits the general accommodation.

To this yearly meeting, which ſometimes laſteth four, or five, or more days, are admitted ſuch as are ſent from all churches of that ſociety in the world, to give an account of the ſtate of the particular churches; which from ſome places is done only by writing; and from that meeting is ſent a general epiſtle to all the churches, which commonly is printed; and ſometimes particular epiſtles are ſent alſo to the reſpective churches. By which it may be known every year, in what condition the churches are; and in the ſaid epiſtle generally is recommended a godly life and converſation, and due care about the education of children. If it happens that the poor any where are in want, then that is ſupplied by others who have in ſtore, or ſometimes by an extraordinary collection.

* It has ſince been fixed to be held on the ſecond day immediately following the third Firſt-day in the fifth month.

As to the denomination by which they are diſtinguiſhed from other religious ſocieties, it is, as is well known, Quakers; but ſince that name was given them in ſcorn, as hath been ſaid in due place, they do not aſſume it any farther than for diſtinction-ſake from others; but the name whereby they call one another is that of Friends. And herein they have the example of primitive Chriſtians, as may be ſeen Acts xxvii. 3. where it is ſaid, that Julius the centurion courteouſly intreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto * the friends (for ſo the Greek hath it) to refreſh himſelf, and 3 Epiſt. John 14. we read, The friends ſalute thee; and greet the friends by name. Now this name of Friends is ſo common among the Quakers in England, that others alſo know them, and ſometimes call them by that name.

It was, as I find, in the year 1705, that Anne, the late wife of Thomas Camm, deceaſed in a great age; and having already made mention of her by the name of Anne Audland, I will ſay ſomething more of her before I deſcribe her exit. She was daughter of Richard Newby, in the pariſh of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, being born in the year 1627, and well educated; and being come to maturity, ſhe converſed much with the moſt religious people of that time. About the year 1650, ſhe was married to John Audland, and in the beginning of 1652, they both were by the miniſtry of G. Fox convinced of that truth he preached; and in the next year they began to preach that doctrine to others; for which in the following year ſhe was committed to priſon in the town of Aukland in the county of Durham, where ſhe had opportunity to ſpeak to the people through the window; which ſhe did ſo pathetically, that ſeveral where affected with her teſtimony; and after being releaſed, ſhe travelled up and down the country, and had good ſervice; but not long after ſhe was again committed to priſon on an accuſation of having ſpoken blaſphemy, for which ſhe was tried at Banbury in

* Ἡϱὸς τὲς Φίλες, and ἱ Φίλοι, which is not his friends, or our friends as it is rendered, but the friends.

Oxfordſhire; the indictment drawn up againſt her containing that ſhe had ſaid, God did not live: whereas that which ſhe ſaid was, that true words might be a lie in the mouth of ſome that ſpoke them, alledging for truth the ſaying of the prophet Jeremiah v. 2. "Though they ſay the Lord liveth, ſure they ſwear falſely." The judge before whom ſhe appeared, behaved himſelf moderately, and obſerving how wiſely ſhe anſwered to his queſtions with a modeſt boldneſs, propoſed the matter to the jury thus; 'That ſhe acknowledged the Lord her God and Redeemer to live, and that there were gods of the heathen that were dead gods.' Some of the juſtices upon the bench, who ſought her deſtruction, perceiving they ſhould not obtain their end, (for it had been divulged that ſhe ſhould be burnt) went off to influence the jury, and bias them; which had this effect, that they brought her in guilty of miſdemeanor: which made one preſent ſay, it was illegal to indict her for one fact, and to bring her in guilty of another; ſince they ought to have found her either guilty or not guilty upon the matter of fact charged in the indictment. The judge, though he had carried himſelf diſcreetly, had a mind however ſomewhat to pleaſe the juſtices that were her enemies; and therefore at her refuſal to give bond for her good behaviour, ſhe was ſent to priſon again; though he was heard to ſay, that ſhe ought to have been diſcharged. And the priſon whether ſhe was ſent was a naſty place, ſeveral ſteps under ground; on the ſide whereof was a common ſewer, which ſometimes ſtunk very much, and frogs and toads crawled in the room. Here ſhe was kept about eight months, but ſhewed herſelf content, being perſuaded that it was for the Lord's ſake ſhe thus ſuffered.

Her huſband, John Audland, died, as hath been ſaid before, about the beginning of the year 1664, and two years after ſhe was married to Thomas Camm, a miniſter alſo of the goſpel. She lived very retiredly, and ſpent much time in ſolitarineſs, and was almoſt daily exerciſed in reading the holy Scriptures and other edifying books. Her huſband ſuffered impriſonment three years at Kendal, and about ſix years at Appleby; inſomuch that ſhe came

to be well acquainted with adverſities: but by all theſe ſhe was the more ſpurred on to advance in true piety; and was a very remarkable teacher in the church, having an extraordinary gift to declare the truth. And yet ſhe was very modeſt and humble, inſomuch that how full ſoever ſhe was of matter, ſhe rarely appeared to preach in large meetings, where ſhe knew there were men qualified for that ſervice; and ſhe was grieved when ſhe perceived any of her ſex to be too forward on ſuch occaſions; and therefore ſhe adviſed them to be cautious, though ſhe did not omit to encourage the good in all, and endeavoured not to quench the Spirit in any. Thus ſhe continued in a virtuous life to the end of her days. At Briſtol ſhe once fell ſo ſick, that it was thought ſhe was nigh death; and then ſhe exhorted thoſe that ſtood by, to prize their time, and to prepare for their latter end, as God, ſaid ſhe, hath inclined me to do, ſo that I enjoy unſpeakable peace here, with full aſſurance of eternal reſt and felicity in the world to come.

But ſhe recovered from this ſickneſs; and when her dying hour came, which was in her dwelling place near Kendal, ſhe was not leſs prepared, but ſaid, 'I bleſs the Lord I am prepared for my change. I am full of aſſurance of eternal ſalvation, and a crown of glory, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.' Many other excellent ſayings ſhe uttered during the time of her ſickneſs; and when ſhe drew near her end, ſome of her friends aſking her, whether ſhe knew them. 'Yes,' ſaid ſhe, 'I know you every one. I have my underſtanding as clear as ever: for how ſhould it be otherwiſe, ſince my peace is made with God through the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. I have no diſturbance in mind, therefore is my underſtanding and judgment ſo good and clear; but to lie under affliction of body and mind, to feel pinching pangs of body even to death, and to want peace with God; O that would be intolerable to bear!' She adviſed her huſband to quit himſelf of the cumber of the things of this world, after her death, that he might with the more freedom attend the miniſtry of the goſpel, and, ſaid ſhe, 'Warn all, but eſpecially the rich, to keep love, and not to be high-

minded: for humility and holineſs is the badge of our profeſſion.' A little before her departure, ſome fainting fits taking her, ſhe revived again, and ſaid, 'I was glad, thinking I was going to my eternal reſt, without diſturbance. I have both a ſight and earneſt of eternal reſt with God in the world to come.' A little after ſhe ſaid, 'Methinks I grow weak and cold. My hands and feet are grown very cold, yet my heart is very ſtrong. I muſt meet with ſharper pangs than I have yet felt—This pain is hard to fleſh and blood, but muſt be endured a little time; eaſe and eternal reſt is at hand; I am glad I ſee death ſo near me.' A little after, ſeeing her friends weep, ſhe ſaid, 'Be not concerned, for all his well: I have only death to encounter, and the ſting of it is wholly taken away: the grave hath no victory, and my ſoul is aſcending above all ſorrow and pains. So let me go freely to my heavenly manſion, diſturb me not in my paſſage. My friends, go to the meeting; let me not hinder the Lord's buſineſs, but let it be the chief, and by you all done faithfully, that at the end ye may receive your reward: for mine is ſure. I have not been negligent, my day's work is done.' Feeling afterwards her pains encreaſing, ſhe prayed the Lord to help her through the agony of death; and a little after ſhe ſaid, 'O my God, O my God, thou haſt not forſaken me, bleſſed be thy name for ever. O my bleſſed Saviour, that ſuffered, for me and all mankind, great pains in thy holy body upon the croſs, remember me thy poor handmaid in this my great bodily affliction. My truſt is in thee, my hope is only in thee, my dear Lord. O come, come dear Lord Jeſus, come quickly, receive my ſoul to thee, I yield it up, help me now in my bitter pangs.' Then her huſband prayed to God, that he would be pleaſed to make her paſſage eaſy. And ſhe had no more ſuch pangs, but drew her breath ſhorter by degrees, and ſaid little more, but that it was good to leave all to the Lord. And ſo ſhe ſlept in the Lord the 30th of November, 1705, in the 79th year of her age. Thus Anne Camm departed this life, and her huſband ſaid afterwards that he counted it a great bleſſing to have had her to wife: for ſhe was indeed a very excellent woman, and

therefore I have deſcribed her latter end thus circumſtantially.

Having now related what hath come to my knowledge, that I thought remarkable, and of ſingular moment in reſpect of the riſe and progreſs of the people called Quakers, I think what I have written may ſuffice, and anſwer the contents of the title of this hiſtory; and therefore I will add only a few occurrences, and then come to a concluſion.

Many years ago, even in the time of king James I. endeavours were uſed to unite England and Scotland into one kingdom, but all in vain; king William III. alſo tried what could be done in this caſe, but his life did not permit him to bring the work to perfection. Yet at length the matter was agreed and ſettled about the beginning of the year 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne, it being concluded that theſe two kingdoms henceforth ſhould be united into one, and called Great Britain. In the fore-part of the year 1708, Scotland was threatened with an invaſion by the pretended prince of Wales; but he failed in the attempt, and his deſign came to nought. Now ſince the union of the ſaid kingdom with that of England was accompliſhed, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line eſtabliſhed by law, the queen on that account was congratulated by a multitude of addreſſes of her ſubjects; and the Quakers ſo called judged themſelves obliged alſo to teſtify their affection to that princeſs, as they did by the following addreſs:

To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

The grateful and humble Addreſs of the People commonly called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, this 28th day of the third month called May, 1708.

'We having good cauſe to commemorate the manifold mercies of God vouchſafed to this united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it our duty to make our humble acknowledgments, firſt to the Divine Majeſty, and next to

the queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her kind and favourable government, with hearty deſires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath hitherto diſappointed the miſchievous and wicked deſigns of her enemies, both foreign and domeſtick) that he will ſo effectually repleniſh the queen's heart, together with thoſe of her great council, with his divine wiſdom, that righteouſneſs, juſtice and moderation, which are the ornaments of the queen's reign, and which exalt a nation, may be increaſed and promoted.

'And we take this opportunity to give the queen the renewed aſſurance of our hearty affection to the preſent eſtabliſhed government, and that we will as a people in our reſpective ſtations, according to our peaceable principles, by the grace of God, approve ourſelves in all fidelity the queen's faithful and obedient ſubjects, and as ſuch conclude with fervant prayers to the Lord of Hoſts, that after a proſperous, ſafe and long reign in this life, thou, O queen, mayſt be bleſſed with an eternal crown of glory.'

This addreſs was ſigned in the name of the meeting by fourteen members thereof, who alſo were ordered to preſent it; but it being underſtood that the queen ſeemed willing to be attended with it in private, only ſeven, among whom were G. Whitehead and Tho. Lower, went in with it, and were introduced by the principal ſecretary of ſtate Boyle; and G. Whitehead preſenting it, ſaid, 'We heartily wiſh the queen health and happineſs: we are come to preſent an addreſs from our yearly meeting, which we could have deſired might have been more early and ſeaſonably timed, but could not, becauſe our ſaid meeting was but the laſt week; and therefore now hope the queen will favourably accept our addreſs.' Then G. Whitehead delivering it, the queen ſaid, 'Pray read it:' whereupon he took and read it, and the queen anſwered,

'I thank you very kindly for your addreſs, and I aſſure you of my protection; you may depend upon it.'

To which G. Whitehead replied, 'We thankfully acknowledge, that God by his power and ſpecial providence,

hath preſerved and defended the queen againſt the evil deſigns of her enemies, having made the queen an eminent inſtrument for the good of this nation and realm of Great Britain, in maintaining the toleration, the liberty we enjoy in reſpect to our conſciences againſt perſecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reaſon in the late king's reign, for the uniting the Proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection, the union, of Great Britain now ſettled tends to the ſtrength and ſafety thereof; for in union is the ſtrength and ſtability of a nation, or kingdom; and without union, no nation or people can be ſafe; but are weak and unſtable. The ſucceſſion of the crown being ſettled and eſtabliſhed in the Proteſtant line, muſt needs be very acceptable to all true Proteſtant ſubjects.

'And now, O queen, that the Lord may preſerve and defend thee for the future, the remainder of thy days, and ſupport thee under all thy great care and concern for the ſafety and good of this nation and kingdom of Great Britain, and that the Lord may bleſs and preſerve thee to the end, is our ſincere deſire.'

To this the queen returned, 'I thank you for your ſpeech, and for your addreſs; and ye may be aſſured I will take care to protect you.'

And G. Whitehead replied, 'The Lord bleſs and proſper the queen and all her good intentions.' And thereupon he and his friends withdrew.

The moſt remarkable occurrences the Quakers in England now met with, were that they enjoying the liberty to perform their religious worſhip publickly, without diſturbance, were afterward encountered by the writings of their enemies from ignorance or envy, and repreſented as maintainers of heterodox ſentiments; but they not failing of anſwers, the eyes of many were opened, and ſome came over to them. And though ſometimes thoſe of the publick church had the ſucceſs to draw over one that was born and educated among the Quakers, but inclined to more liberty, and to be eſteemed by the world, yet there

have been others of the epiſcopal church, who not from any earthly conſideration, but merely by a convincement of their mind, have entered into ſociety with the Quakers; not fearing to make publick profeſſion of their religion, as may appear by two letters which I will inſert here; the one of Samuel Criſp, a clergyman of the epiſcopal church, who gave the following account of his change, to one of his near relations:

My dear Friend,

'I received a letter from thee, the week before laſt, which was ſent by thy uncle Bolton: there were a great many kind expreſſions in it, and in thy ſiſter Clopton's likewiſe; I acknowledge myſelf much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindneſſes, and if my ſchool had not ingroſſed ſo much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to anſwer my dear friend's letter now, and upon that account my delay will be more excuſable.

'The news thou haſt heard of my late change is really true, I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in; neither was it any proſpect of temporal advantage that induced me to it, but a ſincere love to the truth, and pure regard to my own ſoul: neither can I be ſufficiently thankful to God, that he hath let me live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in the midſt of my ſins and provocations againſt him; he is long ſuffering to us ward, not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance: he hath brought me off from the forms and ſhadows of religion, and let me ſee in a more illuſtrious manner what is the life and ſubſtance of it, as he found me in ſome degree faithful to that meaſure of light and knowledge he had beſtowed on me, whilſt I was in the communion of the church of England; therefore he was pleaſed of late, as I humbly waited upon him, to make known to me greater and deeper myſteries of his kingdom; and I can truly ſay, that I find by daily experience, as I keep low and retired into that pure gift which he hath planted within me, things are every day

more and more cleared up to me, and the truth ſhines and prevails greatly over the kingdom of darkneſs; and if I ſhould now turn my back upon ſuch manifeſtations as theſe, and entangle myſelf again with the yoke of bondage, ſurely I ſhould grieve the Holy Spirit, ſo that he might juſtly withdraw his kind operations, and never return more to aſſiſt and comfort me; for God is not mocked; religion is a very ſerious and weighty thing; repentance and ſalvation are not to be trifled with, nor is turning to God, to be put off till our own time, leiſure, or conveniency, but we muſt love and cheriſh the leaſt appearance of Chriſt, not ſlighting or deſpiſing the day of ſmall things, but embrace the firſt opportunity of following Chriſt in any of his commands: when he ſpeaks, there is ſuch force and authority in it, that we cannot ſtand to cavil, diſpute, or aſk queſtions; for unleſs we will be ſo obſtinate as to ſhut our eyes againſt the ſun, we muſt needs confeſs to the truth of his doctrine, and preſently ſtrike in with it; and therefore when for ſeveral weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was uſual, faſting twice or thrice in a week, or ſometimes more, ſpending my time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer to God, this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me. I lamented the errors of my paſt life, and was deſirous to attain a more excellent degree of holineſs than I had diſcovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement God knew the breathings of my ſoul, how ſincere I was, and reſigned to him when alone. I wanted him to ſet me free, and to ſpeak peace and comfort to my ſoul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my ſin: for though I had ſtrictly conformed myſelf to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myſelf from running into any great or ſcandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preſerving me, yet ſtill I had not that reſt and ſatisfaction in myſelf which I deſired, and greatly longed for. I found when I had examined my ſtate and condition to God-ward, that things were not right with me.

As for a ſober and plauſible converſation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very eaſy attainment. A good natural temper, with the advantage of a liberal education, will quickly furniſh a man with abilities for that, ſo that he ſhall be looked upon as a ſaint, and very ſpiritual; when perhaps in chains of darkneſs, in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the very bond of iniquity. If this ſort of righteouſneſs would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretenſions that way as ſome others; but alas, I quickly ſaw the emptineſs and unſatisfactorineſs of thoſe things: this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty, when he comes to judgment. It is not a man's natural temper, nor his education, that makes him a good Chriſtian; this is not the righteouſneſs which the goſpel calls for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts which God requires. The heart and affections muſt be cleanſed and purified before we can be acceptable to God; therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my reſt in a formal pretence of holineſs, wherein yet I ſaw to my grief, abundance of people wrapped themſelves, ſlept ſecurely and quietly; dreaming of the felicity of paradiſe, as if heaven were now their own, and they needed not trouble themſelves any more about religion. I could not entertain ſo dangerous an opinion as this, for then I ſhould be tempted to take up my reſt by the way, whilſt I was travelling towards the promiſed land. I think I made a little progreſs in a holy life, and through God's aſſiſtance I weakened ſome of my ſpiritual enemies, whilſt I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God, I can truly ſay, whilſt I uſed thoſe prayers, I did it with zeal and ſincerity, in his fear and dread; but ſtill I ceaſed not my earneſt ſupplication to him in private, that he would ſhew me ſomething more excellent; that I might get a complete victory over all my luſts and paſſions, and might perfect righteouſneſs before him; for I found a great many ſins and weakneſſes daily attending me; and though I made frequent reſolutions to forſake thoſe ſins, yet ſtill the temptation was too ſtrong for me; ſo that often I had cauſe to complain with the apoſtle in the bitterneſs of my ſoul, "O wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me

from the body of this death?" Who ſhall ſet me free, and give me ſtrength to triumph over ſin, the world, and the devil: that I may in every thing pleaſe God, and there may not be the leaſt thought, word, or motion, geſture or action, but what is exactly agreeable to his moſt holy will, as if I ſaw him ſtanding before me, and as if I were to be judged by him for the thought of my heart next moment? O divine life! O ſeraphick ſoul! O that I could always ſtand here; for here is no reflection, no ſorrow, no repentance: but at God's right hand there is perfect peace, and a river of unſpeakable joy. O that we might imitate the life of Jeſus, and be thoroughly furniſhed unto every good word and work. This was the frequent breathing of my ſoul to God when I was in the country, but more eſpecially after I had left my new preferment of a chaplain, and took private lodgings in London. In this retirement I hope I may ſay without boaſting, that I was very devout, and religious, and I found great comfort and refreſhment in it from the Lord, who let me ſee the beauty of holineſs; and the ſweetneſs, that ariſes from an humbled mortified life, was then very pleaſant to my taſte, and I rejoiced in it more than in all the delights and pleaſures of the world.

'And now it pleaſed God to ſhew me, that if I would indeed live ſtrictly and holily as becomes the goſpel, then I muſt leave the communion of the church of England; but knew not yet which way to determine myſelf, nor to what body of men I ſhould join, who were more orthodox and more regular in their lives. As for the Quakers, ſo called, I was ſo great a ſtranger to them, that I had never read any of their books, nor do I remember that ever I converſed with any one man of that communion in my whole life. I think there was one in Foxly, whilſt I was curate there; but I never ſaw the man, though I went ſeveral times to his houſe on purpoſe to talk with him, and to bring him off from his mad and wild enthuſiaſm, as I then ignorantly thought it to be. As for that way, I knew it was every where ſpoken againſt. He that had a mind to appear more witty and ingenious than the reſt, would chuſe this for the ſubject of his profane jeſts and drollery; with this he makes ſport, and diverts the company; for a

Quaker is but another name for a fool or a mad-man, and was ſcarce ever mentioned but with ſcorn and contempt. As for drollery, I confeſs I was never any great friend to it; but indeed if all was true that was laid to the Quakers charge, I thought they were ſome of the worſt people that ever appeared in the world, and wondered with what face they could call themſelves Chriſtians; ſince I was told they denied the fundamental articles of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the higheſt veneration and eſteem; and notwithſtanding I had always lived at the greateſt diſtance from that people, and was very zealous in the worſhip of the church of England, and upon all occaſions would ſpeak very honourably of it, moreover was content to ſuffer ſome few inconveniencies upon that account; (as thou very well knoweſt) yet my father ſtill looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers; and ſome years ago ſignified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthuſiaſt; and whilſt I was at Bungan ſchool, he ſent me two books to read that were writ againſt the Quakers, one of which was John Faldo's: who had been ſufficiently expoſed for it by William Penn.

'Whilſt I lived in London in that private retired manner (I was juſt now ſpeaking of) walking very humbly in the ſight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my paſt life, as I had occaſion to be one day at a bookſeller's ſhop, I happened to caſt my eye on Barclay's works: and having heard in the country, that he was a man of great account amongſt the Quakers, I had a mind to ſee what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themſelves; for ſure, thought I, theſe people are not ſo ſilly and ridiculous; nor maintainers of ſuch horrid opinions, as the author of the Snake, and ſome others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and I read him through in a week's time, ſave a little treatiſe at the end, which I found to be very philoſophical, I omitted; but however, I ſoon read enough to convince me of my own blindneſs and ignorance in the things of God; there I found a light to break in upon my mind, which did mightily refreſh and comfort me, in that poor, low, and humbled ſtate, in which I then was; for indeed I was then, and had been for a conſiderable time before,

very hungry and thirſty after righteouſneſs, and therefore I received the truth with all readineſs of mind: it was like balm to my ſoul, and as ſhowers of rain to the thirſty earth, which is parched with heat and drought. This author laid things down ſo plainly, and proved them with ſuch ingenuity and dexterity of learning, and opened the Scriptures ſo clearly to me, that without ſtanding to cavil, diſpute, raiſe argument or objection, or conſulting with fleſh and blood, I preſently reſigned myſelf to God; and weeping for joy that I had found ſo great a treaſure, I often thanked him with tears in my eyes for ſo kind a viſitation of his love, that he was graciouſly pleaſed to look toward me when my ſoul cried after him; ſo, though before I was in great doubt and trouble of mind, not knowing which way to determine myſelf, yet now the ſun breaking out ſo powerfully upon me, the clouds were ſcattered: I was now fully ſatisfied in my own mind, which way I ought to go, and to what body of people I ſhould join myſelf.

'So I immediately left the communion of the church of England, and went to Gracechurch-ſtreet meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read ſome other books of that kind, among which was an excellent piece, though in a ſmall volume, called No Croſs, No Crown. Thus I continued reading and frequenting meetings for ſeveral weeks together, but did not let any one ſoul know what I was about. The firſt man I converſed with was George Whitehead, and this was ſeveral weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent their meetings. By him I was introduced into more acquaintance, and ſtill the farther I went, the more I liked their plainneſs, and the decency and ſimplicity of their converſation. They do not uſe the ceremonies and ſalutations of the church of England, but ſhake hands freely, and converſe together as brothers and ſiſters, that are ſprung of the ſame royal ſeed, and made kings and prieſts unto God. O, the love, the ſweetneſs and tenderneſs of affection I have ſeen among this people! "By this," ſays Chriſt, "ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another." "Put on therefore," ſays the apoſtle, "(as the elect of God, holy and

beloved) bowels of mercy, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering."

'Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding on this affair. As to my bodily ſtate, if thou deſireſt to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my health as well as ever, and I bleſs God I have food and raiment ſufficient for me, ſo that I want no outward thing; and I have the neceſſities and conveniencies of life liberally: let us not burden ourſelves with taking care for the vanities and ſuperfluities of it; let us poſſeſs our veſſels in ſanctification and honour; and as we bring our minds into perfect ſubjection to the whole will of God, ſo let us bring our body to the moſt ſimple and natural way of living; being content with the feweſt things, never ſtudying to gratify our wanton appetites, nor to follow the cuſtoms and humours of men; but how we may ſo contract our earthly cares and pleaſures, that we may bring moſt glory to God, moſt health and peace to our own ſouls, and do moſt ſervice to the truth; and if this be our aim, certainly a very ſmall portion of the things of this world will ſuffice us: ſeeing we are Chriſtians; we ſhould therefore earneſtly purſue thoſe things which bring us neareſt to God, and which are moſt perfective of human nature: for what is more than a competency, ſeems to be a burden to a generous philoſophical ſoul, which would breathe in a pure vehicle, that ſo it may have a quick ſenſe and reliſh of all bleſſings, both of the ſuperior and inferior worlds.

'Thou knoweſt, my dear friend, that religion is a very ſerious thing, and repentance is a great work, and one precious immortal ſoul is of more worth than ten thouſand periſhing worlds, with all their pomp and glory; therefore let us take courage, and be valiant for the truth upon the earth, let us not content ourſelves with a name and profeſſion of godlineſs, let us come to the life and power of it, let us not deſpond of getting the victory. We have a little ſtrength for God: let us be faithful to him, and he will give us more ſtrength, ſo that we ſhall ſee the enemy of our peace fall before us, and nothing ſhall be impoſſible unto us: I ſay, my friend, let us be faithful to that meaſure of light and knowledge which God has given us, to

be profited and edified by it in a ſpiritual life, and as God ſees we are diligent and faithful to work with the ſtrength we have, he will more and more enlighten us, ſo that we ſhall ſee to the end of thoſe forms and ſhadows of religion wherein we had formerly lived; but if he ſees we are about to take up our reſt in thoſe ſhadows, that we grow cold and indifferent in the purſuit of holineſs, running out into notions and ſpeculations; and have more mind to diſpute, and to make a ſhew of learning and ſubtilty, than to lead a holy and devout life, then it is juſt with God to leave us in a carnal and polluted ſtate; to continue yet but in the outward court, where we may pleaſe ourſelves with beholding the beauty and ornaments of a worldly ſanctuary, and never witneſs the veil being taken away, and that we are brought by the blood of Jeſus, into the holieſt of all, where alone there is true peace with God, and reſt to the weary ſoul. I could ſay much upon this head, if time or leiſure would give leave.

'As for a particular anſwer to thy letter, I have not time now to give it; and for the preſent let this general anſwer ſuffice: and if thou wilt conſider things in their pure abſtracted nature, and not ſuffer the prejudice of education to ſway thee, but in fear and humility wilt ſearch out the truth for thyſelf, thou wilt find that there needs no other anſwer to thy letter than what I have already given; for by waiting upon God, and diligently ſeeking him, thou wilt find an anſwer to it in thy own boſom, and this will be much more full, clear, and ſatisfactory than I, or any other man living can pretend to give thee, or any other friend who hath lovingly wrote to me; for whom I deſire, with all the ſincere-hearted in the church of England, that they may come to witneſs the Almighty power of God, to ſave and redeem them from every yoke; and that they may ſee clearly to the end of thoſe things which are aboliſhed, and come to the enjoyment of ſpiritual and heavenly things themſelves, is the daily prayer and deep travail of my ſoul, God knoweth. Till I can be more particular, if thou pleaſe thou mayeſt communicate this to them, and let them know that I am well, and thank them for their kind letters. Let us remember to pray for one another with all

fervency, that we may ſtand perfect in the whole will of God, Amen, ſaith my ſoul. I am thy moſt affectionate friend and ſervant in Jeſus,

'Samuel Criſp.'

The following letter, or account of one Evan Jevans, is alſo remarkable.

'Since it hath pleaſed the divine goodneſs to endue me with reaſon, I heartily thank his moſt excellent Majeſty: that it has been the further product of his good will to give me life and being in that part of the world, where I have had the freedom to uſe it; eſpecially in the choice of my perſuaſion, and way of returning my acknowledgment to him. I wiſh that all, who make any pretenſions to religion, would make uſe of this noble faculty with ſubjection to the divine will to determine their choice in this grand affair; and not let the religion of their education be that of their judgment. If people were thus truly wiſe unto their own ſalvation, and did not too lazily reſign themſelves to the conduct of their guides, thereby regarding more their eaſe than ſafety, they would not only be the better able to give a reaſon of the hope that is in them, but they would ſhew more warmth in their devotion, more charity in their religion, and more piety in their converſation than at preſent they do.

'When I was viſited ſome time ago by the chaſtiſing hand of the Lord, for ſin and my diſobedience to his holy will, I laboured under great affliction of mind and anguiſh of ſpirit; and though I was conſtant above many in my attendance on the publick prayers of the church, ſtrict in my obſervation of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the uſe of private devotion, yet my burden encreaſed, and I waxed worſe.

'In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation's houſe, who had providentially returned from Pennſylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay's Apology for the Quakers; by the reading whereof I was ſo well perſuaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to

their doctrine) it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, baniſhed away my diſorderly imaginations, and reſtored me to my former regularity; I received ſuch ſatisfaction and comfort to my diſtreſſed ſoul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myſelf in ſociety with them; and I am the more confirmed in my change, eſpecially where it reſpects the worſhip of our Creator; becauſe it is not only the moſt agreeable to the Scriptures of Truth, but heaven has given us aſſurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, moſt powerfully attended with the preſence of the Moſt High.

'I hope none will begrudge me this mercy, becauſe I received it not by their miniſtry; if they do, I have cauſe to ſuſpect their charity is not of a Chriſtian latitude, ſince our bleſſed Redeemer approved not of that narrowneſs in his diſciples in ſomewhat a like caſe.

'But here to obviate the objection ſome may make to my change, becauſe of the diſtreſs I lay under, and the diſcompoſure I was ſubject to at times, I would have it remarked, that I read the ſaid Apology beyond my expectation, with more ſedateneſs than uſual, and a more quiet compoſure of mind: ſo that with the influence of the Almighty, or Providence, or both, I had alſo the benefit of that diſtinguiſhing faculty of man in the change of my opinion. O that I may never forget the Lord's mercy to my ſoul, who had compaſſion on me when I wallowed in my blood, and who ſaid to the dry bones, Live. O that all ſuch as are viſited by the chaſtiſing hand of their Maker, would ſeriouſly lay it to heart, and conſider their own welfare and ſalvation; I could wiſh with all my heart, that ſuch who labour under this anxiety of mind, would take encouragement to hope in the Lord's mercy through their bleſſed Redeemer, by his kindneſs and long forbearance with me. I am a living monument of it now; and I hope I ſhall be ſo, while he affords me a being here. If theſe lines ſhould come to the hands of any that are afflicted and diſtreſſed as I was, I have an effectual remedy, through mercy, to preſcribe unto them. Turn your minds inward to the grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from

your own imaginations, be ſtill, and quietly reſign yourſelves to his holy will, ſo you ſhall find health to your ſouls, refreſhment to your ſpirits, and the ſweet conſolation of the Lord in your own boſoms; you ſhall find your mourning turned to gladneſs, and your heavineſs to joy; this has been my experience of the goodneſs of the Holy One of Iſrael, who abhors ſin and iniquity; therefore I recommend it to you, and I think this is no miſtruſting of the cauſe, for they are the ſick and wounded in ſpirit, not the whole, that need the phyſician.

'As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every Chriſtian ought to be under, of forſaking the devil and all his works, I am ſo far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myſelf wholly obliged to obſerve it: and if I ſhould affirm, that through the grace of God, and his aſſiſtance (for otherwiſe I am ſatisfied I cannot do it,) the obſervation of it is poſſible, I can find no reaſon why it ſhould be falſe doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a churchman.

'As for deſerting that church and miniſtry which the Son of God came down from heaven to eſtabliſh, I am not conſcious to myſelf thereof; for I ſay, Chriſt himſelf is the head of our church, and, by his Spirit and grace, the ordainer of our miniſtry.

'And as to the laſt query my ingenious acquaintance is pleaſed to propoſe, I do let him know, that my former deſpair and forlorn condition has been, ſince my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a ſweet enjoyment of the goodneſs of God. I could not conceal the Lord's goodneſs, leaſt he ſhould withdraw his mercies from me.

'I had no ſecular intereſt to corrupt me in this change. It is apparent to many, I declined it; but as it was peace with God my Maker, and mercy to my ſoul I wanted; ſo having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchaſe it; or rather, I was reſtored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of the divine goodneſs, and of myſelf, by ſetting a due value upon it.'

From this account it appears, that the writer thereof aimed at nothing in his change of religion, but the quietneſs of his mind, and the ſalvation of his ſoul.

Now I am to mention, that the queen in the year 1710, in her ſpeech to the parliament, having again declared that ſhe would maintain the toleration and liberty of conſcience, was addreſſed by many; wherefore the people called Quakers eſteemed it their duty to ſhew alſo their grateful acknowledgment of this favour, which they did by the following addreſs.

To Queen Anne, of Great Britain, &c.

The humble and thankful Addreſs of the Queen's Proteſtant ſubjects, the people called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of their perſuaſion.

'When we conſider the queen's royal regard to protect our religious liberty, and the freſh aſſurance from the throne, of her Chriſtian reſolution to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences, and her tender care that the ſame may be tranſmitted to poſterity in the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, we find ourſelves concerned gratefully to acknowledge her goodneſs therein, and the ready concurrence of her great council therewith: taking this occaſion to aſſure the queen of our duty, and affection, and peaceable behaviour under her government, as is our principle, and hath always been our practice.

'And we heartily deſire our fellow-ſubjects may lay aſide all animoſities, and in a ſpirit of love and meekneſs, endeavour to out-do each other in virtue and univerſal charity.

'That it may graciouſly pleaſe Almighty God to defend and bleſs thee, (O queen) and guide thee by his counſel in a long and proſperous reign here, and afterwards receive thee to glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful ſubjects.'

To this addreſs the queen was pleaſed to anſwer:

'I thank you for your addreſs, and ye may depend upon my protection.'

The animoſities mentioned in this addreſs, did regard the diviſion, which having been a good while among the ſubjects, began to increaſe as many thought by the change of the miniſtry. But this being out of my province, I will not meddle with it.

In the year 1712, died Richard Cromwell, the ſon of Oliver the protector, about the age of ninety years. Great changes this man had ſeen, having himſelf been the ſupreme ruler of England, as hath been mentioned in due place.

Although I do not intend to relate much more of any occurrences, becauſe I haſten towards a concluſion, yet I think it worth the while to add the following caſe:

In the year 1713, in the ſpring, there was a ſuit at law, on the act againſt Occaſional Conformity. It happened that one John Penry, a juſtice of peace of Allborough, in the county of Suffolk, going to the pariſh church, underſtood by the way, that no ſervice was to be done there at that time; but hearing that there was a Quakers meeting there, he went to it. One Wall, the bailiff of the place, being informed thereof, imagined that the ſaid juſtice might not go there, becauſe of the aforeſaid act, and therefore thinking that ſomething might be gained by it, got witneſſes to declare that the ſaid juſtice had been in the meeting; and ſaid afterwards in a boaſting way to him, 'Now I have hooked you.' To which the other replied, 'I will ſtand to it.' The bailiff then entered his ſuit in the name of one that lived thereabouts by charity. When the caſe was pleaded at the ſeſſions, the judge, who was baron Salathiel Lovel, declared the meaning of the forementioned act to be thus, viz. That it did not regard any who accidentally went into a meeting of diſſenters; but that it was againſt thoſe who conformed with the church, thereby to qualify themſelves for an office, without changing their religion. But this was quite another caſe; for the prieſt of the pariſh himſelf gave a certificate that the ſaid juſtice was a good member of the church. From hence it appeared that this ſuit was mere malice; and the informers, or witneſſes, were brought to that pinch, that they durſt not expect the verdict of the jury,

for fear that they ſhould have been condemned to pay the charges; and therefore they let the thing fall.

Being now entered into this year, I cannot omit to ſay, that a peace between England and France being concluded, and the ſubjects from all parts of the nation congratulating the queen with addreſſes, the Quakers did not omit alſo to preſent an addreſs; being as follows:

To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Addreſs of her Proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, called Quakers, met at our annual meeting in London, the 3d day of the Fourth month, called June, 1713.

'May it pleaſe the queen,

'We having been ſorrowfully affected at the calamity which war brought on Europe, cannot omit to expreſs our ſatisfaction and gladneſs for the queen's great care, and Chriſtian concern, for eſtabliſhing ſo long deſired a peace.

'We are alſo under a dutiful ſenſe of the queen's gracious government and compaſſion manifeſted towards tender conſciences at home, as well as noble and Chriſtian interpoſition, in favour of perſecuted Proteſtants abroad.

'And farther crave leave to aſſure the queen, that we ſhall, as in duty bound, approve ourſelves, in all humility and faithfulneſs, the queen's obedient ſubjects; and though but a ſmall part of thoſe that enjoy, under thy mild government, protection in religion and civil liberties; we cannot but earneſtly pray for, and deſire the quiet and ſafety of our country; which evidently appears to be the queen's care to eſtabliſh, in having done ſo much for ſecuring the Proteſtant intereſt, and maintaining perfect friendſhip with the houſe of Hanover. That it may pleaſe Almighty God in his mercy and goodneſs to aſſiſt with his wiſdom the queen, in all her councils, and give her long to enjoy the quiet fruit of laſting peace in this life, and in that which is to come joy and peace everlaſting, is our hearty and fervent prayer.'

This addreſs, which chiefly contained an aſſurance of fidelity to the queen, was accepted favourably.

The next year, being that of 1714, the queen was often ill, and there was much diviſion among the people: for a bill was brought into parliament called, An Act to prevent the growth of Schiſm; and the party that prevailed was very active to get this bill paſſed. And ſince it tended to deprive the diſſenters from keeping ſchools, and to allow that liberty to none but members of the epiſcopal church, or at leaſt to nobody but who had licenſe from them, it met with great oppoſition, and many reaſons againſt it were publiſhed; the people called Quakers offered alſo to the legiſlature the following reaſons againſt it:

I. The church of England hath frequently declared, by ſeveral of her members, in a clerical, as well as civil capacity, by thoſe who framed and eſpouſed one or more of the bills againſt occaſional conformity, that ſhe is in principle againſt perſecution, and for preſerving the toleration.

II. The promoters of this bill may pleaſe to remember, that the queen hath declared from the throne, that ſhe will maintain the toleration inviolable.

III. The Proteſtant ſubjects of this kingdom, who are parents of children, are ſuppoſed to have preſerved to them, by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the natural right of the care and direction of the education of their own children; which natural right this bill ſeems calculated to take away and deſtroy.

IV. If the governments, which are now either heathen or Mahometan, ſhould take into the ſame policy, the ſociety which the queen hath incorporated for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, can have very little, if any good effect or ſucceſs.

V. May it not ſeem an objection and contradiction to the many princely and Chriſtian ſolicitations which the queen by her miniſters hath made at foreign courts, on the

behalf of Proteſtants, againſt the violent intruſions of Papiſts, into their rights and juſt privileges?

VI. It may be a means to oblige the carrying out of large ſums of money for foreign education.

VII. It may probably do much hurt to charitable foundations.

VIII. It ſeems not to be agreeable to that great law of Chriſt. Mat. vii. 12. "Therefore all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

But whatever was objected, the ſaid bill at length paſſed, and was confirmed with the royal aſſent, which gave occaſion to the Quakers to add in the concluſion of the printed epiſtle of their annual aſſembly at London, the following caution and exhortation: 'There ſeems at preſent to hang over us a cloud, threatening a ſtorm. Let us all watch and pray, and retire to our munition and ſtrong hold in our ſpiritual rock and foundation which ſtandeth ſure; that our God may defend, help and bleſs us as his peculiar people, to the end of our days and time here, and the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom and glory hereafter.'

About Midſummer this year died Sophia, widow and electoral princeſs of Brunſwick Lunenburg, on whom the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain was ſettled. Scarce two months after her demiſe, queen Anne deceaſed, who after having languiſhed a long time, at length was taken away by death on the firſt of Auguſt, the ſelf-ſame day that the act againſt the growth of ſchiſm was to have taken effect.

The ſame day George, prince elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, was proclaimed king of Great Britain; who ſome time after repairing to England, made his entry at London on the 20th of September. Not long after his arrival he declared in council, that he would maintain the toleration in favour of the Proteſtant diſſenters. Hereupon

many addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to him, and on the third of October the people called Quakers alſo offered their addreſs, which was delivered by G. Whitehead, and about forty of his friends, introduced by the lord Townſend, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. The prince was not only preſent, but many of the nobles, and others alſo; and G. Whitehead preſenting the addreſs to the king, ſaid, 'We are come in behalf of the people called Quakers, to preſent to king George our addreſs and acknowledgment: may it be favourably accepted.' Being then preſented, G. Whitehead ſaid, 'One of us may read it to the king.' Whereupon he receiving it again, delivered it to Joſeph Wyeth, who read it audibly, being as followeth:

To George, King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble addreſs of the people commonly called Quakers.

'Great prince,

'It having pleaſed Almighty God to deprive theſe kingdoms of our late gracious queen, we do in great humility approach thy royal preſence with hearts truly thankful to divine Providence for thy ſafe arrival, with the prince thy ſon: and for thy happy and uninterrupted acceſſion to the crown of theſe realms; which, to the univerſal joy of thy faithful ſubjects, hath ſecured to thy people the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and diſſipated the juſt apprehenſions we were under, of loſing thoſe religious and civil liberties, which were granted us by law, in the reign of king William III. whoſe memory we mention with great gratitude and affection. We are alſo in duty obliged thankfully to acknowledge thy early and gracious declaration in council, wherein thou haſt, in princely and Chriſtian expreſſions, manifeſted thy juſt ſenſe of the ſtate of thy people, and which we hope will make all degrees of thy ſubjects eaſy.

And as it hath been our known principle to live peaceably under government, ſo we hope it will always be our

practice through God's aſſiſtance, to approve ourſelves with hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful ſubjects.

'May the wonderful Counſellor and great Preſerver of men, guide the king by his divine wiſdom; protect him by his power; give him health and length of days here, and eternal felicity hereafter. And ſo bleſs his royal offspring, that they may never fail to adorn the throne with a ſucceſſor endowed with piety and virtue.'

To this addreſs the king was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

'I am well ſatisfied with the marks of duty you expreſs in your addreſs, and you may be aſſured of my protection.'

The addreſs being read, G. Whitehead ſpoke to this effect:

'Thou art welcome to us, king George; we heartily wiſh thee health and happineſs, and thy ſon the prince alſo. King William III. was a happy inſtrument in putting a ſtop to perſecution, by promoting toleration, which being intended for the uniting the king's Proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection, it hath ſo far that effect, as to make them more kind to one another, even among the differing perſuaſions, than they were when perſecution was on foot. We deſire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the king and his government, is according to our principle and practice.

G. Whitehead having thus ſpoken, his name was aſked; whereupon he anſwered, 'George Whitehead.' And having it upon his mind to ſee the prince alſo, and intimating his deſire to a lord who was gentleman to the prince's bed-chamber, he made way to it; and thus G. Whitehead, with ſome of his friends, got acceſs; and they were introduced by one of the prince's gentlemen

into a chamber, where the prince met them; and then G. Whitehead ſpoke to him, the ſubſtance of which was as followeth:

'We take it as a favour, that we are thus admitted to ſee the prince of Wales, and truly are very glad to ſee thee; having delivered our addreſs to the king thy royal father, and being deſirous to give thyſelf a viſit in true love, we very heartily wiſh health and happineſs to you both; and that if it ſhould pleaſe God thou ſhouldeſt ſurvice thy father, and come to the throne, thou mayeſt enjoy tranquillity and peace, &c.

'I am perſuaded, that if the king thy father, and thyſelf, do ſtand for the toleration for liberty of conſcience to be kept inviolable, God will ſtand by you.

'May king Solomon's choice of wiſdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compaſſion to the oppreſſed; and the ſtate of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz. he that ruleth over men muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God; and he ſhall be as the light of the morning, when the ſun riſeth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender graſs ſpringing out of the earth by clear ſhining after rain.' This ſpeech was favourably heard by the prince.

It was not long after the king's coming over, that Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, the renowned author of the hiſtory of the reformation in England, died. He generally had ſhewed himſelf moderate, and had written very plainly againſt perſecution in matters of faith, eſpecially in his 'Apology for the Church of England,' firſt printed in Holland in the year 1688, and afterwards alſo in England, wherein among other things he ſaid, 'I will not deny, but many of the diſſenters were put to great hardſhips in many parts of England; I cannot deny it, and I am ſure I will never juſtify it. And I will boldly ſay this, that if the church of England, after ſhe is got out of this ſtorm, will return to hearken to the peeviſhneſs of ſome four men, ſhe will be abandoned both of God and man, and will ſet both heaven and earth againſt her.'

The year being come to an end, I go on to that of 1715. In the month called May it was moved in parliament, that the term of the act for the Quakers ſolemn affirmation was almoſt expired; and thereupon it was reſolved, that a bill ſhould be brought in to prolong that ſaid term; and on the 7th of the ſaid month a bill was accordingly brought into the Houſe of Commons, read the firſt time, and five days after the ſecond time and committed. And whereas the former act was limited to a term of years, this limitation was omitted now, and conſequently the act was to be perpetual. The bill thus far advanced, was at length engroſſed, and on the ſecond of the month called June, after a third reading, paſſed in the Houſe of Commons and ſent to the Lords, from whence it was ſent back with this addition, that this favour ſhould be extended alſo to the northern part of Great Britain, known by the name of Scotland, and to the plantations belonging to the crown of Great Britain for five years (for ſo far the former act had not reached) and to the end of next ſeſſions of parliament.

This amendment was agreed to by the Houſe of Commons on the 13th of the ſaid month, and on the laſt of that month was confirmed by the royal aſſent. Thus the Quakers were protected anew againſt the heavy ſhock which otherwiſe they might have expected on the refuſal of an oath. King George on all occaſions having ſhewn himſelf favourable to them, they did not omit thankfully to acknowledge his kindneſs, as appears from the general epiſtle of their annual aſſembly, where they expreſſed their gratitude in theſe words:

'The Lord our God, who for the ſake of his heritage hath often heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the ſea, hath, bleſſed be his name, mercifully diſperſed the cloud threatening a ſtorm, which lately ſeemed to hang over us; which, together with the favour God hath given us in the eyes of the king and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulneſs to him. And humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and thoſe in authority, for his

and their ſafety and defence, is certainly our Chriſtian duty, as well as to walk inoffenſively as a grateful people.'

Thus they ſignified their thankfulneſs for the favour they enjoyed;* and as they did now enjoy liberty and quiet, ſo the other ſubjects were alſo maintained in their rights under a gentle government, ſo that none had cauſe to fear, who behaved themſelves like peaceable ſubjects. And yet in many places in England were great convulſions and tumults; and ſome hot-headed clergymen were not a little inſtrumental therein; whereupon an open rebellion enſued, but the rebels were defeated near Preſton by the king's forces.

Before I conclude this year, I am to ſay that the French king Lewis XIV. did not live to ſee the end of it, but on the firſt of September, N. S. after having long languiſhed by a malignant diſtemper, died in the 77th year of his age: having before appointed his brother's ſon, the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom of France.

This death ſeemed not a little to have altered the meaſures of the Pretender; nevertheleſs in the beginning of the year 1716, he came over from France to Scotland, in hopes to make an inroad from thence into England, but his attempt miſcarried, and his forces were diſcomfited by thoſe of the king. The common opinion was, that he chiefly relied on aſſiſtance from France; but that was denied him by that court, though he ſeemed to have reckoned upon it. He alſo lingered ſome time in Great Britain, after his forces were defeated; but ſeeing no way to invade the throne he aimed at, he returned at length to France, which kingdom he hath been fain to depart ſince, to the joy of many inhabitants of England: for it was thought that the rebels being deprived of their chief, the diſturbance would be at an end.

This rebellion being thus happily quenched, induced the

* But ſeeing from the firſt grant of an affirmation inſtead of an oath, the form then obtained was not entirely ſuch as was deſired, and many were not eaſy therewith; they ſeveral times applied to the parliament for a more eaſy form, which at length, through the merciful providence of God, and the favour of king George and the parliament, was obtained in the latter end of the year 1721; the form now being, 'I, A. B. do ſolemnly, ſincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' &c.

inhabitants of Great Britain to congratulate the king with addreſſes; and theſe congratulations being become ſo general, the people called Quakers were not wanting to prepare alſo an addreſs, to teſtify their loyalty; and to expreſs their joy for the quelling of the rebellion; and therefore in their yearly meeting they drew up an addreſs, which they preſented to the king on the laſt day of the month called May, being introduced by the earl of Manchester, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, when G. Whitehead ſaid in ſubſtance:

That in their annual aſſembly held for the religious concerns of their ſociety, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion profeſſed by them, the ſenſe of the great deliverance had ſuch a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to expreſs it in an addreſs to king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preſerved, ſo that he could well ſay, he was George by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, &c. And that as men carried that ſaying ſtampt on the money in their pockets, ſo it was to be wiſhed it might be imprinted in the hearts of the ſubjects.

Hereupon the addreſs was preſented, and read to the king, being as followeth:

To George, King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Addreſs of the People called Quakers, from their yearly meeting in London, the 26th day of the third month, called May, 1716.

'May it pleaſe the king,

'We thy faithful and peaceable ſubjects, being met in this our annual aſſembly, do hold ourſelves obliged, in point of principle and gratitude, rather than by formal and frequent addreſſes, humbly and openly to acknowledge the manifold bleſſings and kind providences of God, which have attended theſe kingdoms ever ſince thy happy acceſſion to the throne.

'And as our religion effectually enjoins us obedience to the ſupreme authority, ſo it is with great ſatisfaction that we pay it to a prince, whoſe juſtice, clemency and moderation cannot but endear, and firmly unite the hearts and affections of all his true Proteſtants ſubjects.

'We are therefore ſorrowfully affected with the unhappineſs of thoſe our countrymen, who have ſo little gratitude or goodneſs, as to be uneaſy under ſo juſt and mild an adminiſtration: nor can we reflect on the late unjuſt and unnatural rebellion, without concluding the promotors thereof, and actors therein, were men infatuated, and hurried by ſuch an evil ſpirit, as would lay waſte and deſtroy both the civil and religious liberties of theſe Proteſtant nations.

'And as God, the Lord of Hoſts, hath moſt ſignally appeared to the confounding that Black Conſpiracy, ſo we pray his good Providence may always attend the king's councils and undertakings, to the eſtabliſhing his throne in righteouſneſs and peace, and making his houſe a ſure houſe.

'Permit us therefore, great prince, to lay hold of this opportunity to approach thy royal preſence, with our hearty thanks to the king and his great council, for all the privileges and liberties we enjoy. To behold a prince upon the throne, ſolicitous for the eaſe and happineſs of his people, beyond any other views, ſo heightens our ſatisfaction and joy, that we want words to expreſs our full ſenſe thereof. And therefore we can do no leſs than aſſure the king, that as it is our duty to demean ourſelves towards the king's perſon and government with all faithful obedience, ſo we are determined by divine aſſiſtance, devoutly and heartily to pray the God and Father of all our mercies, to vouchſafe unto the king a long, peaceable and proſperous reign; and that when it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to remove from us ſo precious a life, by taking it to himſelf, there may not want a branch of the royal family, endowed with wiſdom and virtue, to fill the throne, till time ſhall be no more.'

To this addreſs the king was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer.

'I thank you for the aſſurance of duty and affection to my perſon and government, contained in this addreſs; and you may always depend upon my protection.'

Thus we again ſee a prince on the throne, who ſolemnly aſſureth the Quakers ſo called, of his protection; ſo that now they enjoy the due liberty of ſubjects that behave themſelves peaceably and dutifully under the government ſet over them, in like manner as other inhabitants of Great Britain: and therefore they have not neglected to exhort one another to ſhew their thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and to pray for the king, as it hath been intimated already, that this was recommended in one of the epiſtles of their yearly meeting. Now ſince mention hath ſeveral times been made in this hiſtory of thoſe epiſtles of the annual aſſembly to the particular churches, I have thought fit to inſert here one of them, viz. that of the year 1717, which is as followeth:

The Epiſtle from the Yearly Meeting in London, held by adjournment, from the 10th day of the fourth month, to the 14th of the ſame incluſive, 1717. To the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends, in Great Britain, and elſewhere,

'Our ſalutation, in the love of Chriſt Jeſus our bleſſed Lord, is freely extended unto you, whoſe tender care over, and mercy to, this our annual aſſembly, we do humbly and thankfully acknowledge, in the love, amity, tender condeſcenſion, and peaceable procedure thereof, with reſpect to the divine power and goodneſs of the Lord our God, and the ſervice of his church and people; ſincerely deſiring the proſperity of his whole heritage, even in all the churches of Chriſt among us, in his dear love, unity and peace, to his eternal glory, and our univerſal comfort and perpetual joy in the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

'We are truly comforted, in that we underſtand there is ſuch a general concurrence and union among Friends, with our former earneſt deſires and counſel, for true and univerſal love, unity, peace, and good order, to be ear-

neſtly endeavoured and maintained among us, as a peculiar people, choſen of the Lord out of the world, to bear a faithful teſtimony to his holy name and truth, in all reſpects; and that all that is contrary be watched againſt and avoided; as ſtrife, diſcord, contention, and diſputes tending to diviſions, may be utterly ſuppreſt and laid aſide, as the light and righteous judgment of truth require.

'Oh! that all the churches and congregations of the faithful, would be excited by the Spirit of the dear Son of God, fervently to pray for the proſperity of his church and people throughout the world, that Sion may more and more ſhine in the beauty of holineſs, to the glory and praiſe of the King of glory.

'The friends and brethren, come up from the ſeveral quarterly meetings in this nation, have given a good account to this meeting of truth's proſperity, and that friends are generally in love and unity one with another; and by ſeveral epiſtles, from friends of North Carolina, Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Barbadoes, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which have been read in this meeting; as alſo by verbal accounts given by ſeveral friends that have lately travelled in divers parts of America, and elſewhere, we have received comfortable accounts of the ſtate of truth and friends in thoſe parts; by which we are encouraged to hope truth prevails in many places, and a concern grows upon friends for the proſperity thereof; and that there is an inclination in people to hear the truth declared.

'By the accounts brought up this year, we find that friends ſufferings in England and Wales, amount to five thouſand two hundred and ninety pounds, and upwards, chiefly for tithes, prieſts wages, and ſteeple-houſe rates; and that notwithſtanding there have been four friends diſcharged the laſt year, there yet remain twenty friends priſoners on theſe accounts.

'We adviſe that a tender care remain upon friends in all places, to be faithful in keeping up our Chriſtian teſtimony againſt tithes, as being fully perſuaded, it is that whereunto God hath called his people in this our day; we ſeeing by daily experience, that ſuch as are not faithful

therein, do thereby add to the ſufferings of honeſt friends, and hinder their own growth and proſperity in the moſt bleſſed truth.

'As touching the education of Friends children, for which this meeting hath often found a concern; we think it our duty to recommend unto you, the neceſſity that there is of a care in preſerving of them in plainneſs of ſpeech and habit, ſuitable to our holy profeſſion: and alſo, that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavour wanting, to inſtruct them in the principle of truth which we profeſs; that thereby they, being ſenſible of the operation thereof in themſelves, may find, not only their ſpirits ſoftened and tendered, fit to receive the impreſſions of the divine image, but may alſo from thence find themſelves under a neceſſity to appear clear in the ſeveral branches of our Chriſtian teſtimony. And as this will be moſt beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, ſo it is the moſt effectual way of propagating the ſame throughout the churches of Chriſt. And there being times and ſeaſons wherein their ſpirits are (more than at others) diſpoſed to have thoſe things impreſſed upon them; ſo we deſire that all parents, and others concerned in the overſight of youth, might wait in the fear of God, to know themſelves divinely qualified for that ſervice, that in his wiſdom they may make uſe of every ſuch opportunity, which the Lord ſhall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn and adviſe friends in all places to flee every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride, and following the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of this world, as recommended in the Epiſtle, 1715.

'And as we always found it our concern to recommend love, concord, and unity in the churches of Chriſt every where, ſo as a means to effect the ſame, we earneſtly deſire that Friends, but more eſpecially ſuch as are concerned in meetings of buſineſs, do labour to know their own ſpirits ſubjected by the Spirit of Truth; that thereby being baptized into one body, they may be truly one in the foundation of their love and unity, and that therein they may all labour to find a nearneſs to each other in ſpirit; this being the true way to a thorough reconciliation, wherever there is, or may have been any difference of

apprehenſion: thereby Friends will be preſerved in that ſweetneſs of ſpirit, that is, and will be the bond of true peace, throughout all the churches of Chriſt.

'And, dear friends, the Friends of this meeting, to whom the inſpection of the accounts was referred, made report, that having peruſed the ſame, they found the ſtock to be near expended; whereupon this meeting thinks it neceſſary to recommend unto you, that a general and free contribution be made in every county, and that what ſhall be thereupon collected, be ſent up to the reſpective correſpondents.

'Finally, dear Friends and Brethren, be careful to walk unblameable in love and peace among yourſelves, and towards all men in Chriſtian charity, and be humbly thankful to the Lord our moſt gracious God, for the favour he hath given us in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our religious and Chriſtian liberties under them; and the God of peace (we truſt) will be with you to the end.

'The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirits. Amen.

'Signed in, and on the behalf, and by the order of this meeting,

'By Benjamin Bealing.'

From this epiſtle may be judged in ſome degree of the others, which are ſent from the yearly meeting of the people called Quakers, to the particular meetings of their ſociety every where. We ſee by it, that they give notice of the ſtate of their particular churches, and that they earneſtly recommend love and unity among their brethren, with other Chriſtian virtues, and eſpecially a good education of their children, beſides other matters which they judge to be meet and neceſſary. With this epiſtle here inſerted, I will finiſh this work, as having performed my deſign and intention, viz. the giving of a plain and circumſtantial account and relation of the riſe of this religious ſociety, which, as we have ſeen, ſprung from mean beginnings, to a great increaſe and progreſs, and extended itſelf far, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition, and moſt

grievous ſeverity, for ſuppreſſing and rooting them out, ſo often put in practice, and committed by their enemies, but all in vain. And they now enjoy an undiſturbed liberty to perform the publick exerciſe of their worſhip to God, ſince their religion is permitted by law; which liberty they in no wiſe have obtained by making reſiſtance, but by a long ſuffering patience, a peaceable deportment, and a dutiful fidelity to the government ſet over them: ſo that now they ſee clearly, that God doth not forſake thoſe that do not forſake him, according to what the prophet Azariah formerly ſaid to king Aſa, and all Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xv. 2. "The Lord is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye ſeek him, he will be found of you: but if ye forſake him, he will forſake you." Having thus performed what I intended with this hiſtorical relation, I conclude it, to the praiſe and glory of the Moſt High, who hath afforded me life-time and ability, after a long and difficult labour, to bring this hiſtory to a ſuitable end.

# ADDENDA.

THE Author towards the concluſion of this hiſtory, having given ſome account of the principles of the People called Quakers, thought fit, in the Dutch Appendix (among other things), to add the following treatiſe in Latin, concerning the Light, written about the year 1662. And ſince in this Engliſh tranſlation the ſubject matters contained in the ſaid Appendix are inſerted in the body of the hiſtory, in thoſe places to which they properly belong, and no reference being made to this, but as mentioned in the preface, it is thought fit to ſubjoin it here, with the following words of the Author prefixed to the ſame.

In the preface to this hiſtory, mention is made of a certain book, intitled 'The Light upon the Candleſtick,' publiſhed in the name (as many ſuppoſed) of William Ames, yet no ways writ by him, though it contains his doctrine, but by a certain learned man, unwilling to be known publickly, and as it ſeems to me writ originally in Latin; which, though printed, being but in few hands, I have thought fit to reprint.

And the original in Latin, ſoon after the firſt publication, being tranſlated into Engliſh by B. F. was printed in the year 1663, from which tranſlation take it as follows, viz.

## *The Light upon the Candleſtick.*

THINGS are not for words, but words for things; if therefore we underſtand things aright, and as they ought, by words, it muſt be by ſuch as are fit to imprint the things themſelves in thoſe to whom they ſhould occur, and then it were enough (to make known our thoughts to others as we conceive them) only to make uſe of ſuch words.

But foraſmuch as we find the matter in this caſe far otherwiſe, and that two men ſpeaking or writing the ſame words, may nevertheleſs have different, yea, contrary thoughts, the diſability of performing this fitly by words or diſcourſe, is clearly inferred. Nor may we at all wonder at it, ſeeing we know to what a perpetual change languages are ſubject, even ſuch, that the very words may be changed from their priſtine ſignification. And the imperfection is ſo great, that whoſoever ſhould have invented them, ſuch as now they are in uſe, we ſhould certainly believe that he had little or no knowledge of thoſe things that are thereby intended to be ſignified. So that if we would better expreſs things unto another by words and ſpeeches, we had need find new words, and conſequently a whole new language: but that would be a toil and labour indeed.

In the mean-while we ſee what a ſea of confuſion flows from hence upon all mankind: for although there ſhould be none, who ſometimes through ignorance, and ſometimes by ſubtilty or wickedneſs, might wreſt or pervert words contrary to the mind of the ſpeaker or writer, in ſuch manner as themſelves, that ſo do, ſhould think beſt for their own ends, from whence conſequently all this deceit, ſlandering, contention, and the like proceeds; yet, ſo it is, that how uprightly or prudently ſoever a man goes to work in this matter, he nevertheleſs finds himſelf liable to miſlead, or to be miſled.

But although the caſe be thus with words and diſcourſes at preſent in uſe; yet for all that, they are the moſt ready, and ſo far as I know, the fitteſt means to make known all our thoughts unto others by: and for this reaſon therefore, though ſo much confuſion and deceit happen to ariſe from hence, that no man that hath any experience can be ignorant thereof; yet may we not therefore be too much afraid of them neither, as many yet do manifeſt themſelves to be, who, becauſe they have ſome experience hereof, are apt to believe we are about to deceive them, eſpecially if they be forewarned thereof.

This, as in many things, ſo it hath chiefly taken place in that which is commonly eſteemed for religion; in which it is ſo with moſt men, that they will ſcarce give audience to, much leſs take into conſideration, any thing held forth unto them, by any whom they judge not to be of their own opinion; to avoid as they imagine, being thereby deluded.

Yet if they were to act thus towards their own party, we might think it was an act of prudence, and that they would ſee with their own eyes: but no, in nowiſe, this is too hard a taſk: whatſoever cometh on that ſide is received with ſuch partiality for good and current coin, as if there were no danger nor poſſibility of erring: whereas nevertheleſs, it is all alike with the one as with the other opinion. It all depends but upon a poſſibility of being neareſt to the truth; and for the upholding every one his own opinion, and defending it againſt others, there is ſo much ado, ſo much pains taken, ſo much ſcholaſtick learning, ſtudy, and diſputing, that one would rather believe that there were no true religion at all, than that this ſhould needs be it.

Seeing then it is thus at preſent, can we much blame the common people, that they deſpair of ever being able to ſolve this difficulty, and are glad when they can but find any that are greedy of the work, upon whom they may caſt the whole burthen: ſurely no: for he that ſees but a little clearly, ſees that there is always contention behind, and no end till a man grows weary of it: nor is the conqueſt his that hath truth, but his that can beſt handle his

tongue. A miſerable thing if it were thus to be ſought and found: but it is not ſo with the true religion.

Go to then, O man, whoever thou art, we will not draw thee off from one ſociety ofmen, to carry thee over to another; it is ſomewhat elſe we invite thee to. Lend us but a little audience; ſurely thou knoweſt thus much, that as it is an abſurdity to receive all things without diſtinction that preſent themſelves to us, ſo it is no leſs ſo to reject all things without judgment. We invite thee to ſomething which may be a means whereby to attain to thy own ſalvation and well-being. Be as diſtruſtful, or rather prudent, or foreſighted as thou wilt, thou canſt not in reaſon refuſe us thy ear in this thing. All the damage thou canſt poſſibly have by doing that which we exhort thee to, is only to have taken a little pains in vain, if that which is promiſed ſhould not ſucceed; whereas, on the contrary, if it ſhould ſucceed, thou mayeſt come to the enjoyment of a matter of ſo great worth, that ſhould not be exchanged for all that is eſteemed great in the earth. Moreover it is not far to ſeek, but at hand; it is nigh thee, yea and in thyſelf. And there thou mayeſt experience the trial of that which we declare, which is the moſt certain and ſure that can be deſired.

We direct thee then to look within thyſelf; that is, that thou oughteſt to turn into, to mind, and have a regard unto, that which is within thee, viz. the light of truth, the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Here it is that thou muſt be, and not without thee. Here thou ſhalt find a principle certain and infallible, and whereby increaſing and going on therein, thou mayeſt at length arrive unto a happy condition: of this thou mayeſt ſafely adventure the trial. But if thou dareſt not do ſo much, it is hard to help thee. And if thou happeneſt to be one of thoſe that wouldeſt know all things, before thou doſt begin, yea, even thoſe things which are experienced in a condition to which thou art ſo much a ſtranger, that there is nothing in thee hath ſo much agreement therewith, as to comprehend it according to truth; know this, thou doſt (therein) juſt as thoſe that would learn to read, without knowing the letters.

To deſire to know all things that we are capable of, is good and laudable: but to go further is folly. There will be always ſomething elſe to aſk, and our knowledge will ever be too ſhort. He that will not adventure till he be fully ſatisfied, will never begin, much leſs finiſh to his own ſalvation.

But we judge it needful (as much as in us lies) to open unto you that unto which we do exhort you, that people may underſtand what it properly is.

We ſay then, that we exhort every one to turn unto the light that is in him. We give it rather the appellation of light, than any thing elſe, otherwiſe it is all one to us whether ye call it, Chriſt, the Spirit, the Word, &c. ſeeing theſe all denote but one and the ſame thing: yet the word Light being in its natural ſignification ſomewhat elſe than that which we intend thereby, we ſhall therefore in brief endeavour clearly to expreſs what we intend under this denomination.

The Light (then we ſay) is a clear and diſtinct knowledge of truth in the underſtanding of every man, by which he is ſo convinced of the being and quality of things, that he cannot poſſibly doubt thereof.

From this definition which is here given of the light, it is clear, that it muſt needs comprehend in it the principal effect of ſhewing us, and giving us the knowledge of what is truth and falſehood, what is good and evil: which verily is a matter of ſo great concernment, that without it men muſt needs wander up and down in continual darkneſs, uncertainty of opinion and in ſin, neither knowing truth at all, nor doing any good, but as it were by haphazard, and without certainty.

This light then, Chriſt the truth, &c. is that which makes manifeſt and reproves ſin in man, ſheweth him how he is ſtrayed from God, accuſeth him of the evil which he doth, and hath committed; yea, this is it which judgeth and condemneth him. Again,

This is the preaching to every creature under heaven, though they have never read or heard of the ſcripture. This is it which leads man in truth, into the way to God, which excuſeth him in well-doing, giving him peace in his

conſcience, yea, brings him to union with God, wherein all happineſs and ſalvation do conſiſt.

Moreover, ſeeing it is properly the nature of this light infallibly to diſcover ſin and evil, to reprove and convince thereof; it can never poſſibly conſent thereunto. And although it be true indeed, that the operations of the light are not in all men alike powerful, in whom nevertheleſs it is; yea though in ſome men it ſeems to have no operation at all; yet this is occaſioned only by thoſe impediments that do hinder it: for as the natural light by the interpoſition of other bodies or covers, may be hindered from having its operation there, where elſe it would, were thoſe things which impede removed, the light (itſelf) ſtill abiding in its ſelf unchanged; even ſo it is alſo with this light whereof we ſpeak. The hindrances in this are manifold. All that we meet with in this world, ſeems to proclaim war in this caſe. What is there that hath not a powerful operation upon one or other of the ſenſes of man, through which, paſſing over into the ſoul, the memory is ſo filled, that nothing elſe can enter? The eyes and ears ſtand ſo perpetually open to all things, that they never want an object to bring to mind the experience of that which pleaſed the body ſo well; and this ſtirs up the deſire to enjoy it, yet all without ſatiety: the objects are multifarious, the enjoyment can be but ſingle and tranſient, and the incitements inceſſant.

Now where this operateth in us after this manner, by education and example in manners and cuſtoms which are regulated by opinion, and not by the true light, that men live altogether therein; is it any wonder that here (in theſe men) there is ſo little, or no operation of the light? Not at all.

We are ſo involved in the deſire of that which is high in the world, ſo overwhelmed in pleaſures, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the light to cauſe one deſire after good to ſpring or bubble up.

Where then theſe ſo contrary operations to the light are, there it can never break through.

According to the nature and kind of every thing, is the operation thereof: where they are oppoſite, the one

muſt give way unto the other, and that which is moſt powerful prevails; from whence alſo the effects thereof become moſt viſible. The light, notwithſtanding, abides always the ſame; and therefore although man by ſin, through his love and union to corruptible things, comes to periſh, be damned, and miſs of his everlaſting happineſs, the light nevertheleſs, which is in every man that comes into the world, abides for ever unchangeable.

The light is alſo the firſt principle of religion. For, ſeeing there can be no true religion without the knowledge of God, and no knowledge of God without this light, religion muſt neceſſarily have this light for its principle.

God being then known by this light, according to the meaſure of knowledge which the finite and circumſcribed creature can have of the infinite and uncircumſcriptible Creator, man hath obtained a firm foundation, upon which he may build all firm and laſting things: a principle whereby he may, without ever erring, guide the whole courſe of his life, how he is to carry himſelf towards God, his neighbour, and himſelf, and all things elſe, whereby he may happily attain unto his ſoul's ſalvation, which conſiſteth only in union with God. And thus this light is therefore the firſt principle of religion.

Without this light, there is no power or ability at all in man to do any good.

This muſt firſt raiſe him and quicken him out of the death of ſin. It is folly to expect any thing, where nothing is; there is no effect without a cauſe: there muſt be ſomething then which muſt cauſe a man to act, if he does any thing.

And this cauſe muſt have in it whatſoever the effect produced hath in it; as for example, if the effects of light be produced, light muſt do it, and nothing elſe.

And therefore, is it not a ſilly thing, that all men would have people do this or that as good, and leave this or that as evil, becauſe they tell them ſo, without any more ado, or at beſt aſſigning only the accuſtomary motives thereto, and think they have reaſon too, juſt as if this

were enough? Who can ſee ſuch effects as are hereby required, included in this cauſe? not I, for my part.

Experience alſo teacheth us the ſame; elſe how could it all paſs away in a train and cuſtom, without any fruit: theſe are therefore not the right means; but ſuch we muſt endeavour to furniſh people with; means from whence power may iſſue forth to do that which they are exhorted to. Such is the nature of man, that he is moved to chuſe that which he judgeth to be beſt, before the worſt, and is always willing to change for the beſt.

Now if it ſo happens (as for the moſt part it doth) that a man chuſeth the worſt before the beſt, it is for want of knowledge, and contrary to his aim, and ſo he erreth, not being led by the true light.

Here then it ſhould be begun; it is eaſy leading a man to that which of himſelf he is deſirous of: if thoſe now who make it their work to teach others, were but led themſelves by the true light, knowing better things than thoſe to which the multitude are linked ſo faſt with love, they would be able to hold them forth clearly to others: and ſo making it their continual work, it were impoſſible their labour ſhould be fruitleſs; for people knowing better, would do better. Who remembers not the play of our youth, how much we were in love therewith, and yet how ridiculous is it now unto us but to think upon it? And why? Becauſe we now know that, which we judge better: hence, not by force, but very eaſily and of itſelf, it comes in time to be worn out, and paſs away, that there is now no deſire nor motion moving thereunto. How may we think then it would be, if the ſoul came but once to apprehend thoſe things aright which are durable and incorruptible, and which infinitely tranſcend all bodily toys in worth? So far as thoſe things then ſhould come to be eſteemed more glorious than all bodily things, ſo much the more powerful would be the annihilation of thoſe things in which all men, even to old age, yea, death itſelf, do take ſo much delight; and then we might hope and expect that thoſe things which are (indeed) alone worthy to be known, would gain entrance, and being brought forth in the light, would be alſo owned and received by every one, accord-

ing to the meaſure in which they ſhould ſtand in the ſame light.

Hence from within, the amendment and converſion is to be waited for; from within it muſt begin, if with a foundation; the outward then will follow of itſelf: the weakeſt muſt give way to the ſtrongeſt, all depends but upon the knowledge of ſomething better, to make a true and laſting change. Therefore to hold this forth to men, is the beſt thing we can give them. This light is the inward ear, by which alone, and by no other, the voice of God, viz. the truth, can be heard.

By this alone muſt the ſenſe and mind of him that would ſignify any thing by words; or any outward ſign, be comprehended and underſtood. So that if the truth of God be preſented to a man who ſtands not in the light of truth, it is impoſſible he ſhould underſtand it, although he hears and comprehends the words after a manner, yet he is ſtill fenced off from the true ſenſe and meaning thereof.

Hence therefore it is, that, among ſo many hearers, there are ſo few that have ears to hear.

He that hears truth aright, that is, underſtands it well, muſt not ſtand out of, but in the truth itſelf.

Therefore neither is it any wonder that all men do not underſtand and conceive thoſe things that are brought forth by the light. Thoſe only that ſtand in it are alone capable thereof.

The caſe being thus, we ſee of how great concernment it is continually to exhort and excite men to turn unto the light that is in them, that ſo they may go on to ſuch a condition and meaſure therein, as to be fit to underſtand aright the word: that is, the truth of God, becauſe out of this there can be nothing underſtood, and concluded from the words and writings given forth from the light, but mere opinions, and probably errors. This light, Chriſt, &c. is the truth and word of God, as hath been already ſaid, and every where appears by what we have hitherto laid down: for this is a living word, and tranſlateth man from death to life, is powerful, and enableth a man to bear witneſs of it every where.

This is alſo the true rule according unto which all our actions are to be ſquared.

This hath the pre-eminence before any writing, ſcripture, doctrine, or any thing elſe that we meet with from without. We are born into the world, and brought up, as every body knows: from the very firſt we hear differences, every one pretends that he knows the matter, and hath truth: one holds forth this, another that to us. If now the light which is in every man that comes into the world, ſhall not be judge, whither ſhall we go? To believe all, is impoſſible; to reject all, no leſs: who ſhall be judge here? Who elſe can be, but the light within us? For whatſoever comes from without, is the thing to be judged of: who then fitter; ſeeing this is infallible?

Again, is not this (the light) that by which we muſt ſee and know God, and ſo conſequently that by which we muſt judge all things divine? Certainly it is: then it follows alſo, that we can judge of no doctrine, of no book that is divine, but by this light; and judging it thereby to be divine, it cannot but be truly ſo. As for example, if we experience that the book called the Bible, in regard of the divine doctrine therein compriſed, hath ſuch an harmony with that in which God is known, that he muſt needs have been the author of it; there cannot rationally any more powerful demonſtration be demanded.—With them that are thus, the Scripture may become living and powerful, and not a dead letter, as it muſt needs be to thoſe men who have no feeling of this thing. And from hence then it is apparent, ſeeing this light muſt be preferred to all things whatſoever that we meet with from without, that then Man muſt firſt of all be directed to this: for without it what profit is there (I pray) to be reaped any where by external ſign but by it. Lay the book of the Scripture freely before any man; let him alſo have all the fitneſs (the univerſities can give him) to look into it in its proper language in which it may have been firſt written, what will all be without the light? Nothing. The letters, the words, are not the Scriptures, but the meaning alone is the Scripture, and this meaning can never be truly and juſtly hit, but by thoſe alone that ſtand in the ſame light, out of which the Scriptures proceeded.

Theſe are they then to whom the Scripture is a co-witneſs, and as a ſeal of their being ſons of God; while by experience they find themſelves, every one according to his meaſure, in the ſame condition in which the ſaints formerly were, who ſpake and writ all thoſe things comprehended in the book of the Scripture; theſe then have the true underſtanding and meaning of the Scriptures, not thoſe that imagine unto themſelves a meaning by opinion and gueſs, through a thouſand imaginations, without the leaſt aſſurance of not erring; which becomes the very ground of all jangling and contention.

In fine, this light in every man is the means to come to the knowledge of God. And ſeeing all external ſigns muſt needs preſuppoſe this knowledge, therefore itſelf muſt need be immediate, without any external ſign: that ſigns muſt preſuppoſe ſuch a knowledge, is undeniable; for theſe ſigns muſt either be words or effects, works or miracles.

If words, we ſee at firſt an impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for words are created and finite, and God who ſhould make known himſelf by them, uncreated and infinite: and therefore here is ſo infinite a difference, that there is no manner of agreement, nor any thing in the words by which they might be capable to do it. But again, if you fly to the meaning of the words, as being fit for ſuch a thing, then that which we ſay will more manifeſtly appear: as put caſe, for example-ſake, that God about to make known himſelf by words, ſhould ſay, 'I am God,' and that this ſhould be the ſign by which he would make himſelf known, we ſee clearly, that it would be impoſſible for a man at firſt to know God by this: for if he ſhould comprehend any thing out of the ſenſe of the words, he muſt needs formerly have had the ſignification of the word, God, and what he is to underſtand by it: in like manner, if God maketh his will known to man, the knowledge of God (which hath its original from the true light) muſt precede and convince him, that that (manifeſtation) can be from none but God alone, whereupon he is then ſufficiently aſſured.

If by effects (or outward miraculous works) it is the ſame thing; for theſe are no leſs created, no leſs finite: and though we might obſerve ſomething in the nature of a thing, which might be too difficult for the power of any creature, which we know, to effect; yet this at the utmoſt would be but a demonſtration taken from our impotency, and not from the nature and all the operations of it; and this kind of demonſtration cannot be certain and ſtable, till we were able clearly and diſtinctly to ſee that there was not a concurrency of many cauſes to produce ſuch an effect, but that it muſt needs have been cauſed by an infinite and unlimited cauſe, whom we call God? But who knoweth this? Or who can declare it?

Add to this, That the knowledge of God in all things muſt firſt be, before the knowledge of any creature or particular thing; ſo that no particular thing without this can be well known; and conſequently is altogether uncapable to come to know God by, or certainly to make known himſelf to man by.

Go to then, without thyſelf, O man: thou haſt no means to look for, by which thou mayeſt know God. Thou muſt abide within thyſelf, to the light that is in thee thou muſt turn thee, there thou wilt find it, and no where elſe.

God is, conſidered in himſelf, neareſt unto thee, and every man. He that goes forth of himſelf to any creature, thereby to know God, departs from God, and ſo much the further, as he comes more to admire the creature, and ſtand in contemplation thereof, to miſtake himſelf by it. This thou muſt then ſhun, and the contrary mind, viz. Mind the light that is in thee, by it to work, unmoveably and faithfully to perſevere.

FINIS.

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